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THE
HISTORY OF CHINA.

VOL. I.

a

THE
LAW OF THE
STATE



[Frontispiece, Vol. I.]

C. G. Gordon.

Major-General Charles G. Gordon, R.E., C.B.

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THE HISTORY OF CHINA.

BY

DEMETRIUS CHARLES BOULGER,

AUTHOR OF

"THE LIFE OF GORDON," "THE LIFE OF SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES," ETC. ETC.

NEW AND REVISED EDITION, WITH PORTRAITS
AND MAPS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

FOURTEEN years have elapsed since the publication of the third and concluding volume of this History. In that period the subject of the Chinese Empire and people has become of greater interest and more direct moment, not only to the English reader, but to the world.

It is gratifying to feel that the anticipations expressed on this head in the earlier work have been realized within so brief a period, while the more compact and convenient form in which the present revised edition makes its appearance will perhaps bring this full record of a most ancient and still-existing Empire within the reach of all who are concerned in the Far East.

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

April 27, 1898.

1718

The first part of the book is devoted to the
history of the United States from the
beginning of the settlement of the
Atlantic coast to the present time.
It is a history of the people and of the
land which they have made their home.
The second part of the book is devoted to
the history of the United States from
the first settlement of the Pacific coast
to the present time. It is a history of
the people and of the land which they
have made their home.

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THE HISTORY OF CHINA.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY AGES.

THE origin of all great peoples and empires is to be discovered amid the mists of a more or less remote antiquity, made tangible alone for us by the preservation of myths and legends, which afford in their similarity a proof of the affinity of all the races on the earth. The Chinese, like the Jews and the ancient Egyptians alone, claim to trace back their national existence to a period centuries before Solomon erected his Temple, or Homer collected the ballads relating to the Trojan War, and turned them into his immortal epic. From a date anterior to that accepted for the occurrence of the Flood of Noah, the people of China possess a history which preserves the names of kings and conquerors, and describes remarkable events with an appearance of exactitude that would almost compel credence. In comparison with their institutions those of Ancient Egypt and Assyria have only moderate claims to antiquity, and the states of Greece and Rome were but the creation of yesterday. The observer might well stand aghast if he were called upon to follow the exact details in the history of a people and an empire, which were great and definite in form nearly five thousand years ago. It would be not less weak than impossible to demand of the human faculty so severe a strain. The subject would soon become monotonous, as each succeeding cycle of prosperity and military vigour or of depression and decay, following the other with unvarying regularity, was described. But the extreme age of the institutions is one key to the history of the Empire, and the

student, fully impregnated with the spirit of that fact, will have done much towards mastering the rest of the subject. To such a one the later course of the history will present few difficulties. It will be almost as an open book.

If the reader wishes to know what conception Chinese historians had of their duties, the following story will throw some light upon the subject:—"In the reign of the Emperor Ling Wang of the Chow dynasty, B.C. 548, Changkong, Prince of Tsi, became enamoured of the wife of Tsouichow, a general, who resented the affront and killed the prince. The historians attached to the household of the prince recorded the facts, and named Tsouichow as the murderer. On learning this the general caused the principal historian to be arrested and slain, and appointed another in his place. But as soon as the new historian entered upon his office he recorded the exact facts of the whole occurrence, including the death of his predecessor and the cause of his death. Tsouichow was so much enraged at this that he ordered all the members of the Tribunal of History to be executed. But at once the whole literary class in the principality of Tsi set to work exposing and denouncing the conduct of Tsouichow, who soon perceived that his wiser plan would be to reconstitute the Tribunal and to allow it to follow its own devices." What could be finer, too, than the following reply, given fifteen centuries later, by the President of the Tribunal of History of the Empire to the Tang Emperor Taitson, who asked if he might be permitted to see what was written about himself in the State memoirs? "Prince," said the President, "the Historians of the Tribunal write down the good and the bad actions of princes, their praiseworthy and also their reprehensible words, and everything that they have done, good or bad, in their administration. We are exact and irrefragable on this point, and none of us dare be wanting in this respect. This impartial severity ought to be the essential attribute of history, if it is wished that she should be a curb upon princes and the great, and that she should prevent them committing faults. But I do not know that any Emperor up to the present has ever seen what was written about him." To this the Emperor said, "But supposing I did nothing

good, or that I happened to commit some bad action, is it you, President, who would write it down?" "Prince, I should be overwhelmed with grief; but, being entrusted with a charge so important as that of presiding over the Tribunal of the Empire, could I dare to be wanting in my duty?" These two stories may suffice to show the spirit in which the earlier Chinese historians undertook their work.

The earliest ancestors of the Chinese are supposed to have been a nomad people in the province of Shensi. Among these there appeared several leaders, endowed with high abilities and aspirations, who induced their kinsmen to settle in villages, and to follow the pursuits of trade and agriculture. The germ of the Chinese race and government was, we may assume, to be found among these rude tribes wandering over the province of Shensi. Among them, increasing both in numbers and in power, the necessities of the government of a community produced several rulers, whose lineaments the Chinese historians have depicted for us as being similar to those of animals and other unnatural combinations, until at last there came Fohi, the first great Chinese Emperor. He also to a great extent belongs to the mythical period, being represented as having the body of a dragon and the head of an ox. Still Confucius in his history accepted him as one of the early rulers of the country, and he is generally credited with having instituted the rite^s of marriage, and numerous other social and moral reforms. His reign (B.C. 2953-2838 ?) is described as having been a succession of benefits to the people. Among his chief exploits may be mentioned the fact that he carried his influence to the Eastern Sea, and he selected as his capital the town of Chintou, which is identified with the modern Chinchow in Honan. To him succeeded Chinnong, who carried on the great work Fohi had commenced, but in a few years he changed the capital from Chintou to Kiofoo, a town in Shantung. According to Mailla, he was succeeded by the celebrated Hwangti, according to other authorities, by several rulers whose names have been almost forgotten; but in any case it is incontestable that the individuality of Hwangti is much more tangible than that of any of his predecessors.

Hwangti was no sooner raised to the supreme place than he was called upon to compete with several rivals. He triumphed over them in battle, and rendered his success the more decisive by the remarkable moderation he evinced when the contest had been concluded in his favour. Recognizing with rare foresight that a beneficent prince has no public enemy among his own people, he carried on his wars not with the misled soldiers, but with their leaders, inspired either by envy at his success, or by the ambition to emulate it. In one of these wars he made prisoner the chief among his adversaries, as well as a large portion of his army. He disarmed the latter, and leading his rival to the top of a hill in full view of his own and the defeated army, executed him with his own hand. That act consolidated the authority of Hwangti, and restored peace and tranquillity to the Empire. Having accomplished the first portion of his task, he devoted his attention in the next place to the reform of the internal administration. He divided his territory into ten provinces, or *Chow*, each of which was subdivided into ten departments, or *Tse*, and these again into ten districts, or *Tou*, each of which contained ten towns, or *Ye*. He rearranged the weights and measures also on the decimal system, and the reforms attributed to him still form part of the existing order of things in China. It is unnecessary to mention all the inventions with which this great monarch has been credited by his grateful countrymen. Prominent among them was the regulation of the calendar—the Chinese dividing the lapse of time into cycles of sixty years ; and the first of these commences from a date that corresponds with the year 2637 before our era. One of Hwangti's principal objects was the promotion of commerce, and, for that purpose, he constructed roads and built vessels to navigate the great rivers and the open sea. His fame was spread throughout Asia, and embassies visited his court, whilst artificers and skilled workmen came from foreign lands to settle within his borders. The extent of the dominions of this ruler may be taken to have been from the vicinity of Shachow on the west to the sea on the east, and from Pechihli on the north to the river Yangtse-kiang on the south. Regarded as the founder of a great Empire Hwangti

appears, even at this interval of time, to have been worthy of the position accorded him ; and to his inspiration and example much of the subsequent greatness of China may be attributed. It is not difficult, therefore, to understand that Chinese annalists declare that no reign has been either more glorious or more auspicious than his, and that he was in every way worthy of the assumption of the imperial and semi-deified title of *Ti*,* or Emperor.

The sceptre of Hwangti passed to his son Chaohow, who reigned long and peaceably, but who died without having acquired much glory. The one achievement of his life was the division of the officials and public administrators into classes, by means of distinctive dresses or uniforms—a task which, if not of the most distinguished, had its difficulties, and required a man of taste. On Chaohow's death his nephew Chwenhio became Emperor. He extended the Empire to the frontiers of Tonquin on the south and of Manchuria on the north, and earned “the glorious title of restorer or even founder of true astronomy.” His descendants continued to possess the imperial dignity, and his great-grandson Yao was a ruler of striking ability and considerable reputation. To him the Chinese still look back with veneration, and it is by comparison with his conduct that the native historians often gauge the capacity of his successors. The most extraordinary occurrence of his reign was the overflowing of the Hoangho, which flooded a large extent of country, and caused enormous damage. † The best years of Yao's life were spent in coping with this danger, and in repairing the mischief that had been wrought by it. In this he was only partially successful. His idea of his duty towards his subjects was based upon a high standard ; and he always acted on the principle that what he wanted done well he should do himself. He is reported to have often said, “Are the people cold? then it is I who am the cause. Are they hungry? it is my fault. Do they

* Before his reign the sovereigns of China were called Wangs, or kings. The name of the King of Heaven, or God, was Changti, Supreme Emperor, or sovereign. Hwangti means the Yellow Emperor.

† By some this was considered identical with the flood of Noah. Excellent reasons exist for disbelieving this assertion.

commit any crime? I ought to consider myself the culprit." It is not very surprising to find that the people mourned for such a ruler after his death during three years, and that they lamented his loss as "children do that of their father or mother."

Another great and wise ruler followed the Emperor Yao. His name was Chun, and for twenty-eight years previous to his accession he had been associated with the Emperor Yao in the administration of the state. Of comparatively humble origin Chun was the architect of his own fortunes. His zeal, assiduity, and integrity in the public service attracted the notice of the Emperor Yao, who had long been seeking a man capable of aiding him in the task of ruling the vast territories under his sway, and one worthy also of succeeding him in the supreme authority. Chun's excellent conduct in the offices entrusted to him pointed him out as the man for the occasion, and the result amply justified the selection. At first Chun wished Yao's son, Tanchu, to be chosen Emperor, and retired to his country residence to avoid the importunities of his admirers. But the notables of the realm saw that Chun was the fittest man for the office, and they refused to make the interests of the Empire subservient to the personal feelings of a family. Chun was proclaimed Emperor; but also feeling the weight of ruling so large a country more than one man could bear, he selected Yu, the Minister of Public Works, to help him in the task. Yu became associated with Chun in the same manner as the latter had been with Yao; and the glory of the period when the nation was ruled by this triumvirate has been dwelt upon in fervid language by the Chinese historians. In many respects the patriarchal sway of those remote rulers represents the brightest and the most prosperous age in the whole history of the Empire.

It is not surprising to find that the basis on which the authority of these Emperors rested was implicit obedience to the law. "A prince who wishes to fulfil his obligations, and to long preserve his people in the ways of peace, ought to watch without ceasing that the laws are observed with exactitude." That sentence forms the keynote of the policy of these rulers, and the wise princes who came after them have

never hesitated to adopt it for themselves. When Chun died, in the year B.C. 2208, Yu, after some hesitation, allowed himself to be proclaimed Emperor. His reign was brief, as he ruled alone for no more than seven years. It may be stated that one of the last of his public acts was to denounce the inventor of an intoxicating drink extracted from rice as an enemy to the state. With prophetic sight he exclaimed on tasting it, "Ah, how many evils this drink will, I foresee, cause China! Let the man who invented it be exiled beyond our frontier, and let him never be permitted to return." With Yu's death this prosperous period reached its close.

It is impossible to pass on from this period without quoting the following remarkable passage from the "Choukin" (the Chinese history, translated by Gaubil), which gives an instructive lesson in the art of governing as taught in China in these early ages. "What Heaven hears and sees manifest themselves by the things which the people see and hear. What the people judge worthy of reward and what of punishment, indicate what Heaven wishes to punish and to reward. There is an intimate communication between Heaven and the people; let those who govern the people be watchful and cautious!" To this the comparatively modern *Vox populi, vox Dei* adds nothing.

Up to this point the Empire had gone to its worthiest servant without distinction of birth, and Yu, on his deathbed, left the succession to the President of the Council, who had been associated with himself in the task of government. But the times were changing. Whether it sprang from a feeling of gratitude to a public benefactor, or whether the sons resented losing the prize which the ability of their sires had secured, is not ascertained; but the fact is clear that on the death of Yu there was a decided revulsion in popular sentiment in favour of his son Tiki. Both the causes mentioned probably operated to produce this result, and the custom of selecting the ablest and most experienced minister was displaced by the son's right to hereditary succession. So it happened that Tiki, the son of Yu, was the founder of the first Chinese dynasty, known in history as the Hia dynasty, from the name of the province over

which Yu had first been placed. There were in all seventeen Emperors of the Hia dynasty, and their rule continued down to the year B.C. 1776. It is unnecessary to dwell on the events of these four centuries. The descendants of Yu, who owed their reputation to his splendid achievements, became, in the course of time, tyrants and seekers of pleasure. Their palaces were the scenes of debaucheries carried out on a scale equalling those of either Nero or Vitellius. They themselves became the object of the hatred, instead of the love, of their subjects. The great feudatories and the public officers combined against Kia, the last of the Emperors of this family, and at their head they placed Ching Tang, the prince of Chang.

This chief was the founder of the second dynasty, called after the name of his principality the Chang. Twenty-eight Emperors of this House succeeded one another, and it remained in possession of the Imperial throne until the year B.C. 1122. Chang Tang was worthy of being the founder of a dynasty. In his wars with the Hias, whom he expelled from the kingdom, he showed not less skill than moderation; and his subsequent conduct amply justified the choice which had made him the leader of the popular movement. His reign was marked by a great dearth, which either his prayers or his measures at length removed, and, curiously enough, this was coincident with the famine in Egypt in the days of Pharaoh and Joseph. He appears to have had, like our Cromwell, many doubts and qualms of conscience as to whether he had acted as became a good and wise prince as well as a dutiful subject in deposing the Hias, and declared that it was "in spite of himself that he had taken up arms to deliver the Empire from the tyranny of Kia."

He had the personal satisfaction of leaving to his grandson, Taikia, the possessions which he had wrested from the Hias, and, although not placed on the same footing as the three great Emperors who immediately preceded the establishment of the first dynasty, Confucius speaks of him in terms of respect. Among his successors, Taivou, who commenced to reign in the year B.C. 1637, may be mentioned

as receiving numerous embassies from the states lying beyond his western border. These are stated to have numbered seventy-six, and some writers have striven to prove that the arrival of so many envoys at the same moment may be taken as showing that there must have been some great disturbance in Western Asia. Chinese history is invoked to confirm the truth of the reported invasion of India by Sesostris about that time. It is to be feared that the Court language of the Chinese has misled several historians on this point, as the seventy-six embassies probably came not from "kingdoms" or "states," but from petty districts and clans in the countries which are now known to us as Kokonor, Tibet, and Burmah.

In the reign of Pankeng (B.C. 1401-1374) the vagaries of the Hoangho led to two changes in the place of the capital or court residence, and on one occasion a site was selected near the modern Peking. Pankeng was almost the last of the virtuous kings of the Chang dynasty. Some of his precepts, preserved in the "Choukin," are admirable, and might be perused with profit at the present day. After Pankeng came a long line of princes weak in their mind and dissolute in their habits, and the courtiers imitated only too perfectly the examples of their masters. The story is told that Vouting, the one exception to this rule, was compelled to have recourse to an ordinary labourer as the only honest man he could discover for the dignified office of his chief minister. The name of this minister was Fouyue, and he seems to have made it his object to emulate the praiseworthy conduct of the earlier rulers and ministers of China. With the death of these two men the Chang dynasty produced no other ruler, and the nation no other minister capable of maintaining the ruling House on the throne. In the twelfth century (B.C.) the crimes of the Emperors reached their culminating point in the person of Chousin, and the punishment of Providence was at last meted out by one of the great nobles, Wou Wang, prince of Chow. Wou Wang (Warrior King) crossed the Hoangho at the head of a large army, and routed the forces of Chousin on the plain of Mouye in Honan. The Emperor retired to his palace, where

he committed suicide, and the Chang dynasty expired with him.

The accession of Wou Wang as the first ruler of the third dynasty was followed by those reforms in the administration which the crimes and apathy of the Changs had rendered absolutely necessary. The acts of the new Emperor were marked by vigour and moderation, and the confidence of the nation was soon enlisted in his favour. The general satisfaction was enhanced in its effect by the obstinacy of two ministers of the Emperor Chousin, who, sooner than eat the bread of the usurper, starved themselves to death. Wou Wang publicly expressed his admiration of their fidelity and his regret at their death. Similar acts of magnanimity are frequently recorded of Chinese rulers, and were always rewarded by an increase of reputation in their people's opinion. Wou Wang's instincts were those of a soldier, and the simple habits which he introduced into the life of the court led to fresh vigour in the national existence. His immediate successors followed his prudent example, and thus the Chow dynasty became firmly established on the throne. He received various embassies, notably one from Kitse, king of Corea, who came in person to congratulate the new Emperor, thus commencing the connection between China and Corea which has subsisted to our time. His son Ching Wang was, during the first few years of his reign, obliged to carry on military operations against several of his relations; but these speedily terminating in his favour, left him strong both within and without his frontier. Mention is made of an embassy arriving from a country which can only be identified with Siam, and the reason given for its despatch was that it had been visited by several years of unusual prosperity, which the seers declared to be due to the throne of China being occupied by a wise prince.

One of the ablest of the Chow rulers was Mou Wang, or "the magnificent king," son of a prince named Chao Wang, who had been drowned in the river Han, through the treachery of some of his subjects. Mou Wang ascended the throne about the year B.C. 1000, and continued to rule until B.C. 952. Waging several wars beyond the limits of

China proper, he inflicted severe defeats upon the wild tribes whose country was held in later days by the Mongols. Nor were his journeys beyond the frontier confined to warlike expeditions. On one occasion he made a peaceful tour to the west of his possessions into Tibet, reaching a point in the vicinity of the Kuenlun mountains—probably Khoten. This simple fact has given rise to exaggerated rumours as to his having travelled as far west as Persia or Syria. In those remote ages the western world of China was of much too limited extent to include those distant countries. Still there remains the fact that this Emperor undertook a memorable journey in unknown regions beyond his frontier. He was also widely famed as a builder of palaces and other public works. In one year he erected a summer palace, and in another he laid out a fortress. China had never been famed for its horses, and before the importation of the hardy steeds of Mongolia and Manchuria they were scarcely to be found out of the royal stables. One of the early Emperors speaks of horses and dogs as "animals foreign to China," and the chronicles tell us of the eight proud coursers which Mou Wang sent to "an isle in the Eastern Sea" to be nourished. Fed on "dragon grass," we are informed that they became capable of performing a journey of one thousand li in the course of a single day. The remaining events of this reign are comprised under the head of "Wars with the Barbarians."

Mou Wang's successors continued to reign, much after the same fashion, without any event calling for notice, until the time of Li Wang, B.C. 873, who is described as "a prince not wanting in ability, but whose insufferable pride, suspicious nature, and cruelty, absolutely effaced the good qualities which he would otherwise have possessed." This prince soon forfeited the affections of his subjects, and his senseless tyranny called down upon him the vengeance of popular indignation. There was no dynastic crisis such as had taken place in the time of the Changs, for it was plain to the common intelligence that the crimes committed were those of an individual, and not of a family. The nation rose up and exposed the criminality of Li Wang, and the poets gave forcible expression to the nation's mind. There was neither

occasion nor inducement for a heaven-sent champion to appear in the arena. The constitutional methods ready to the hand sufficed to curb the wrong-doing sovereign, and they were employed with efficacy and address. Li Wang was driven from the throne, and compelled to flee the country. He survived his fall fourteen years; but time secured no oblivion for his faults in the eyes of the people. In that sense the nation proved as inexorable as the laws of the Empire. Li Wang died in exile, and during his absence China was governed by a regency composed of two ministers. When Li Wang died, the regents proclaimed his son, Siuen Wang, Emperor, thus giving a fresh lease of life to the Chow dynasty. Brilliant victories over the barbarians, who had grown more daring in their encroachments, marked the beginning of his reign; but something of the effect of this successful defence of the Empire was removed by a great blight which visited the country. The blame for this national calamity was laid at the door of the sovereign, because he had neglected to perform in person a ceremony the origin of which was traced back to the ancient days of Chinese annals; and the penalty of such neglect was pronounced by the highest authority to be "the wrath of the Master of all things (Changti), and desolation throughout the Empire." What the famine began, the valour of the barbarians completed. Siuen Wang's army was routed on the field of battle, and although ultimately retrieving his lost fortune, he never completely recovered the popularity which had accompanied his earlier years, when he was in every respect "a much-beloved king."

His son Yeou Wang was heir not only to his throne, but also to his misfortunes. Floods, earthquakes, and other calamities struck terror to the heart of the people; the ruler alone proved callous to them. While his subjects were daily raising loud complaints to the throne, he passed his time in idle pleasure in his palace. The general distress made the reduction of taxation a matter of ordinary prudence; he doubled the imposts to gratify the wishes of his mistress. The Chinese have never been silent under tyranny. They have sometimes, but rarely, produced a Brutus, or a Harmodius; but they have never failed to find satirists, whose bitter

words have exposed the shortcomings of the Emperor, even though endowed in the common parlance with many of the attributes of God. Yeou Wang became the butt of the learned; his crimes were denounced in the Tribunal of History, and his amours formed the theme of daily conversation. "The Royal House was approaching its fall," wrote the great historian of the day. Meanwhile the heir apparent had fled the palace, and sought with his mother refuge among the Tartar tribes of the West. These wild people looked upon the cities of China as their lawful prey, and though often beaten back with loss, it cost them little or nothing to resume an enterprise that might result in the attainment of a great prize. Never did the prospect appear more seductive to them than during the years when Yeou Wang's conduct had alienated his people, and the dynasty of Chow seemed tottering on the verge of ruin. The Tartars poured over the frontier, ravaging the country as they advanced; and Yeou Wang marched with several armies to oppose them. The victory should have gone to him, but the column under his command was attacked and overwhelmed by numbers, Yeou Wang himself perishing on the field.

His son Ping Wang was then placed upon the throne by the great vassal princes, but the danger from the Tartars, elated by their success over his father, continued to be so great that the Chinese were kept in a state of constant alarm. Ping Wang had to resort to the dangerous expedient of making one of the great nobles the custodian of his frontier. He abandoned his Western capital to this noble, Siangkong, Prince of Tsin, and retired to the Eastern capital, named Loyang, in Honan. The task entrusted to the prince named was difficult, but it enabled him to consolidate a power within the state independent of that of the Emperor. "The Tartars," said Ping Wang in his decree to the prince, "are constantly making their inroads into my provinces of Ki and Fong. You alone can put a stop to their onslaughts and marauding. Take, then, all this country, I yield it to you willingly, on the simple condition that you turn it into a barrier against them." In this decree, as engraved on a vase in Shensi, Ping Wang styled himself "the King of Heaven." Little did he think

when doing so that the descendants of the Prince of Tsin would drive his in ignominy from the throne. Centuries were to pass away before the fall came, but the abnegation of the duty of defending the frontier could only lead, sooner or later, to the loss of Imperial power and station.

The other great vassals were not slow to follow the example set them by the powerful Prince of Tsin. If Siang-kong was the only one to assume regal honours by offering sacrifice on the tortoise, his peers were not backward in claiming the substance of authority in their own territories. During Ping Wang's reign, it was said, "the ancient religion perished, the sciences, learning, zeal for the public good were cast aside; and men of talent, having lost their career, scattered themselves over the face of the country." The public mind was so much disturbed by the disunion in the Empire, and the incompetence of the prince, that fresh evidence of the imminent ruin of the dynasty was seen in the most trifling circumstances. The "Chiking"—a wonderful collection of national ballads, translated by that admirable man and sinologue, the late Dr. Legge—is full of the complaints that rose at this time from the midst of the people to the foot of the throne; and one high official reported as a momentous fact that "the ancestral burial-place of the House of Chow was in ruins, and that only a few sad relics remained as evidence of its having existed!" Ping Wang died in B.C. 720, after a reign of more than fifty years. Between that time and the year B.C. 606, seven Emperors of the dynasty of Chow succeeded each other. Their names were Hing Wang, Chang Wang, Li Wang, Hoi Wang, Siang Wang, King Wang, and Kwang Wang.

A few years after the death of the last-named ruler, Laoutse, the first religious and social reformer, was born. With him commenced a new era in the history of China. The period of one hundred and twenty years thus covered was taken up with innumerable petty wars between the principal vassals of the crown. The Tartars of the West and of the North afforded permanent occupation for those on the frontier, and although the Chinese triumphed by dint of numbers and superior skill, they never ventured to wage more than a defensive war. The seven Emperors last named succeeded

in maintaining their position in Honan, and for a short distance in the surrounding region on account of the prevailing dissension ; but their authority was but a faint semblance of what it once had been, and still claimed to be. Like the later Cæsars, the less able they became to wield the sword against the enemy, and to resist the arrogance of the proud, the closer they wrapt the purple round them, and sought in the pleasures of the palace to forget the duties of the council chamber. So far as the record of notable events or the exercise of Imperial power is concerned, the annals of the Chow rulers might be already closed ; but the ability and virtues of Laoutse, and the genius of Confucius, gave a lustre to the last three centuries of their rule not unworthy of its earlier fame.

Before passing on to the consideration of the important epoch which we have now reached, and which forms the commencement of the regular history of China, it will be advisable to glance back for a moment at the vast space of time which has been traversed in the few preceding pages.* Originally a nomad people, following the free and untrammelled existence of the hunter and the shepherd, the necessities produced by increasing numbers compelled the Chinese to become agriculturists, and to settle in towns. They had their mythical ancestors, in common with the rest of mankind, who taught

* This is the more necessary as the antiquity of Chinese history has been challenged by several writers. There can be no question of its substantial accuracy from the time of Confucius, but that is *only* two thousand four hundred years ago. The balance of evidence is wholly in favour of the account given in these pages, but the remarks of so intelligent a critic as M. de Guignes may here be inserted and studied with profit. It is permissible to believe that his critical faculty has proved too strong for his judgment of facts. "One of the causes which have led the Chinese into great errors with regard to the antiquity of their country is that they have given to the ancient characters the meaning which they acquired in much more recent times. The characters now translated by the words *emperor*, *province*, *city*, and *palace* meant no more in former times than chief of tribe, district, camp, and house. These simple meanings did no flatter their vanity sufficiently, and they therefore preferred employing terms which would represent their ancestors as rich and powerful, and their Empire as vast and flourishing in a durable manner before the year B.C. 529."

them the use of fire and of clothes, and who raised them gradually from the brute life which they were leading into a higher and nobler one. Then appeared the first conqueror Hwangti, to be followed by those three perfect, and probably ideal Emperors, Yao, Chun, and Yu, who left an example that none of their successors could hope to emulate. With the death of Yu the first stage in Chinese history closes. The principle that the ruler of the country should be the very best and ablest man in the community, carried out during four brilliant reigns, was set aside partly by the national sense of gratitude, partly because the progress of the age had led to the supersession of the purely public spirit of the patriarchal rulers, by the personal ambition of their descendants. The death of Yu was followed by the establishment of the first dynasty in the person of his son. After six centuries that dynasty was destroyed, to be succeeded by a second, which, when it had ruled for four centuries, was displaced by a third, still reigning at the period we have reached.

With the establishment of a distinct line of succession the country expanded its limits, and assumed all the proportions of an Empire. Its existence was acknowledged by the surrounding nations. It became an object of terror or of solicitude to its neighbours. Foreign embassies flocked to the capital; the princes of the desert, the rulers of the Jongs of the Amour, the kings of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, admitted that the countenance of the great Ti was the light which illumined Eastern Asia. And then, as all things human decline and fall—if they even arise with renewed strength like Antæus—there came a long period of decadence. Prince succeeded prince only to find the extent of his territory more limited, of his authority more circumscribed. The weakness of one ruler had led to the transfer of supreme power from the hands of the sovereign to those of the nobles, already too formidable, and it was not until the ranks of the nobles produced a man, in the third century before our era, capable of subduing his peers that the Emperor reacquired the old supremacy, which had belonged to him in days that may well be styled prehistoric. It was at this period that the feudal system was in most vigorous condition, although

under the later dynasties it was to show greater and more remarkable energy. This system had at least in its favour that the nobles were of the same race as the people of the soil, and that in their provincial capitals they set themselves to imitate not the vices and folly of the ruling Emperor, but the wisdom and irreproachable conduct of those earlier and wise princes who are held up as the pattern of every kingly virtue. By these means China, though under the sway of tyrants and incapable princes during the last five hundred years of the Chow dynasty, was well governed on the whole, and the people remained fairly contented. To this circumstance the ruling House undoubtedly owed its preservation. It had become contemptible in the eyes of the nation, but contempt is not hatred, and it was suffered to maintain a station which, by its own act, had been deprived of practical significance. Not until personal ambition was called into play, and the overthrow of the Emperor had become the special desire and object of a single noble, did the Chows receive the blow which destroyed them. It is the one instance in Chinese history of a dynasty surviving by several centuries the period of its utility—a proof, in its way, of the fact that the grandeur of the Empire as a fixed unit has been created since that time.*

* Something may be said here of the origin of the name of China, which is at present wrapt in some doubt. It is probable that the root whence this name came is lost in a very remote antiquity, although the Chinese themselves are unaware of it, and apparently puzzled at the name being applied to their country, which they speak of by the title of the reigning family. It may be possible that the Sinim of Isaiah was identical with China; but "in the laws of Manu and in the Mahabaratha" the country of Chinas or Shinas bears a closer resemblance, and it has been pointed out that they were probably a tribe in the country west of Cashmere, now known as Dardistan. The Romans spoke of the people of a far eastern country—the most remote in the world, and consequently beyond the India of Alexander—as Seres Sinenses, rich in silk and gold, and great traders. Later philologists have traced the name back to the Tsins (Tsina, Tchín, Tchín, China), and many other curious explanations have been given of its origin. In fact, every writer has had a theory to ventilate, and the reader may be referred to the works already quoted, and especially to the admirable article on China from the pen of Professor R. K. Douglas, in the ninth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." The late Sir Henry Yule, in a note on p. 210 of vol. ii. of "Marco Polo,"

says, "We get the exact form 'China'—which is also used in Japanese—from the Malay." This ought to be decisive, and remove all necessity for further speculation. The fact may be noted that whereas this vast Empire became known as China to those who approached it by sea, or derived their information by intercourse from the south, Cathay, or Khitay (the Russian name), was the name given by those coming overland from the north.

CHAPTER II.

THE DECLINE OF THE CHOW DYNASTY.

THE earliest religion of the Chinese consisted in the worship of a Supreme Being, who was the sovereign both of the heavens and of the earth. The people recognized with shrewd practical judgment that the power which could not be divided on earth without suffering in extent could not be divided in a sphere of assumed perfection. It may be doubted whether any nation possessed and described, with anything approaching the same degree of beautiful conception, the idea of that moral and spiritual pre-eminence which among all the peoples of the world has taken form in the creation of a great and supreme God. Originally, and in its essence, the religion of the Chinese was as far removed from materialism as can be conceived. The great moral teaching of Christianity had been learnt and taken to heart at least seven centuries before the birth of Christ, and among the traditions of the Chinese, in the days of the great philosophers, were that "God ultimately rewards the good, and punishes the wicked; but his punishment is awarded without hatred and without anger," and "however wicked a man may be, if he repent of his sins, he may offer sacrifices." China, like Rome, was hospitable to all the gods, and when foreign nations came, as recorded in the chronicles, they brought with them their rites, if not a distinct religion. It is impossible to estimate how much or how little influence exterior considerations exercised on the religious life of the Chinese, but we know by the history of the human race that a religion composed solely of the worship of a single Supreme Being has never sufficed to meet the wants

of a people. The cult has in every case been extended so as to include a mediator, or to permit of an elaborate ritual being grafted on what were the simple and original impressions of the earliest of mankind. China could be no exception to the rule, and when the great philosophers of the sixth century B.C. appeared, the grand truths of the single-minded worship of the Chinese had lost their efficacy, and the nation was plunged in a condition of moral indifference which was on a par with the prevailing corruption among the officials, and with the decline in the authority and power of the king.

The appearance of Laoutse, the first and perhaps the greatest of the Chinese philosophers, was therefore doubly opportune; of him it may be said that the times produced the man, although his individuality has been most difficult to grasp. In fact, some have doubted his existence, and believed that many of the most cherished of the objects of the Chinese rested upon a myth. A brief sketch of his career may best serve to explain the ambiguity as to his existence, and to throw light on the achievements of the great reformer. Laoutse was born in the year B.C. 604, of humble parents. A village in the province of Honan is identified with the place where he was born, which bore the doubtless apocryphal name of Keuhjin, or "oppressed benevolence." Of his youth and early manhood we know nothing more than that he obtained a small official post in one of the departments of the province of Chow. The probability is that this was the Department of the Archives, of which, in the course of time, he became the chief keeper. When he was at the advanced age of more than one hundred years he was visited by Confucius, but the interview was not of a satisfactory character. Confucius, full of the wrongs of his country, importuned the aged philosopher with his description of the remedies for prevailing evils, and something in his impetuosity, and the very sanguineness of his expectations, chafed the old man's spirit. In his concluding address, which was the reverse of complimentary to Confucius, he said, "Put away, sir, your haughty airs and many desires, your flashy manner and extravagant will; these are all unprofitable to you." In this it is easy to discern the disappointment of one

who had aspired to be the founder of a new state religion, and who saw in the ambitious Confucius a rival, and one likely to prove more successful than himself.

Shortly after this interview, Laoutse resigned his office, and led a life of retirement, giving himself up to "the cultivation of Taou and Virtue." The disorders in the state compelled him to seek a safer abode, and he accordingly left Chow by the Hankoo pass, for the western countries. To the guardian of this pass he gave a book containing five thousand characters which represented the meditations of his life. This book was called the Taouthiking, and is the Bible of Taouism. After this act Laoutse continued his journey and disappeared from history. We are told that thenceforth all trace of him was lost; but according to one version he announced his intention of visiting and returning from India, Cabul, Rome, and other kingdoms of the West. Of the exact significance of his teaching it is difficult to speak with any degree of confidence, for, as M. de Remusat said in his Memoir on Laoutse, "the text is so full of obscurity, we have so few means of acquiring a perfect understanding of it, so little knowledge of the circumstances to which the author makes allusion, we are, in a word, so distant in all respects from the ideas under the influence of which he wrote, that it would be temerity to pretend to reproduce exactly the sense which he had in view, when that sense is beyond our grasp." Laoutse's great object was to define the method of attaining true virtue and religion. Taou, which has been defined as meaning "reason" and other significations, was simply the "way;" and Laoutse, in explaining what in his eyes Taou was, rejected the old beliefs and trusted solely to his own inspiration. His work was therefore entirely original, and the writer quoted compares him to Pythagoras. Three centuries after his disappearance, there was what may be called a revival of Taouism, under the short-lived dynasty of the Tsins, and the precepts of the philosopher have become grafted in the national religion, of which it has been truly and graphically said by a French writer that it is "practically one religion, of which the doctrine belongs to Confucius, the objects of the cult to Laoutse, and the precepts to Buddha."

The example set by Laoutse was carried out in a still more striking and successful manner by Confucius, whose veneration for the past gave him greater claims upon the goodwill of his countrymen than the strict moral and logical rectitude of the Chinese iconoclast. Devoting himself to the study and observance of the ancient rites, his earnestness, combined with simple eloquence, gathered round him a band of disciples, whose numbers steadily increased with the course of years. But the times were unfavourable for men of peace. The reigning princes were at feud with each other and defiant towards their liege lord; and the petty barons and chiefs in their turn paid but scant attention to the behests of their suzerains. The Duke of Loo was compelled by three turbulent vassals to flee from his estates, and with him went Confucius, who held a small post at his court. On the road we are told of the following incident which afforded the philosopher the opportunity of giving expression to a forcible comment on the condition of the country. A woman was found sitting beside the highway weeping, and on being asked the cause of her grief, replied that a tiger had slain her husband, father-in-law, and lastly her son. "Why, then, do you not remove to another place?" "Because," she replied, "here there is no oppressive government." The philosopher's comment was to the point. "My children, remember this, oppressive government is fiercer than a tiger." At the court of the Duke of Tse, Confucius was accorded an honourable reception; but this proved of short duration, because he incurred the enmity of the chief minister, who soon turned his master against the new-comer. The Duke brought matters to a conclusion by declaring that he was too old to adopt the doctrines of the philosopher.

Of the later career of Confucius at the courts of Loo, Ting, and other nobles, it is unnecessary to say anything here. Both his teachings and his literary labours exercised little influence on contemporary affairs. A later generation had to come before either were appreciated at their just value. The very basis of his philosophy rested on the respect due from the subject to the Emperor, as the representative of the wisdom of the ancients; and this was extremely distasteful to

great personages living in open indifference to that authority, and secretly desirous of substituting their own in its place. Confucius became, therefore, a wanderer from one court to another; and while he preached an ideal government the rulers of the land were engaged in the pursuit of their own pleasure, regardless alike of the national welfare and of the dictates of the morality which Laoutse and Confucius had defined for them with all the force of intellect, the one as a moral obligation, the other as an article of faith and obedience. Confucius strove repeatedly to induce some of the reigning princes to entrust him with responsible posts in their administrations, and on several occasions he succeeded in obtaining his wish. But it was never for any length of time. He always became the object of the hostility of the courtiers, and his fall generally happened very soon after his rise to power. At last Confucius began to despair of success in finding a ruler after his own heart; and, discouraged by years of disappointment, it was with a presentiment of the coming end that he said, "No intelligent monarch arises, there is not one in the Empire who will make me his master. My time is come to die." That very day the event happened which he had foreseen. Such was the end of the career of Confucius, who, if enthusiastic in his advocacy of a model of government that was probably antiquated, was at least earnest in his desire to promote the interests of his country. His example lived after him, and bore better fruit at a later period than it had borne at any time during his life.

The reign of Kwang Wang closed in B.C. 606, and his brother Ting Wang became Emperor in his place. At this time a contemporary writer exclaimed that, although the dynasty of the Chows had lost much of its ancient lustre, Heaven had not yet rejected it; but even the court chroniclers were constrained to admit that the events happening in the provinces were of greater interest than those occurring at the capital. Ting Wang desired to assert his authority more vigorously than had been done by any of his immediate predecessors, and commissioned one of his ministers, Prince Chantse, to visit the capitals of the great nobles and to report to him on the manner in which the feudatories governed their

states. The object was laudable, but, destitute of the means to carry any reforms into execution, the Emperor had really sent Chantse on a fool's errand. Two of the chiefs received him with a decent show of honour for his master, and of respect for his mission ; but Lingkong, the powerful prince of Chin, refused to put on the semblance of sentiments he did not feel. Instead of proceeding to the frontier, as etiquette required, to meet the delegate of the Emperor, Lingkong remained in his capital. Neither guard of honour nor royal lodging was provided for Chantse, who was left to find his way as best he could to the presence of this indifferent potentate. Chantse on his return reported these things to Ting Wang, and recommended vigorous action ; but the latter, naturally of a peaceful disposition, was doubly inclined to peace by the want of power. He concealed whatever resentment he felt ; and rather than provoke a contest acquiesced in the insult to his person, and the scarcely veiled repudiation of his authority. This conduct may have borne testimony to the goodness of his heart, but it reflected little credit on his character as a ruler, and in the end this abnegation of the privileges and rights of power led to the ruin of his family.

One event alone gave Ting Wang's authority the semblance of being over a united country, and this was a war with the Tartars of the desert. For this purpose he came to a temporary understanding with the Prince of Tsin, himself engaged in an incessant border struggle with these tribes. A small army, sent by the Emperor, co-operated with the local forces. The Prince of Tsin thought the proper solution of the difficulty was to utilize this military demonstration for the conclusion of an advantageous peace ; but to Ting Wang's general, Lieoukangkong, the occasion appeared too favourable to be neglected for obtaining a cheap renown. He refused to follow the sensible advice of his ally, and commenced active hostilities against the Tartars. Inexperienced in the mode of warfare necessary for coping successfully with their irregular forces, Lieoukangkong was defeated with heavy loss, and it would have gone hard with the Imperial army but for the timely succour of the Prince of Tsin and the local levies. This disaster dispelled whatever hopes had been indulged of a

permanent peace, and the state of affairs on the extreme frontier resumed its normal condition of an armed truce. The remaining years of Ting Wang's reign were peaceful, and his son Kien Wang succeeded him without opposition (B.C. 585).

Like his father, Kien Wang was inclined to peace, and left his vassals to follow their own will both in the administration of their territories and also in the settlement of the difficulties which frequently arose amongst them. In his eyes, the sole duty remaining to the Emperor had become the setting of an example which the misfortunes of his family left him incapable of enforcing. He has been awarded the credit of bearing the weight of the crown with the appearance of dignity which titularly it required. What energy there was left to this scion of an ancient race might have been devoted with profit to practical politics, but it was directed instead to the settlement of domestic questions, and to the exposure or the persecution of two religious schismatics.

At this period China did not extend beyond the great river Yangtse-kiang. The region of the barbarians then included all the provinces lying south of that stream. Several centuries before this period an adventurous Chinese prince had penetrated into this country, and founded in the eastern portion of the province of Kiangnan a kingdom known by the name of Wou. It was not for many years afterwards that this independent state was brought into contact with the rest of the Empire, and then only because a disappointed Chinese noble, Ouchin, took refuge there. Ouchin trained the native soldiers on the Chinese principle, and then inflamed the mind of the king by stories of the weakness of his neighbours. The king turned a ready ear to the promptings of his new counsellor. A campaign ensued with the Prince of Chow, and concluded with the conquest of several districts by the Wou army. The general condition of the country corresponded with this incident, and verged on a state of anarchy.

On the death of Kien Wang (B.C. 571), his son Ling Wang succeeded him; and one of the first events of his reign was a campaign entered upon by the Chow ruler for the reconquest from Wou of the territory he had lost. In this he failed

with disaster. Several leagues between the great vassals were then formed for the purpose of restoring tranquillity to the Empire; but the laudable object sufficed only to make the prevailing disunion more palpable. The Prince of Wou, on one of these occasions, was formally admitted to be a member of the Empire. Under the auspices of the Emperor, a general pacification of the realm was agreed to by more than twelve of the great princes; but the hostility, ambition, and indifference of the few who remained recalcitrant more than sufficed to disturb the harmony of the arrangement. The Prince of Wou was the next breaker of the national peace; but while examining a fort, to which he was laying siege during the invasion of a neighbour's territory, he met with his death from the hand of a skilful archer. Soon afterwards (B.C. 545) the Emperor himself died, leaving behind him the remembrance of a man whose amiability of character and private virtues had done much towards retarding the fall, if not towards re-establishing the fortunes, of his dynasty. In the words of his own historian, the epitaph might be inscribed on his monument, "His good qualities merited a happier day."

His son, King Wang the Second, succeeded him as ruler. If he had followed in the footsteps of his sire, he might have had the satisfaction of winning back to their allegiance some of the rebellious vassals whose hearts had been touched by Ling Wang's virtuous life. But King Wang wished to follow his own inclination, unfettered by the sense of having to play a consistent part in the eyes of the world. He neglected the small quantity of official work which he was still required to perform, and, shutting himself up in his palace, never thought to glance abroad, in order to learn what was happening among his neighbours, to whom he was, by his position, an object of dislike and envy the instant he ceased to be protected by their fears and respect. The feuds among his nominal subjects continued to rage with unabated fury; and the chronic warfare in the country produced a corresponding thirst for blood among the aspirants to authority in the different principalities. Assassinations, intrigues, and revolutions became the order of the day; and, if the capital of the country enjoyed an exceptional tranquillity, it was because

the tyranny was more complete, and also because there was less to tempt the envy of the ambitious. King Wang's reign closed after eighteen years, without any event having happened to give it either interest or importance. His death proved the signal for further disturbances, which seemed likely to produce a general war; but fortunately one faction proved more powerful than its rival, and King Wang the Third succeeded his brother of the same name.

Confucius flourished during the long reign of this Emperor, and whenever entrusted with office, succeeded in introducing good order and a spirit of impartial justice among his fellows. But, as we have before said, these gleams of a happier time were of but brief duration. The elements were too unfavourable even for Confucius; how much more so were they for weaker men! The second prince of the Wou family, whose power had been steadily increasing during the last half century, was worsted with heavy loss in a war with another potentate, and lost his life in battle. Two minor dynasties—those of Tsao and Chin—were extinguished during this reign, and their states seized by more powerful neighbours, thus affording the first proof of the inevitable termination of these internecine wars. It only remained for time to show which of the feudatories was to become sufficiently strong to absorb his neighbours and depose the ruling House.

CHAPTER III.

THE FALL OF THE CHOW DYNASTY.

WHEN Confucius was on his death-bed, in the year B.C. 478, the reign of King Wang, the third of the name, was drawing to a close. For forty years that prince had striven to avert the collapse that threatened the dynasty, and to retain in his hands some portion of the authority of his ancestors. To a certain extent, his object had been attained; the evil day had at least been staved off, and his son Yuen began his reign under fairer auspices than attended his father's assumption of power. If, however, the circumstances of the period are critically examined, it will be seen that this respite was nothing more than sufferance. The central authority was only the shadow of a name; and if the amiability or personal virtue of the sovereign shone by contrast with his contemporaries, and obtained some faint semblance of a forgotten respect, it had no more practical significance than a single rift in a stormy sky. The prince passed away, and his virtues were forgotten. The clouds remained lowering over a House which all the tenderer virtues could not save.

Yuen's early acts showed that the teaching of Confucius had found him a willing student. He re-enforced the ancient ceremonies, and proclaimed the re-establishment of the reign of justice and of right. Several of the vassal princes took, with all the old formalities, the oath of fealty; and had Yuen possessed the martial qualities necessary to solve the question by waging war on the recalcitrant nobles, he might have made his reign a turning-point in the history of his country. With his respect for the past he had borrowed

none of the political sagacity of Confucius; and he was essentially a man of peace. The wars between the tributary princes went on, and when one had achieved a great victory over his neighbour, the farce was gone through of soliciting by letter, couched in the terms of a superior and not a suppliant, the Emperor's sanction of a revolution within his dominions, which had doubled the territory of a powerful noble, and brought a victorious army to within a week's march of the capital. So it happened that the Prince of Yue overthrew several of his neighbours, and joined their lands to his. Prominent among these was the State of Wou, which, as we have seen, had obtained many triumphs in Chinese territory, and which had enjoyed a line of kings of its own during six centuries and a half. The members of the vanquished family fled, so the story is narrated, to Japan, whither their great progenitor Taipe himself had retired in the twelfth century before our era. They were destined to found there another ruling house of greater fame, as the Emperors of Japan claim these princes as their progenitors. This great success added much to the reputation of Yue, whose prince was named chief of the great vassals, thus provoking the jealousy of the powerful and ambitious Tsins.

Kowtsin, the Prince of Yue, appears to have been a man of exceptional capacity and vigour. Forming a league with the princes disposed to support him, he proceeded to wage war on the Tsins because they refused to pay tribute to him; and such were his activity and skill that they found it prudent to submit to a temporary indignity sooner than continue a contest which might terminate with serious loss. Kowtsin retained to his death possession of the territories won by the sword, and rejoiced in semi-regal privileges. We are told of how he sent to one of the nobles of his country, who had been sentenced to death, a sword with instructions to kill himself, thus anticipating by many centuries the practice of Harikari in Japan. With the death of Kowtsin the predominance of the Yues passed away, and the Tsins then profited by the prudence of their chief in not provoking a premature contest. During the progress

of this strife Yuen Wang died, and was succeeded by his son Ching Ting Wang, who followed very closely in the footsteps of his predecessor.

The Court chroniclers affirm that under the rule of this prince the Empire recovered nearly all its lost splendour, and certainly the private character of the sovereign benefited by comparison with his predecessors. But the disintegrating causes so long at work still remained in force, and the absorption of the smaller principalities by the greater continued. Happy in his life, Ching Ting Wang was unfortunate only in the events which immediately followed his death. Three sons were left to profit by and to emulate the example of a father who had given fresh lustre to virtues long foreign to the purple; but in their anxiety to obtain the supreme place they forgot the more honourable rivalry that should have been theirs in propping up a dynasty which depended upon the energy and ability of its members to save it from the untoward fate whither it was apparently tending so fast. The eldest son Gan Wang succeeded his father as Emperor; but in three months, before the Imperial mourning had been laid aside, he fell by the hand of his next brother Sou, who was in his turn slain by his younger brother Kao Wang, after enjoying the pageantry of supreme ruler during the brief space of five months.

Kao Wang's reign, though commencing with a crime, venial it must be allowed in the history of his House, was not fortunate in its character. The nobles scoffed at the authority of the Emperor, and refused homage to one whose strength was fully occupied with domestic brawls. He became little more than a puppet in the hands of another brother, who gradually acquired the reins of power, and ultimately secured for his descendant the Imperial title to which he had himself aspired. After reigning fifteen years, Kao Wang died, and was succeeded by his son Weili Wang in those nominal functions which still appertained to the Emperor.

The troubles were now thickening on all sides. Looking back to this period, the Chinese chroniclers have styled it "the warlike epoch," and although we pass over this portion

of Chinese history with as few details as possible, the title was well applied. This unfortunate Emperor, divested of the last shadow of authority, remained, it is true, in the palace; but the day of his fall was only postponed until one of the great nobles should gain a position that would justify him in standing forward as the claimant for the throne. The brightest topic in the history of China at this period was furnished by the great deeds of Ouki, a general and a statesman of singular force of character. Originally an officer fighting for his paternal state of Loo, his most brilliant successes were obtained in the service of the Prince of Wei. His guiding precept was that "the strength and greatness of a state depended upon the virtues and application of the ruler." Fortunate in the field, he rendered his master as valuable service in the cabinet by showing him that military triumphs are only justifiable as a means towards an end. The jealousy of those small minds, to which true merit is intolerable, as barring the avenue to the promotion they covet, turned the favour of the Prince of Wei from Ouki, who for a second time was obliged to become an exile. The ability of the man triumphed over the outrages of fortune, and the numerous victories which he obtained in the service now of one prince and again of another would have sufficed, if achieved over a foreign foe or in the interest of the Chows, to give stability to the Empire. In the end, however, he fell a victim to the base schemes of his opponents, for he appears to have treated their threats with scorn, and to have neglected all precautions for defending his own person. He paid the penalty of his fortitude or his rashness, being found murdered in his palace one morning, with no trace left of the assassins. The name and achievements of Ouki lend a lustre to the reigns of Weili Wang and his successor, Gang Wang, which they would otherwise lack.

The latter of these rulers was succeeded (B.C. 375) by his son Li Wang, whose brief reign would call for no comment, were it not for the growing power of the principality of Tsi, the ruler of which, Wei Wang, was the first among the feudatories to take to himself the title of king. Although there was much in this step to shock the sentiments of a people

like the Chinese, the high personal character and strict morals of Wei Wang shielded him from the censure which would otherwise have been bestowed upon him. Wei Wang seems to have acted on the sound principle of looking after his own affairs, for the story is still preserved of how he rewarded the services of an honest and capable governor, although all the court gossips were engaged in vilifying him because he refused to bribe them, and of how on the other hand he punished an incompetent governor whose praises were sung by all the courtiers, whom he paid heavily for their good word. Within seven years Li Wang's inglorious reign closed, and his brother Hien Wang ruled in his place. No change occurred in the character of the times. The reign of the latter, although Emperor for nearly half a century, was remarkable neither for the personal ability of the prince, nor for the acts carried out under his direction.

The most, indeed the only, remarkable event of this period was the steadily increasing power and military vigour of the Prince of Tsin, who on several occasions overthrew large armies sent by his neighbours to harass his borders. Three princes eventually combined their forces against him, but at the battle of Chemen, where sixty thousand men are stated to have been slain, they had to confess a more skilful general and a braver army. Shortly after this great victory the Prince of Tsin died, but his son and successor, Hiaokong, proved himself well able to take care of the interests committed to his charge. At a general council, summoned early in his reign, he announced to his followers that it would be his first object to raise the glory of his House to a still higher pitch than ever before, and to assist his purpose he proclaimed his want of the services of the most enlightened minister of the day. He obtained his wish in the person of Kongsunyang, who, banished from his own state, took service under him and devoted his best talents to the advancement of the Tsins. He drew up, and his master enforced, principles of government and a code of administration which, in the course of a short time, made Tsin the most powerful and best-governed kingdom in the country. The consequences of the reforms he introduced were, we are told, that thefts and

assaults were no longer to be met with, that idleness vanished from amongst the people, and cowardice from the ranks of the soldiery, at the same time that the officials cast aside their former avarice and negligence.

Among those who beheld the steadily increasing power of the Tsins with feelings the reverse of those of pleasure was the Prince of Tsi, who considered the foremost place in the country to be his right; and the further progress of the Empire resolved itself into the rivalry of these two families. An interval of peace followed, but it was recognized on all sides that it was only the precursor of the inevitable struggle. Each potentate was actively engaged in developing his resources and in training his army for the day of battle. A change had in the meanwhile taken place in the affairs of Tsin, where, owing to the death of Hiaokong, the able minister Kongsunyang had lost his influence. His rivals supplanted him in the council of the new prince, and he himself found it prudent to seek safety in flight. Failing in his attempt he was brought back to the capital, and neither the long years of past service nor the promise of future assistance could save him and his family from death and disgrace. If his career had been marked by an unscrupulous zeal for the advancement of the interests of the Tsins, as evinced by his treacherous conduct towards his old teacher Kongtse Niang, there was nothing in it to justify the ungrateful and foolish manner in which the new Prince Hwei Wen Wang treated him. The reforms which he had carried out survived his death to the benefit of the family for which he had toiled so long and with such striking assiduity.

During this reign flourished Mencius, the third great original Chinese thinker. Of noble birth, being closely connected with the princes of Loo, he had from an early age devoted himself to the study of virtue and morals. An ardent follower of Confucian doctrine, he had arrived at the conclusion that good government was not only in itself the first of public virtues, but also the most pressing want of China. When he visited the Court of Wei, he was asked whether he would not toil zealously for the interests of that prince. His reply was, "How comes it that you speak of

interests? It is only necessary to think of virtue and to practise it." It is scarcely necessary to add that such unworldly wisdom as this was not very palatable to the ambitious ruler of Wei. Mencius continued advocating measures which had a sound moral basis, but little attention was paid to him during his lifetime.

Another philosopher, Soutsin by name, whose proffer of service had been rejected by the Prince of Tsin, took a different course. Finding that devotion to pure ethics only led to his being treated with contumely, he entered the arena of politics, and, travelling from one court to another, devoted all his energy to the forming of a league among the princes of the Empire against the Prince of Tsin, who had received his overtures with expressions of scorn. The last years of Hien Wang's reign witnessed these schemes for the overthrow of one of the feudatories, but even if success had attended them there could have been no change in the relative position of the Emperor. Hien Wang's long reign closed at last, and he left to his son the unmeaning legacy which he had himself inherited from his father (B.C. 320). Of that son Chin Tsin Wang, whose brief reign extended over no more than six years, little need be said. The only change in the country—and it was one affecting its future much more nearly than the mere record of the daily events at the capital—was the steadily growing power of the Tsins, whose authority was extending eastwards and southwards into the heart of the Empire. Neither the league of princes, nor the military prowess of their neighbours appeared able to retard their progress. One of their statesmen asserted at this time that "their country was not sufficiently large, and its people not rich enough" for their ambition.

Nan Wang, the next and, strictly speaking, the last of the Chow Emperors, succeeded his father in B.C. 314; and the death of Mencius occurred in the earlier years of his reign. But the most important circumstance attending the accession of the new ruler was that the Prince of Tsin then perceived that the time had arrived for putting into effect the ulterior schemes which had so long slumbered in the background. The heritage of the Chows was ripe for division among the

numerous claimants; but, if he could overthrow all these candidates, he would be in the position of its sole heir. The first year of Nan Wang's reign saw the Prince of Tsin victorious over his neighbours, laughing to scorn the threats of a league no sooner brought together than dissolved, and mustering larger armies than at any previous time for the execution of his military enterprises. Nor was the policy he pursued for the purpose of advancing the object he had in view less astute than the means he possessed for enforcing it were formidable. Setting one prince against another by promises lavish to excess, but which could be either broken or left unfulfilled as most convenient, he was always able to bring a preponderance of force into the field. He employed against his neighbours and fellow-princes the very weapons which a wise Emperor would have used against himself, and in the end their efficacy was shown by complete success.

The natural consequence of this aggressive policy, carried out in an able and uncompromising manner, was that many ruling families, which had been in possession of their territories for centuries, were deposed, and in many instances also exterminated. About this time the Prince of Tsin, Hwei Wen Wang, died, and his son Wou Wang only ruled for a few months, when another son, the celebrated Chow Siang Wang, became the leader of the fortunes of this kingdom. In his hands the family policy acquired still greater force than before, and, casting aside all reserve, he offered sacrifice to the Lord of Heaven, with those formalities which were the peculiar privilege of the Emperor. The minister of a neighbouring potentate gave expression to the prevalent opinion when he said that the Prince of Tsin was "like a wolf or a tiger who wished to draw all the other princes into his claws that he might devour them." The struggle between the two states of Tsin and Tsi continued with varying fortune during most of the years of the long reign of Nan Wang; but in this instance, as in every other, final victory rested with the former.

For more than fifty years Nan Wang had remained a passive witness of the progress of these events, when suddenly, without any apparent reason, urged by some demon of unrest, he in his old age issued invitations for a league against the

Tsins. On this reaching the ears of Chow Siang Wang, he at once marched an army against the capital. Nan Wang, incapable of offering any resistance, surrendered himself without a blow, and became the dependent of his conqueror. After enjoying the glorious title of Emperor of China during fifty-nine years, he sank into the insignificant position of a vassal of the King of Tsin—a sphere which appears to have been the more suited to his talents. The facts are so expressive in themselves that it is unnecessary to add, as the Chinese historians do, that he died covered with ignominy.

Thus came to the end, which had been so long foreseen, the third dynasty established in China. The virtues and the great qualities which had made its first Emperors the benefactors of their race had departed before the House had reached its manhood. The dislike of the people to break with associations intimately connected with the dawn of their political history, and, in a much stronger degree, the fact that the Empire had split up imperceptibly into principalities or kingdoms, practically independent, and each responsible to its subjects without any intervention on the part of a central authority, sufficed to put off the fall of a dynasty, which as a participator in practical affairs had long ceased to exist. The course of the history of China during three centuries would have been barren of profitable inquiry, but that they witnessed the feudal system at its height, the labours and writings of Laoutse, Confucius, and Mencius, and the steady growth of the military power of the Tsins, who were the first, of whom we have tangible knowledge, to discover and carry out a great idea in establishing a supreme and dominant administration over the inhabited portion of Eastern Asia. Brief as was their rule comparatively with the eight centuries and a half during which the Chows bore sway, they left behind them clear and creditable evidence of their capacity for government, whereas to impartial observers it must seem that the Chows accomplished very little indeed. It was their misfortune to have lived too long, and their apparently interminable old age brought to the record of their history many vices and weaknesses with scarcely a redeeming virtue.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TSIN DYNASTY.

DISTRACTED as the country had been for so many generations by civil war, and by the rivalry of the great nobles, the conclusive triumph of the Prince of Tsin furnished the people with some reason for hoping that a period of greater prosperity might now ensue. The more sanguine indulged speculations as to the extension of the Empire, and the scope for brilliant achievements under rulers who had, during centuries, guarded the Western marches against the Tartars; but the mass of the nation were the more satisfied because they anticipated rest. There were, however, solid grounds for supposing that the warlike Tsins, who, from their watch-towers in Shensi and Kansuh, had been the witnesses of many of the troubles which had swept the western and central portions of the continent, would be inclined to employ the forces of the Empire in settling the local questions with which they had long grappled on their single resources. There were not wanting signs, therefore, that the Tsins would not only wield the sceptre with a vigour unknown for many reigns, but that their policy would be conceived in a larger, if also in a more grasping, spirit than that of any of their predecessors. Before them the Chinese rulers had been content to control a single people, and their authority had never ceased to bear a close resemblance to that of the patriarchs; but the Tsins aspired to higher rank. In their eyes nothing less than the dominant position in Eastern Asia was the right of the peoples of the fertile provinces watered by the three great rivers that constituted China Proper; and they imagined it to be their task

to accomplish this design. The imperial policy of China originated in this way, and the later dynasties did but expand the original plan of Hwangti, the great ruler of the Tsins.

Chow Siang, the victorious prince of the Tsins, did not live long enough to enjoy the fruits of his triumph; and, as his son Hiao Wang died in the same year, the leadership of the family, and the charge of its destiny, passed to his grandson Chwang Siang Wang. This prince, while fully aware of, and not less anxious to realize the great prize at which Chow Siang had aimed, does not appear to have perceived that, when raised to the throne as the first Emperor of the Fourth Dynasty, the game was little more than half won. The Tsins were indeed the most powerful, warlike, and ambitious of the principalities; but, after all, they were only one among many. The Chows had fallen, and fallen by their prowess; but each of the feudatories saw in that event only the removal of the obstacle to the supreme height of his ambition. The long line of the Chows had at length reached its termination, and the last descendant of the great Wou Wang had met with the ignominious fate which his own crimes and those of his predecessors had brought upon his head. But the final settlement had yet to be attained.

The first act of Chwang Siang Wang was to order the invasion of the territories of his neighbour the Prince of Wei; and his generals defeating the enemy in the field captured the two principal cities of that state. This striking success, enhanced by minor victories elsewhere, defeated the main object of the Emperor by creating a panic among the other great nobles, for the sense of a common danger led to the forming of a coalition amongst them too formidable for him to cope with. Moreover, they secured the services of Ouki, the best general of the age, and under his leading the tide of war was rolled back from the land of Wei into the territories of Tsin. The campaign closed with complete success for the confederates, and Chwang Siang Wang died a few months later, after a brief reign of three years. It thus seemed as if, before they had fairly commenced their occupation of the throne, the Tsins were to be swept from their pride of place,

and relegated to the insignificant position from which they had sprung.

The title of Emperor, divested of all but nominal meaning by this disastrous war, passed to Chwang Siang's reputed son, the celebrated Tsin Chi Hwangti. Of his origin various stories are told by the Chinese chroniclers, who unite in denying that he was the late Emperor's son; but as none of them explain how it was that a boy of thirteen years, known to be a substituted child, should have been unanimously selected as the leader of the Tsins at this crisis, their stories can only be received with reserve. If Hwangti was not really born in the purple, he speedily showed that he was equal to the cares of government. His first object was to break up the coalition of the princes who, having removed the immediate danger which threatened them, fancied that there was no longer any necessity for keeping their forces in the field. While several of them disbanded their armies, the two most powerful quarrelled and declared war upon each other. These dissensions afforded the new Emperor a breathing space, which he turned to the best account.

His prime object was to detach the general Ouki from the service of the Prince of Wei, and in this the practices prevailing at the courts of Chinese feudatories greatly assisted him. Bribing a functionary of that prince to poison his master's ear against the faithful Ouki, Hwangti had the satisfaction of seeing the one general he feared in disgrace and driven into retirement. The object of his dread being removed, he gradually seized several of the strong cities belonging to his neighbours, and when an attempt was made to revive the coalition he defeated his unskilful opponents in battle. The success of his arms, and the reputation he was acquiring by the ability evinced in his administration, were steadily winning public opinion round to his side. The cities which he wrested from his foes remained in his possession, and, while every other province was shrinking, his was extending on all sides. It was practically the conquest of China upon which he had embarked, and the vigour with which he commenced the enterprise afforded good promise of ultimate success.

A single instance may be given of the larger views which dictated his policy. On the western and northern borders the Tartar* tribes had long been troublesome, and prominent among these were the Hiongnu, identified with the Huns of a later age. Hwangti set the example, and several of the other princes followed him, of taking precautions against their inroads by the construction of walls, a system of defence which he ultimately expanded into the Great Wall. At this period (B.C. 238) his attention was diverted from affairs of state to domestic troubles which broke out in the palace. These internal brawls are invested with historical importance, because they led to the passing of an edict against foreigners in the following year, which would have become law, but for the able and eloquent pleading of a man who, more than any other, assisted the Emperor in carrying out his great design of making China a united country. Lisseh, such was his name, held a high office at the Court, when the edict threatened him, as the native of another province, with ruin; but on the eve of departure he sent the Emperor a statement of how much previous rulers had benefited by the ability of aliens, winding up with the following appeal, not less forcible than eloquent, to his better judgment: "I do not pause to examine if it may on the present occasion be expedient for private reasons to banish foreigners from your service or to retain them; all that I insist upon is that in banishing them you are not only depriving yourself of useful supporters, but you are handing them over to other princes, jealous of your glory and your power. By offering this insult to these foreigners, you make them your enemies; you put a weapon in their hands against yourself; you inspire them with the desire to serve their princes against your interests. My zeal for your service and your honour compels me, Prince, to make these representations to you, and to entreat you to give them your most serious attention." The Emperor perceived from this address that Lisseh was a

* At this point it will be advisable to state that in these pages the term Tartar is retained and used in its commonly accepted sense; that is, it is applied generally to all the tribes in North-Eastern Asia, although many of these were of the Turkish stock.

man after his own heart, and at once gave orders for the withdrawal of the edict. Lisseh was restored to his post, and taken into the confidence of the ruler. At this moment Hwangti's domestic troubles were smoothed down by the death of Lieou Pou Wei, who had wished to pass himself off as the Emperor's father. In B.C. 235, his hands being thus freed, Hwangti resumed military operations against his neighbours; and assisted and encouraged in his main object by the able Lisseh, he resumed the task of subduing China. The unity of the Empire became the watchword of these two men.

It was at this time that Hwangti adopted the custom of sitting on the throne with a naked sword in his hand—a fit emblem of the means by which he would have to attain undisputed supremacy, and also of the severity which he intended to employ. For many years wars and military operations monopolized his attention; and it was not until his reign was drawing to a close that he found it possible to return the sword to the scabbard. His first campaign after this lull was against the Prince of Chow—not to be confounded with the dynasty—whom he at first defeated; but the skill of General Limou turned the scale against him. Reinforcements were sent from the capital, and the year closed with the capture of several important cities by Hwangti's troops. Almost simultaneously with this doubtful war the ruler of Han—who had seen the triumphs of the Tsins with some apprehension, and thought to secure better terms by a timely surrender—was deposed from his seat, and compelled to retire into private life in the dominions of his conqueror. This easy success paved the way towards an effectual settlement of the complication with Chow, whose victorious general, Limou, still kept the field in defiance of Tsin. But Hwangti, too cautious to risk a campaign against a general superior to any in his service, had recourse to the same arts as were successfully employed in the case of Ouki. A courtier was bribed to malign the absent general, and to turn the mind of the Prince of Chow against his sole supporter. The intrigue was more successful than it deserved to be. Limou was recalled from his charge, and, on his refusing to obey the summons, assassinated by hirelings sent from the palace.

Its last bulwark thus removed, Hwangti's army overran the province of Chow. The capital Hantan was sacked, and the prince with his family became prisoners only to experience the severity of their foe. Before the year B.C. 228 closed, the large and once powerful kingdom of Chow had become a province of the fast-rising Chinese Empire. Hwangti had now the opportunity to turn his attention to another quarter. Residing at his court was Prince Tan, heir of the ruler of Yen, whom, "either out of settled policy or from whim," Hwangti flagrantly insulted. Tan, burning with revenge, fled the court, and proceeded to instruct an assassin who was instigated to murder Hwangti, by the hope of thus meriting the title of "liberator of the Empire." The plot nearly succeeded. The assassin was admitted into the presence, and was on the point of drawing his poniard, when the movement caught the quick eye of the king. In the scuffle Hwangti got the better of his assailant, and with one blow of his sabre severed his leg from his body. Tan's plot thus failed, but it was a narrow escape. The details of this plot afford proof of the terrible earnestness and resolution of the Chinese character. Kinkou the assassin, perceiving the difficulty of obtaining an audience with the Emperor, induced Fanyuki, on whose head Hwangti had placed a price, to commit suicide so that he might the better disarm any suspicion. Fanyuki, believing that Kinkou would thereby be able to play the part of his avenger, slew himself. There are few instances in history of a spirit of revenge having inspired so desperate an act without the possibility of any personal gratification.

Hwangti soon discovered that Tan was at the bottom of this plot, and thereupon gave orders to his general, Wang Pen, to overrun and subdue the territories of Yen—orders which were faithfully carried out. The ruler of that state, in order to avert the coming storm, executed his son Tan, and sent his head to Hwangti, while he himself fled into the wilds of Leaoutung. The same year witnessed the not less decided triumph of his arms over the forces of Wei, the capital of which was stormed, and the unfortunate ruler sent to Hienyang for execution. Thus did the work proceed briskly of uniting the Chinese under a single will. The times needed a policy

of blood and iron, and they had produced the man. Of the great principalities there now only remained Choo, but the task of subduing it was more formidable than any yet attempted. It had to be undertaken, however, if the design was to be completed. Extensive preparations were made for this war, and the Emperor applied to his generals for their opinion as to the number of troops necessary to employ against Choo. One general, named Lisin, anxious at the same time to distinguish himself and to say what he thought would be agreeable to his master, offered to undertake the enterprise if two hundred thousand men were placed at his orders. Wang Tsien, on the other hand, the Nestor of Chinese commanders at this period, and the father of Wang Pen already mentioned, said that not fewer than six hundred thousand men would suffice.

The opinion of the former pleased Hwangti better than that of the latter, and, reproaching Wang Tsien as a dotard, he entrusted Lisin with an army of the strength he had specified. Lisin and his lieutenant, Moungtien, at once invaded the province, and overcame the first line of resistance in the border cities; but their adversary was not less skilful than they were, and, attacking them by surprise, inflicted a severe defeat upon them. More than forty thousand men are said to have perished during the battle and the pursuit; and the splendid army of the Tsins was driven in utter confusion back into its own country. History does not preserve any record of the fate of Lisin; but it may be assumed that, if he did not fall in the battle, he never dared to appear afterwards in the presence of the enraged Hwangti.

Lisin's promises had for the moment been more agreeable, but they had been falsified. It remained only to have recourse to the experience and more sober judgment of the veteran general Wang Tsien. Appealed to by the sovereign who, only a few months before, had called him a dotard, Wang Tsien, despite his infirmities and years, consented to take the command on the condition that an army of not less than six hundred thousand men was collected and placed at his disposal. This vast host having been assembled by the energy of the Emperor, ably assisted

by the minister Lisseh, the doubt very intelligibly suggested itself to the mind of the general whence the supplies necessary for it were to come. Wang Tsien addressed himself to Hwangti on the subject, and the latter's reply is noteworthy: "Do not let that disquiet you, I have provided for everything. I promise you that provisions shall rather be wanting in my own palace than in your camp."

The general proved himself to be as skilful in leading his troops as the Emperor had shown himself in collecting them and in providing for their wants. In a great battle, which shortly ensued between the rival hosts, we are told that Wang Tsien, availing himself of a false movement made by the enemy, threw their army into confusion and drove it from the field. After this victory, the principality was subjected by Wang Tsien, who placed garrisons in the strong cities. The members of the ruling family were sent to Hienyang, where they shared the fate of many of their peers. The complete subjugation of Choo was followed by the annexation of Yen, and also of the smaller provinces of Tai and Tsi. In this latter task Wang Pen assisted his father.

These later triumphs completed the task which Hwangti had set himself. The independent kingdoms into which the Chinese Empire had been parcelled out were destroyed, their dynasties were exterminated, and their territories became the possession of the Tsins. Over and above all, the leading idea of the unity of the Empire had been realized. It only remained for Hwangti to reap the reward of his valour, prudence, and good fortune, and by some formal act place the seal to his great achievement.

His first measure was to change his name and style from his patronymic Ching Wang to Tsin Chi Hwangti, which signifies the first sovereign Emperor of the Tsins. Not free from the personal vanity of mortals, he sought, by this high-sounding title, to perpetuate the memory of his reign, which an impartial observer will always admit could afford to stand on its own merits; but the Court chroniclers of his own country were the more indignant with him because he strove thereby to put himself on a pedestal apart from, if not superior to, that occupied by the semi-mythical patriarchs

and heroes of the first two dynasties. For this assumption of superiority, as well as for the indifference he showed to established etiquette, Hwangti incurred the hostility of the lettered classes, and his subsequent acts embittered rather than mollified their feelings. During his lifetime they could not refrain from expressing how much their sentiments were shocked by his acts, and after his death their rage was indulged uncontrolled. Nevertheless, Hwangti had accomplished his wish. He ruled a united China, and the people had peace.

Like most Chinese rulers, he patronized astronomy and revised the calendar. Undeterred by opposition, he abolished many useless ceremonies, striving to attain the practical in all things with the least possible outlay—these measures being intensely unpopular among the officials, accustomed to attend to the minutest forms, and to act on every occasion in obedience to precedent. The embellishment of his capital should not be lost sight of among his other undertakings. One of his first edicts was to the effect that, as the people had no longer any apprehension on the score of civil war—“peace under his reign being universal”—all weapons should be sent to Hienyang, where was stationed the *elite* of his army as well as the national arsenal. It was written, and it is not difficult to understand why such was the case, that “the skilful disarming of the provinces added daily to the wealth and prosperity of the capital.” The Hall of Audience in the palace was ornamented with twelve statues, made from the spoil of his numerous campaigns, and each of these weighed twelve thousand pounds. Outside the city he constructed another palace, on a vast scale, or rather a series of palaces, with magnificent gardens attached, and this became known as the Palace of Delight. The character of the Emperor revealed itself more clearly in the fact that ten thousand men could be drawn up in order of battle in one of its courts.

Hwangti at once divided the Empire into thirty-six provinces, and, when the preliminary arrangements had been completed, he made preparations for visiting the possessions which, the first time for centuries, recognized a common

master under his sway. One of his ministers suggested that he should divide the provinces among his children and blood relations by bestowing fiefs upon them. The suggestion did not find favour in the eyes of the Emperor, and showed that the man who made it had but very faintly perceived the significance of his master's policy. Lisseh had little difficulty in exposing the evils of such a course, and in an eloquent address described the troubles the people had to endure from a divided country. The Emperor put the question in a nutshell when he said, "Good government is impossible under a multiplicity of masters." Governors and sub-governors were then appointed in each of the provinces, and the organization thus drawn up exists, with very few modifications, at the present time, a work alone sufficient to stamp Hwangti as a great ruler.

During the Emperor's journeys throughout his dominions the main features of the country and the condition of the people came under his eye. Recognizing that one of the best ways to increase the prosperity of his people was to improve the means of communication between one part of his Empire and another, the Emperor gave orders that high-roads should be laid down in all directions. His attention was the more drawn to the matter because in the East it is the custom when a great man visits a district to repair all the roads in it, and Hwangti, while enjoying the benefit of this rule, knew that, outside his line of march, the roads were of a very different description from those which had been hastily prepared for his arrival. Wishing to see with his own eyes, he may even have diverged from his route for the purpose of observing the naked reality. His own words sum up the situation: "These roads have been made expressly for me, and I am indeed well satisfied. It is not just that I personally should benefit by a convenience of which my subjects have more need than I can have, and one also which I can procure for them. Therefore I decree that roads shall be made in all directions through the Empire." The autocrat's orders were carried out, and the grand roads still remain, often, indeed, in ruins, but two thousand years after his death, to testify to the splendour of his genius.

It was at this period (B.C. 219-218) that the collision which had been long imminent between Hwangti and the literati occurred. In those days it was customary for the kings of China to ascend lofty mountains, for the purpose of offering sacrifices on their summits; and the learned classes were not unnaturally anxious that this should be done in accordance with form. Their representation of what the early Emperors had done became tedious by repetition, and their admonitions roused the ire rather than inspired the devotion of the impatient Hwangti. These discussions he cut short by saying that, "You vaunt the simplicity of the ancients; but I act after a still simpler fashion than they did." The Chinese literati have always been noted for the obstinate courage they have shown in expressing their opinions at all hazards; but in Hwangti they encountered an opponent too powerful, and too free from prejudice and superstition, to be vanquished by the stock weapons in their armoury.

The contest had not yet reached its crisis. The resentment of the king against his enemies was slumbering, and the literati were only biding their time for a favourable opportunity to reassert the rights of which they considered they had been wrongfully deprived. The occasion offered itself five years later (B.C. 213), when Hwangti had summoned to his capital all the governors and principal officials for a General Council of the Empire. The scene, we may well imagine, was imposing. The men who had made China a single Empire by their valour and ability, assembled in the magnificent palace, erected from the spoils of kingdoms, to do honour to the Emperor who had inspired their efforts; and side by side with these representatives of practical politics a small body of theoretical observers, wedded to their own beliefs and traditions, containing all the book-learning of the country in their ranks, defiant and hostile, holding Hwangti to be a dangerous and unscrupulous innovator, and not refraining from expressing their opinion in words. It was only in consonance with human nature that the long pent-up hostility of the two classes, the practical man of affairs, and the theoretical student, who was nothing if not the devotee of antiquity, reduced to a focus within the walls of this

palace, should reveal itself in acts. Hwangti may be credited with sufficient knowledge of men to have anticipated what took place; and he shrewdly suspected that the literati would be unable to curb their feelings. His anticipations were fulfilled, and his opponents put themselves forward as the aggressors.

Hwangti called upon those present to express their candid opinion of his government, and of the new legislation which he had inaugurated. Upon this a courtier rose, and delivered a panegyric on what he had accomplished. "Truly you have surpassed the very greatest of your predecessors, even at the most remote period." This eulogium brought matters to a climax. The literati, unable to tolerate this last insult to their heroes, broke into murmurs, and one, more courageous than the rest, gave vent to his disapproval. He began by styling the former speaker "a vile flatterer, unworthy of the high position which he occupied," and, proceeding to heap praise on the earlier rulers, he concluded a speech not less remarkable for its bad taste than for its weakness in argument, by advocating the division of the Empire into principalities. Hwangti cut short the admonitions of this no doubt highly respectable individual by reminding him that that point had been already discussed and decided. But as the point was one of the first importance, he called upon Lisseh to state over again the reasons which rendered the maintenance of the unity of the Empire advisable.

Lisseh's speech is very remarkable, both as an exposition of policy and as a defence of the reasons which dictated the burning of the books. The following is the substance of this great speech:—"It must be admitted," he said, "after what we have just heard, that men of letters are, as a rule, very little acquainted with what concerns the government of a country—not that government of pure speculation, which is nothing more than a phantom, vanishing the nearer we approach to it, but the practical government which consists in keeping men within the sphere of their proper duties. With all their pretence of knowledge, they are, in this matter, only ignorant. They can tell you by heart everything which has happened in the past, back to the most remote period,

but they are, or seem to be, ignorant of what is being done in these later days, of what is passing under their eyes. . . . Incapable of discerning that the thing which was formerly suitable would be wholly out of place to-day, that that which was useful, perhaps necessary, in the past would be positively injurious in the time in which we live, they would have everything arranged in exact imitation of what they find written in their books." Lisseh then went on to denounce the learned classes as enemies of the public weal, and as a class apart and uninfluenced by the national feeling. "Now is the time or never," he concluded, "to close the mouths of these secret enemies, to place a curb upon their audacity."

The Emperor expressed his entire approval of Lisseh's remarks, and ordered him to lose no time in carrying out his propositions. All books were proscribed, and the authorities burnt every work except those treating of medicine, agriculture, etc. By these violent measures Hwangti hoped to root out from the memory of his people the names of the early Emperors. Before condemning this as an inexcusable act of Vandalism, the hostility of the literati to every act from the commencement of his tenure of power must be taken into consideration. Nor can it be truthfully said that this was a struggle between "light" and "darkness," "knowledge" and "ignorance," in which brute force gained the upper hand. For if the situation is thoroughly grasped, if we make allowance for the antipathies of the rival classes, surely it will be admitted that the "light" and the "knowledge" were on the side of Hwangti and his ministers, and not of Chunyuyue and the chroniclers. While the former perceived the necessities and true wants of the nation, the latter were foolishly clamouring for the observance of idle forms with the same breath that they advocated measures inevitably entailing the dismemberment of the Empire. Hwangti's extreme remedy of destroying the written record of his predecessors' virtues was one that cannot be expected to receive the approval of civilized people. On the other hand, there was much to justify such a course in the eyes of Hwangti and his ministers, and although all subsequent generations of Chinese historians have piled obloquy on their heads, they have failed to obscure

the greatness of this Emperor, who founded the political entity known as China.

The peace which had been established within the country by a long series of successes only inspired Hwangti with the desire to render the stability of his triumph the more assured by making his power felt beyond his extreme borders. Strong at home, he would be respected abroad. Drawing his troops from classes peculiarly suitable for a military life—"from those who were without any fixed profession, and those among the ranks of the people possessed of exceptional physical strength"—he found himself the master of a regular army which was capable of extending his dominions in whatever direction he desired. During these later years his principal successes were obtained in the south, where, after annexing the states of Tonquin and Cochin China, the terror of his arms went before him, it is said, into the kingdoms of Ava and Bengal. His general, Moungtien, about the same time carried on operations against the tribes beyond Kansuh, and there is some reason for believing that the town of Hami, many hundreds of miles distant from Kansuh, fell into his hands, and thus became for the first time a watch-tower for China in the direction of Central Asia, a position which it has often since held.

These victories in the field were the precursors of the great defensive work on the northern frontier, which had been conceived early in the reign, and which has become immortalized as the Great Wall. Hwangti, with the practical good sense which was characteristic of him, perceived that extension of dominion over the barbarian tribes of the north would be attended by quite as many disadvantages as advantages. Having chastised his old foes, he withdrew therefore his forces from their solitudes, and employed his soldiers, and a large number of the male population as well, in constructing a fortified wall from the seacoast to the extremity of Kansuh. He lived long enough to see this gigantic undertaking finished; and, whether this rampart effected everything its originator expected or not, Hwangti had the satisfaction of knowing that he had done everything in his power for the protection of the people whom he had united. In another respect he

had put the seal to his own greatness. The educated might continue to sneer at his shortcomings from their standard, and brand him as a reckless destroyer; but in the Great Wall,* which exists now, two thousand years after his death, he left a monument to his own greatness, and one which would impress later ages, better than any words, with a true sense of what manner of man he was.

Hwangti did not long survive these great and crowning acts of his career. Seized with some malady (B.C. 210) which is not specified, he neglected the simplest precautions, and paid the penalty of his rashness. The death of this great ruler roused all the passions dormant during his life, and among the people the belief spread that after his death his estates would be divided among many claimants. In this the popular fancy proved too true. With Hwangti were buried many of his wives, and large quantities of treasure—a custom peculiar to the Huns, and, among Chinese rulers, to the chiefs of Tsin. The striking achievements which illustrated his reign are the best evidence of his personal character. Loving splendour, he yet repudiated idle form; magnificent in his ideas, he left as the record of his reign great public works to testify to the pureness of his taste as well as to his care for his people; and, abstemious in his personal habits, he set an example of simplicity in the midst of the luxury of his court. His favourite exercise was walking, and this alone would mark him out as apart from other Chinese rulers. As a soldier he was not particularly distinguished, but he knew how to select good generals; and as an administrator he was not too self-confident to despise the aid of a minister such as Lisseh. He left an example which the greatest of his successors might seek to follow, and while, in a personal sense, the least Chinese of all the Emperors, he was undoubtedly the first to give form to the national will on what may be called Imperial questions. In that sense none of his successors, down to the present dynasty, were more ardent supporters of Chinese dignity than he was.

* For a description of this work, see Pauthier, pp. 10-13. Du Halde and numerous other writers (including several English travellers, Bell, Fleming, Michie, Williamson, James, and Younghusband) may also be consulted for details of various portions of it.

The death of Hwangti proved the signal for the outbreak of disturbances throughout the realm. Within a few months five princes had founded as many kingdoms, each hoping, if not to become supreme, at least to remain independent. Mougntien, beloved by the army, and at the head, as he tells us in his own words, of three hundred thousand soldiers, might have been the arbiter of the Empire; but a weak feeling of respect for the Imperial authority induced him to obey an order sent by Eulchi, Hwangti's son and successor, commanding him "to drink the waters of eternal life." Eulchi's brief reign of three years was a succession of misfortunes. The reins of office were held by the eunuch Chowkow, who first murdered the minister Lisseh and then Eulchi himself. Ing Wang, a grandson of Hwangti, was the next and last of the Tsin Emperors. On coming to power, he at once caused Chowkow, whose crimes had been discovered, to be arrested and executed. This vigorous commencement proved transitory, for when he had enjoyed nominal authority during six weeks, Ing Wang's troops, after a reverse in the field, went over in a body to Lieou Pang, the leader of a rebel force. Ing Wang put an end to his existence, thus terminating, in a manner not less ignominious than any of its predecessors, the dynasty of the Tsins, which Hwangti had hoped to place permanently on the throne of China, and to which his genius gave a lustre far surpassing that of many other families that had enjoyed the same privilege during a much longer period.

CHAPTER V.

RISE OF THE HANS.

THIS crisis in the history of the country had afforded one of those great men, who rise periodically from the ranks of the people to give law to nations, the opportunity for advancing his personal interests at the same time that he made them appear to be identical with the public weal. Of such geniuses, if the test applied be the work accomplished, there have been few with higher claims to respectful and admiring consideration than Lieou Pang, who after the fall of the Tsins became the founder of the Han dynasty under the style of Kaotsou. Originally the governor of a small town, he had, soon after the death of Hwangti, gathered round him the nucleus of a formidable army; and, while nominally serving under one of the greater princes, he scarcely affected to conceal that he was fighting for his own interest. On the other hand, he was no mere soldier of fortune, and the moderation which he showed after victory enhanced his reputation as a general. Emulating Hwangti in his great qualities, he sought to put himself in a more favourable light before the people by showing respect to men of letters, and by using every effort in his power to save and collect the few books which had been rescued from the sweeping decree of the Tsin Emperor. His task was, however, only half begun when the Tsins were deposed, for there was, besides his own, a second large army in the field under a rival general, not less ambitious than Lieou Pang, but, as the event proved, less equal to the occasion. His rival was Pawang, a sort of brainless Goliath. Their antagonistic ambitions encountered in mortal strife, and

after a desperate struggle the tactics or the good fortune of Lieou Pang prevailed. The path to the throne being thus cleared of the last obstacle, the successful general became Emperor.

His first act was to proclaim an amnesty to all those who had borne arms against him. In a public proclamation he expressed his regret at the sufferings of the people "from the evils which follow in the train of war," and his desire that all should enjoy under his rule the advantages of peace abroad and tranquillity at home. This act, at once of discretion and clemency, confirmed public opinion in favour of one who had already shown himself to be a successful soldier and a shrewd statesman, and did more to consolidate his position than his assumption of the glowing title of Lofty and August Emperor. During the earlier years of his reign he chose the city of Loyang as his capital—now the flourishing and populous town of Honan—but at a later period he removed it to Singanfoo, in the western province of Shensi. His dynasty became known by the name of the small state where he was born, and which had fallen, early in his career, into his hands. Varied as were the incidents of his reign, none was of more permanent importance than the consolidation of the Imperial power under the Hans. Kaotsou, imitating in his policy his great predecessor, the Tsin Emperor, sanctioned or personally undertook various important public works, which in many places still exist, to testify to the greatness of his character. Chinese historians declare that much of the credit for these great enterprises was due to his general and minister, Chang-liang, but all history can do is to associate his name with undertakings which tended to increase the brilliance of the reign.

Prominent among these works must be placed the bridges constructed along the great roads in Western China. The city of Singanfoo was in those days difficult to approach, by reason of the mountainous country which surrounded it on most sides. Long detours were necessary in order to reach it from the south, and while its position possessed apparent advantages for the capital of the Empire, it was imperative that something should be done to render it more accessible.

One hundred thousand workmen were consequently engaged to construct roads across these mountains, and, where required, to cut through them. Valleys were filled up with the mass of the mountains which had towered above them, and where this did not suffice, bridges supported on pillars were thrown across from one side to the other. In other places bridges were suspended in air, and these, protected on each side by balustrades, admitted four horses to travel abreast. One of the most remarkable of these "flying bridges," as the Chinese call them, measured one hundred and fifty yards in length, and was at an altitude of more than five hundred feet above the valley. It is believed to be still in perfect condition. The Chinese may fairly take great credit to themselves for these wonderful engineering feats, which were achieved nearly two thousand years before suspension bridges were included in the category of European engineers. By these means Singanfoo became easy of access to the Chinese and all their tributaries, who could reach it by some of the grandest high-roads in the world. Not content with laying down these roads, post-houses, travellers' rests, and caravanserais were constructed at short intervals along the chief routes, so that travelling over the vast distances of the Empire was made as much a task of pleasure as possible, and no excuse was left for the subject not repairing to the capital whenever his presence was required. The effect produced on trade by these increased facilities for locomotion must also have been very beneficial, and no act of Kaotsou's reign places him higher in the scale of sovereigns than the improvement of the roads and the construction of these remarkable bridges.

Although Kaotsou commenced his reign by evincing a moderation towards his opponents which, while it was prudent, was certainly rare in the annals of the country, it was long before he could be pronounced to be safe from the machinations of his enemies; and in his later years the danger to his family was increased by, in some cases, the discontent, and in others, the disappointed ambition of his generals, who had in earlier days been his comrades, and had assisted to make him Emperor. In all his actions the presence of magnanimity is to be traced, and he appears to

have been always peculiarly susceptible to generous impulses. One officer, a devoted follower of his opponent Pawang, had been fined a large sum of money for having spoken treason against the Emperor. Unable to raise the amount, he sold his family into slavery, and took service himself with a silversmith, in order to satisfy the demands of the Emperor. Fortunately, his friends interceded for him, and Kaotsou, struck by the singular harshness of the gallant soldier's misfortunes, not only pardoned and released him and his family, but also gave him a post of honour at his own Court. Kipou proved a devoted minister, and his faithful services amply recompensed the clemency of the sovereign.

Notwithstanding that Kaotsou had won his way to supreme authority by the sword, it would appear that contemporary opinion denied him any claim to be considered a great general. He himself frequently declared that he owed his success to his capacity for selecting the best commanders and administrators, and although this affectation of modesty often appeared to be only intended as a studied compliment to his followers, there was perhaps more truth in it than might be supposed. Such, at least, was the opinion of Hansin, one of the first generals of the time, who, in the following conversation, showed that he was the first man in history to draw a distinction between the now admitted radical difference of the ordinary general and the great commander. The Emperor asked him how many men he thought he could lead efficiently in the field; to which Hansin replied, "Sire! you can lead an army of a hundred thousand men very well, *but that is all.*" "And you?" said the Emperor. "The more numerous my soldiers, the better I shall lead them," replied the confident general. So far back as this remote period, this conversation would show that the truth of the modern colloquial phrase of there being "generals and generals" was recognized in China.

Another instance of the estimation in which military skill rather than brute courage was held at this period is afforded by the high honours and awards which were conferred on Siaoho, who, without engaging in the active bustle of battle, had planned and drawn up all the Emperor's campaigns.

Great discontent was caused by the preferment of Siao-ho, of whose distinguished services very little was known by the army at large, and on these murmurings reaching Kaotsou's ears, he summoned his principal officers, whom he addressed in the following speech: "You find, I hear, reason for complaint in that I have rewarded Siao-ho above his fellows. Tell me, at the chase who are they who pursue and capture the prey? The dogs. But who direct and urge on the dogs? Are they not the hunters? All you present have indeed worked hard for me; you have pursued your prey with vigour, and you at last overthrew and captured it. In all this you deserve the same merit as the dogs of the chase. But Siao-ho has conducted the whole of the war. It was he who regulated everything, he who ordered you to attack the enemy at the opportune moment, he who by his tactics made you the master of the cities and provinces which you have conquered; and on this account he deserves all the credit of the hunter, which is the more worthy of reward."

But while showing special marks of favour to Siao-ho, he left none of his followers without reward, thus giving a stability to his *régime* greater than was possessed by any of his immediate predecessors. Alone among his supporters, he overlooked the claims of his father. This was probably due to inadvertence, and we are told that no one was more surprised at the apparent neglect than the father himself. However, he took prompt steps to remind his son that in the distribution of rewards he had as yet received nothing. Dressed in his most costly garments, he presented himself before Kaotsou, protesting in a speech of studied humility that he was the least and most obedient of his subjects. Kaotsou understood the reproach contained in his father's action, and at once called a council of his ministers for the purpose of proclaiming him "the lesser Emperor." Taking him by the hand, he seated him on a chair at the foot of the throne. By this deed Kaotsou appealed to and propitiated the best feelings of the Chinese, with whom filial respect and veneration rank as the first of duties and the greatest of virtues.

Kaotsou loved splendour, and sought to make his receptions

and banquets imposing by their brilliance. He drew up a special ceremonial, which must have proved a trying ordeal for his courtiers, and dire was the offence if it were infringed in the smallest particular. At the same time he hesitated to sanction the proposal of Siaoho for constructing at his new capital, Singanfoo, the magnificent palace which that general, not less skilful as a statesman and minister of public works than as the framer of a campaign, had planned for him. His hesitation was not removed until Siaoho observed that "Your Majesty should regard all the Empire as your family. If the grandeur of your palace does not correspond with that of your family, what idea will it give of its power?" For the first time in his reign Kaotsou tasted the sweets of power during the festivities which he kept up at Singanfoo during several weeks. On one of these occasions he exclaimed, "To-day I feel I am Emperor, and perceive all the difference between a subject and his master!"

Kaotsou's attention was rudely summoned away from these trivialities by the outbreak of revolts against his authority and by inroads on the part of the Tartars. The latter were the more serious. Already has frequent allusion been made to the incursions of the tribes holding possession of the deserts to the west and north-west of the country, and it has been seen that the Princes of Tsin and the Emperor Hwangti, grappling with the difficulty in a bold manner, had done much towards remedying the evil. The disturbances that followed Hwangti's death were a fresh inducement to these clans to again gather round a common head and prey upon the weakness of China, for Kaotsou's authority was not yet recognized in many of the tributary states which had been fain to admit the supremacy of the great Tsin Emperor. About this time the Hiongnou Tartars, probably the Huns, were governed by two chiefs in particular, one named Tonghou, the other Mehe. Of these the former appears to have been instigated by a reckless ambition or an overweening arrogance, and at first it seemed that the forbearance of Mehe, or Mete, would allow his pretensions to pass unchallenged. Mehe had become chief of his clan by murdering his father Teouman, who was on the point of ordering his

son's assassination when thus forestalled in his intention. Tonghou sent to demand from him a favourite horse, which Mehe sent him. His kinsmen advised him to refuse compliance, but he replied, "What! would you quarrel with your neighbours for a horse?" Shortly afterwards Tonghou sent to ask for one of the wives of the former chief. This also Mehe granted, saying, "Why should we undertake a war for the sake of a woman?" It was only when Tonghou menaced his possessions that Mehe took up arms. Then Mehe collected his followers, dispersed that prince's army, captured and executed his opponent, and took possession of his camps and pasture-grounds. Among the Hiongnou the authority of Mehe became generally recognized, and all the scattered clans followed his banner to the war.

Mehe's successes followed rapidly upon each other. Issuing from the desert, and marching in the direction of China, he wrested many fertile districts from the feeble hands of those who held them; and while establishing his personal authority on the banks of the Hoangho his lieutenants returned laden with plunder from expeditions into the rich provinces of Shensi and Szchuen. He won back all the territory lost by his ancestors to Hwangti and Moungtien, and he paved the way to greater success by the siege and capture of the city of Maye, thus obtaining possession of the key of the road to Tsinyang. Several of the border chiefs, and of the Emperor's lieutenants, dreading the punishment allotted in China to want of success, went over to the Tartars, and took service under Mehe.

The Emperor, fully aroused to the gravity of the danger, assembled his army, and placing himself at its head, marched against the Tartars. Encouraged by the result of several preliminary encounters, the Emperor was eager to engage Mehe's main army, and after some weeks' marching and manœuvring, the two forces halted in front of each other. Kaotsou, imagining that victory was within his grasp, and believing the stories brought to him by spies of the weakness of the Tartar army, resolved on an immediate attack. He turned a deaf ear to the cautious advice of one of his generals who warned him that "in war we should never despise an

enemy," and marched in person at the head of his advanced guard to find the Tartars. Mehe, who had been at all these pains to throw dust in the Emperor's eyes, and to conceal his true strength, no sooner saw how well his stratagem had succeeded, and that Kaotsou was rushing into the trap so elaborately laid for him, than by a skilful movement he cut off his communications with the main body of his army, and surrounding him with an overwhelming force, compelled him to take refuge in the city of Pingching in Shensi.

With a very short supply of provisions, and hopelessly outnumbered, it looked as if the Chinese Emperor could not possibly escape the grasp of the desert chief. In this strait one of his officers suggested as a last chance that the most beautiful virgin in the town should be discovered, and sent as a present to mollify the conqueror. Kaotsou seized at this suggestion, as the drowning man will catch at a straw, and the story is preserved, though her name has passed into oblivion, of how the young Chinese girl entered into the plan, and devoted all her wits to charming the Tartar conqueror. She succeeded as much as their fondest hopes could have led them to believe; and Mehe permitted Kaotsou, after signing an ignominious treaty, to leave his place of confinement and rejoin his army, glad to welcome the return of the Emperor, yet, without him, helpless to stir a hand to effect his release. Mehe retired to his own territory, well satisfied with the material results of the war and the rich booty which had been obtained in the sack of Chinese cities, while Kaotsou, like the ordinary type of an Oriental ruler, vented his discomfiture on his subordinates. The closing acts of the war were the lavishing of rewards on the head of the general to whose warnings he had paid no heed, and the execution of the scouts who had been misled by the wiles of Mehe.

The success which had attended this incursion and the spoil of war were potent inducements to the Tartars to repeat the invasion. While Kaotsou was meditating over the possibility of revenge, and considering schemes for the better protection of his frontier, the Tartars, disregarding the truce that had been concluded, retraced their steps, and

pillaged the border districts with impunity. In this year (B.C. 199) they were carrying everything before them, and the Emperor, either unnerved by recent disaster or appalled at the apparently irresistible energy of the followers of Mehe, remained apathetic in his palace. The representations of his ministers and generals failed to rouse him from his stupor, and the weapon to which he resorted was the abuse of his opponent, and not his prompt chastisement. Mehe was "a wicked and faithless man, who had risen to power by the murder of his father, and one with whom oaths and treaties carried no weight." In the meanwhile the Tartars were continuing their victorious career. The capital itself could not be pronounced safe from their assaults, or from the insult of their presence.

In this crisis counsels of craft and dissimulation alone found favour in the Emperor's cabinet. No voice was raised in support of the bold and only true course of going forth to meet the national enemy. The capitulation of Pingching had for the time destroyed the manhood of the race, and Kaotsou held in esteem the advice of men widely different from those who had placed him on the throne. Kaotsou opened fresh negotiations with Mehe, who concluded a treaty on the condition of the Emperor's daughter being given to him in marriage, and on the assumption that he was an independent ruler. With these terms Kaotsou felt obliged to comply, and thus for the first time this never-ceasing collision between the tribes of the desert and the agriculturists of the plains of China closed with the admitted triumph of the former. The contest was soon to be renewed with different results, but the triumph of Mehe was beyond question.

The weakness thus shown against a foreign foe brought its own punishment in domestic troubles. The palace became the scene of broils, plots, and counter-plots; and so badly did Kaotsou manage his affairs at this epoch that one of his favourite generals raised the standard of revolt against him through apparently a mere misunderstanding. In this instance Kaotsou easily put down the rising, but others followed which, if not pregnant with danger, were

at the least extremely troublesome. The murder, by order of the Empress, during a reception at the palace, of Hansin, to whose aid Kaotsou mainly owed his elevation to the throne, shook confidence still more in the ruler, and many of his followers were forced into open rebellion through dread of personal danger. What wonder that, as he has said, "the very name of revolt inspired Kaotsou with apprehension."

The southern provinces of China, which had been brought under the sway of Hwangti, were at this time welded into an independent state called Nanhai. The Hans had been unable to extend their authority over this region, and Kaotsou had no choice save to recognize the existence of an independent kingdom which it was extremely doubtful if he could overthrow. An envoy was sent by the Emperor to the capital of its prince, and his tact enabled him to obtain what the Chinese Emperor might flatter himself as being a recognition of his supreme authority. His ambassador on this occasion was a well-known man of letters named Loukia, and it was his representations which did most towards bringing his class into greater favour at court. Loukia, indeed, composed a work for the special purpose of bringing Kaotsou round to enlightened ideas, and this undoubtedly exercised considerable influence on his views. In B.C. 195 we find him going out of his way to visit the tomb of Confucius, to whom he offered homage in an elaborate ceremony. This, it is expressly stated, was only an act of policy. He left it for his successors to perform the same office to the great philosopher as a tribute of belief.

During the last campaign in which he was engaged—that against Kingpou, one of his old companions and supporters—he revisited his natal spot, where he gave a grand banquet to his army. After the feast, he took a musical instrument and sang in praise of the love of one's country. No truer meed has been rendered by Western poet to the necessity of patriotism than that contained in the impromptu tribute of this Chinese ruler. "Oh, my friends! how delicious the feeling we experience when after long absence we revisit our native land! The joy of battle, the charm of glory and of earthly grandeur, nay, even the title of Emperor or of

King, contains nothing so seductive ; they cannot, in a well-regulated mind, stifle the love of country. The land which first nourished us has sacred claims to our gratitude. My dear fatherland ! the cradle of my fortunes, it is my fondest wish that you shall possess me after my death, and that my tomb may attest how much I loved you."

Shortly after this event, it became evident that the Emperor, borne down by anxiety and disturbed at the feuds with his earlier friends, was approaching his end, and one of his favourite wives made great efforts and intrigued among the nobles in order that her son should be selected the heir. But fortunately for the Empire, Kaotsou was aware of the evils of a disputed succession, and turning a deaf ear to her entreaties, his eldest son Hiao Hoeiti was proclaimed heir-apparent. A few months before his death, Kaotsou had his first and only quarrel with the faithful Siaohe, whom on this occasion he cast into prison. Promptly advised of the injustice of his suspicions and the harshness of his treatment, he released and restored him to his former dignities, giving expression to the noteworthy sentiment that "there was nothing humiliating in the rendering of a merited act of justice."

The Emperor's indisposition had before this act of reparation assumed a grave character. The man who boasted that he "had conquered the Empire from his saddle," was lying sick to death, because he refused all mortal aid, saying that "If Heaven wish me to die or live, it will inspire me what to do." His last act was to name the best officer for carrying on the government, and to instruct the Empress Liuchi what was to be done after his death, showing in those arrangements all the ability and knowledge of men which were his chief characteristics ; while with his latest breath he revealed the weak side of his character by declaring that all remedies for himself were useless, and by forbidding any one to mention them to him. He died in the fifty-third year of his age, having reigned as Emperor during eight years.

The close of his reign did not bear out all the promise of its commencement ; and the extent of his authority was greatly curtailed by the disastrous results of the war with the

Tartars, and the subsequent revolts among his generals. Despite these reverses, there remains much in favour of his character, and, although his reign will not compare in its achievements with that of the greatest of the Tsins, it formed a not unfavourable commencement for the famous dynasty of the Hans. The following opinion expresses what seems to be a fair historical verdict upon his character :—

“Kaohwangti, the founder of the celebrated dynasty of the Hans, derived none of his knowledge from study ; but he supplied the want by a quickness of intellect and a power of penetration far from common. Prompt, impressionable, and impetuous, his eagerness often led him into faults ; but he generally knew how to repair them by deferring to the judgment of those better instructed than himself. Naturally of a good disposition, and affable in his bearing, he treated his soldiers with kindness. These manners gained him the affection of his subjects, whose happiness he always sought to promote. As soon as he found himself master of the Empire, he ordered Siaoho to draw up a code of laws for the better government of the country. To Hansin he deputed the task of writing a treatise on tactics,” and to other officials he gave different tasks for the benefit of the nation.

Kaotsou had performed his part in the consolidation of the Hans ; it remained for those who came after him to complete what he left half-finished.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HAN DYNASTY.

KAOTSOU was succeeded by his son Hiao Hoeiti, or Hoeiti, who, in face of formidable intrigues in the palace, made good his father's inheritance. There had been a plan on foot for securing for his half brother Chow Wang the proud position of Emperor, and that prince's mother, the Empress Tsi, had sought to make her influence with Kaotsou turn the scale in favour of the succession of her son. If there was at first some degree of uncertainty in Hoeiti's tenure of power it was soon removed by the energy and terrible measures of his mother, the Empress Liuchi. History has forgotten to mention the gravity of the dangers which may have threatened the position of the second ruler of the new dynasty, while it has presented in all their details the crimes or the stern preventive measures of Liuchi. We are told of the barbarous treatment which she meted out to the unfortunate Princess Tsi, and of how, having first murdered his faithful guardian, she sent the poisoned bowl to Chow Wang; but no similar light is shed on the ambitious schemes nursed by her victims, or on the consequences which would have attended a less resolute mode of dealing with persons who were rebels in thought if not yet in deed. The fact remains plain that, by Liuchi's vigour, Hoeiti was saved from danger, at the same time that the Han dynasty was again placed on a firm basis.

The young Emperor, while profiting by her deeds, repudiated all complicity in them; but while he reproved his mother for acts which certainly were cruel, it does not appear that either her personal influence with him, or her position at

court, suffered on that account. She remained the dominant influence round the young ruler, and when the great princes came to render personal homage to their Emperor they found the Empress-mother practically wielding the sceptre, and guiding the affairs of state. Among these was Tao Wang, Prince of Tsi, and when this potentate feasted with the Emperor, Liuchi not only insisted on being present, but also on being served first to wine—a double breach of etiquette unpardonable in the eyes of any well-educated citizen of China. The Prince of Tsi could not conceal the astonishment with which he beheld any one attempt to drink before the Emperor, and at once Liuchi marked him as her opponent and her prey. With a decision as terrible and relentless as that which characterized Lucretia Borgia, Liuchi dropped the ready poison into a goblet, and offered the Prince of Tsi to drink. Happily the Emperor perceived the act, and comprehended the situation at a glance. Taking the goblet, he was on the point of drinking the wine himself when his mother snatched it from him, thus at once confessing her crime, and revealing the danger from which the Prince of Tsi had so narrowly escaped.

Hoeiti did not long enjoy the possession of the throne, and the lustre of his brief reign was due rather to the ability and integrity of his minister Tsaotsan than to any action of his own. Tsaotsan showed his great qualities by endeavouring to restore order and a sense of public spirit among the official classes. In this he was fairly successful, and the remainder of this reign passed off in tranquil efforts at internal reform. The Tartar king Mehe sent an envoy to the capital; but either the form or the substance of his message enraged the Empress-mother, who ordered his execution. The two peoples were thus again brought to the brink of war, but eventually the difference was composed, and the Chinese chroniclers have represented that the satisfactory turn in the question was due to Mehe seeing the error of his ways. Four years after this episode, and two years after the death of the minister Tsaotsan, the throne of the Hans was again vacant.

The Empress Liuchi continued to exercise the supreme

power in the country, and showed no anxiety to find an heir or successor to the son whose early death she loudly deplored. Her previous plan had been to retain in her own hands as much of the governing power as possible ; but now that it had become a question of keeping the Imperial seat vacant, she strove to extend and consolidate her influence by placing her brothers and near relations in great posts throughout the country. But the scheme could not be carried on without a nominal Emperor, and therefore this daring woman, stopping at nothing to attain her ends, put forward a supposititious child as the heir of her dead son. It was only the natural consequence that she should cause herself to be proclaimed Regent during the minority of her grandson. However much the ministers of the late Emperor might deplore the turn of events which had placed the destiny of China in the hands of a woman, they were incapable of changing it ; and from the general content among the people it may be inferred that Liuchi governed the country without unduly stretching the supreme authority she had usurped. Years passed on, and the nominal Emperor, whose supposed mother had been murdered because she was not sufficiently compliant with Liuchi's will, was growing up to man's estate. He had given signs of the possession of ability, and there were reports of his having used threats of an intention to avenge his mother's death. These hasty words were duly carried to Liuchi, who, prompt as ever, caused the young ruler to be shut up in the palace prison. Without even the form of trial or an attempt at justification, the Empress got rid of this inconvenient puppet, and set about choosing a successor who would be a more elastic instrument in her hands.

There were not wanting signs, however, that this state of things could not long continue. The discontent among the official classes was widespread, and the indignation of the nobles at the elevation of Liuchi's family intense, and portentous of a coming storm. One great chief had even gone so far as to declare that "he recognized neither Emperor nor Empress," and the reviving courage of the family of the great Kaotsou gave consistency to the plan formed for the overthrow of Liuchi. Perils were gathering

round this resolute woman, but we know not whether she would have succumbed to them, when the whole question was settled by her sudden death. Walking in her palace one day meditating upon how she could best overcome her numerous opponents, she was suddenly confronted, the story goes, by the apparition of a hideous monster surrounded by the victims of her restless ambition, and died from the effects of the fright produced by a too-late consciousness of her crimes. Deprived of the commanding abilities of the Empress-mother, the faction of Liuchi did not at once abandon the ambitious dreams which they had cherished and partially realized by means of her energy. But they were fighting for a lost cause, and most of them perished vainly attempting to defend the palace against the army collected for their destruction by the leading princes of the Han family. With the death of the great Empress it may be said that they sank back into their former station, and that the Hans recovered the authority of which they had been temporarily deprived by the energy of a woman.

The successful princes had then to select from among themselves one to be put forward and acknowledged as Emperor, a task often the most difficult for a confederacy. In this instance the dangers of the situation were fortunately avoided, and although the Prince of Tsi had done most for the cause, the claims of the Prince of Tai, an illegitimate son of Kaotsou, were allowed to be superior to and more promising for the public weal than those of any other candidate. Tai took the name of Hiao Wenti on ascending the throne, and his first acts were to appoint able and honest ministers, and to exempt his subjects from one year's taxes. The country, having recently passed through a period of anxiety on the score of a disputed succession, was greatly desirous that all risk of the recurrence of a similar danger should be averted, and although Wenti wished to escape the responsibility, his ministers were firm on the point that he should name an heir. Nor would they agree to his proposition that either his uncle or his brother was the fittest man in the realm to be his successor; and then was waged in China the grand controversy, which has been carried on in every country

at some period of its history, as to whether a man's best heirs are his collateral representatives or his direct descendants—a question settled in favour of the latter in every state where there has been progress, not stagnation, and civilization and freedom instead of barbarousness and chains. And so it was finally settled in China on this occasion. Wenti's eldest son Lieouki was proclaimed heir-apparent, with all the formality due to the auspicious ceremony.

The new ruler soon had occasion to show address in his dealings with some of the greater of his vassals. The Prince of Nanyuei, in the south of China, had taken to himself a style and mode of life which showed that he aspired to be an independent potentate, and affairs reached such a pass that Wenti found it impossible to overlook them. He resolved to attain his ends, if possible, without resorting to force. He sent a special envoy charged with a letter of remonstrance to the Court of this prince, also bestowing favours on some of his relatives resident within the Chinese frontier. After pointing out to him the consequences of his unfriendly and defiant conduct, he asked what result could he expect were the Emperor to collect against him "all the forces of China?" In the paragraph following comes the enunciation of the threat—proved an infallible truth in so many subsequent campaigns by the Chinese soldiers—that few barriers are really insurmountable. "Know," wrote the Emperor, "that there are few insurmountable barriers, and that a prince is no longer invincible when he ceases to be guided by virtue." This diplomacy gained its object; the Prince of Nanyuei, admitting the faults with which he had been charged, returned to his allegiance, and abandoned those dreams of ambition which he had indulged while the Hans were engrossed in their struggle with the faction of Liuchi.

In all his arrangements Wenti proved himself a practical man, and one well qualified to carry on a great organization. He had originally shown himself diffident of his capacity to rule a great Empire, but having accepted the charge he devoted all his energy to the task, and summoned to his assistance the wisest ministers to be procured.

Under his auspices a great revival of letters took place, and it again became the proudest privilege of a Chinese subject to be ranked among the literati of the country. In nothing was the moderation of Wenti more clearly shown than by the edict which he issued abrogating the law which had been passed by the great Hwangti, forbidding any one to criticize the form of government. As Wenti very truly said in this "glorious edict," to maintain such a law was to deprive the sovereign of one of the most valuable sources of his information, and to keep him in ignorance of the true mind of his people. The significance of this act is but little enhanced by the fact, remarkable though it be, that at a later period he reprimanded his officials because in the public prayers they asked for his exclusive happiness rather than for that of his subjects. His efforts for the improvement of agriculture and for the reclamation of waste lands were equally strenuous, and crowned with the success they deserved. He gave no encouragement to any in his Empire to lead either an idle or a useless life, and he set an example which he expected the highest and the meanest of his officials to imitate. Among his other acts it only remains to say that he permitted throughout the Empire the coinage of money, which had hitherto been the monopoly of the capital, thus placing great facilities in the way of those engaged in commerce.

The manner in which justice was dispensed under his supervision would furnish a theme as much to his praise as any of his other acts. It was a maxim of his reign that punishment was awarded under laws common to both subject and prince, and that to vary them in deference to the power of the ruler would be to introduce confusion into the state, and to instigate many to violate them—a maxim worthy, it may be said, of our Chief Justice Gascoigne. At the same time Wenti was not wholly free from some of the severity of the national character, and when a culprit violated his father's tomb and was condemned to death, Wenti did not consider that the execution of the offender atoned for the wrong done to the family honour. He wished that his family should be destroyed; but on the remonstrance of a minister

he decreed that only the wrong-doer should receive punishment. At a later period he abolished mutilation, which had been the most common sentence in China's criminal code, and it was found that the execution of the laws was quite as effectual, although the punishments had been deprived of much of their terror. It was the peculiar boast of Wenti's life that, after he had been on the throne for a few years, there were not "four hundred criminals" in all the gaols of the realm.

The death of the Tartar king Mehe, who has already been mentioned as having had relations with the Chinese government, revived the questions connected with the far west. His son Lao Chang succeeded to his authority, and one of his first acts was to propose the renewal of the truce with China, and to ask for a Chinese princess in marriage. Wenti, ever desirous of treading the pleasant paths of peace, willingly complied, and for a brief space it seemed as if Lao Chang would prove as well-behaved a neighbour as Mehe had latterly been. But this anticipation was soon found to be a vain hope. The Tartars showed no inclination to conform with the terms of the truce, and began to renew their raids within the Chinese frontier. Even then Wenti was loth to declare war upon them, and it was only after the tribes of the desert had wrought much mischief that he could be induced to take up the sword for their chastisement. It would be a mistake to suppose from this that Wenti was a pusillanimous prince. He well knew the difficulty of conducting a war with the Tartars to a successful conclusion, and wished to avoid by all the means in his power a collision with a people whom he could not subdue, and yet whom, unsubdued, he knew would always remain a bitter and perhaps an irreclaimable foe. At length, however, the Tartars proceeded so far in their hostility that Wenti gave orders for an army to be sent against them.

At a grand council of war held for the purpose the various modes of carrying on operations against the Tartars were discussed, and prominent among them was a proposition—afterwards carried into practice—of raising a force from those Tartars who had become Chinese subjects for the special

service of protecting the western frontier. This scheme was found to answer admirably, and may be considered the first occasion on which the Chinese government incorporated in its army a military force composed of an alien race. Some few years after this decree (about the year B.C. 166) the Tartar king headed a great expedition into China. The invaders were computed to number nearly one hundred and fifty thousand horsemen, and for a considerable distance within the frontier they carried everything before them. On the approach of an army sent by the Emperor they adopted sound tactics and retreated with their booty. Eight years later they renewed the attempt, on two occasions, with equal success, but in the meantime Lao Chang, their chief, had died. He was succeeded by his son Kiunchin. The Chinese forces appear to have been ill-suited for coping with them and the Tartars harried the country almost to the gates of the capital.

The chagrin produced by these disasters told heavily on the health of an Emperor always desirous of his people's happiness and welfare. After ruling the Empire wisely and with beneficial results to his subjects during twenty-three years, Wenti died (B.C. 156) at the early age of forty-six, leaving to his son who succeeded him a brilliant example of a prince who set the public weal high above the gratification of his own personal pleasure. If there had been any doubt as to the triumph of the Hans proving permanent or ephemeral, the virtue of Wenti decided the point, and the later Emperors of his House following very much in his footsteps, the Han dynasty took its place as one of the most popular which ever ruled the Chinese nation.

Wenti's son on ascending the throne assumed the name of Hiaokingti, or Kingti, and in his first acts he closely imitated his father. Probably this must be attributed as much to the advice of his experienced ministers as to his own disposition. It is certain that while in the first days of his reign he remitted taxes, and extended the merciful consideration of new sovereigns to criminals undergoing the penalty of the laws, he very shortly afterwards imposed a fresh tax, and one, moreover, which had been waived by

Wenti. This caused some discontent ; but, on the other hand, his moderation in the dispensation of the law, and the further alleviation of the penalty of flogging, which Wenti had substituted for mutilation, secured him the favourable opinion of the mass of his subjects. On the whole, Kingti proved himself a weak if an amiable prince. On one occasion, however, his irresolution cost the life of one of his most devoted and skilful ministers. A league of princes had been formed for the purpose of advancing private ends that need not be particularized, and Chaotsou, the wisest of the Emperor's ministers, had been selected as the special object of their enmity. It was said that, were Chaotsou executed, the rebels would disperse, and in a weak moment Kingti sacrificed Chaotsou, just as Charles the First abandoned Strafford. Of course the rebels were only encouraged by this unwise concession to their illegal action, and raised their demands because of this evidence of the weakness of the king.

Kingti then sent a large army against them, and attacked the forces of the rebel princes from three sides ; and his commander succeeded by a series of skilful manœuvres in shutting them up in their camp. In the struggle which then took place craft met craft, and at length the rebels, fighting with all the courage of despair, strove to cut their way through the ring of enemies around them. At first their onset was successful, but the Chinese reserves coming up, the whole army was destroyed. All the princes, save one, were either slain or sent as prisoners to Changnan, where they were executed. The remaining years of Kingti's reign were uneventful. The Tartars did not greatly disturb the border, and when Kingti died (in B.C. 141) he left the record of sixteen more years of almost unvaried tranquillity to the history of the period. The Chinese nation had turned these years of peace to the best use, and were at this time in a high state of prosperity and material strength. By the successful intrigues of his mother, Lieouchi had been, some years before Kingti's death, proclaimed heir-apparent in preference to his elder brother, Lieouyong, and now on his father's decease he became Emperor by the name of Hanwouti, or Vouti.

When Vouti began his reign he was only sixteen years of age, but one of his first resolutions was to raise his country to a higher point of splendour than it had yet reached, and he took the opportunity of inviting the opinion of the ministers and other learned men as to the means to be employed for the attainment of his object. The gist of their observations may be taken as expressed in the line that "the principles of Government did not consist in fine words or studied speeches, but in actions." Vouti's efforts towards consolidating his government were retarded and thrown back by the intrigues of his mother, who was a patron and supporter of the Taouist sect, and several of his foremost ministers, having incurred her resentment, were either executed or dismissed the service of the state. Five years afterwards the Empress-mother died in consequence, it would appear, of injuries received during a great fire at the palace, and then Vouti reinstated some of these ministers in their former offices.

Vouti's first anxiety was caused by the outbreak of a war between two Chinese princes, and, when the weaker appealed to him for assistance against the aggressive neighbour, his ministers gave opposite counsel as to whether the request should be complied with or refused. One minister, dwelling on the well-known turbulence of the people of Yuei—the modern Fuhkien—insisted that it would be foolish for the Emperor to take part in a quarrel from which he could reap no advantage. Another, Chwangtsou, took, however, the opposite view, and pointed out that the Emperor could not be considered the father of his people if he turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of the weaker of his subjects. Convinced by this latter argument Vouti resolved to extend his protection to the afflicted, and entrusted the operation to Chwangtsou in person. On the approach of the Imperial troops the aggressors retired into the difficult country behind the marshes and lagoons of Fuhkien, where Chwangtsou conceived it to be prudent to leave them undisturbed. The campaign could only be considered in the light of a failure were it to conclude without securing permanent safety for those who had suffered from the incursions of the men of Yuei, and Chwangtsou accordingly obtained the sanction of the Emperor to their

transfer to a district further removed from the borders of Fuhkien. The subjection of Yuei was left for a later day.

The country had in the meantime been afflicted by a great catastrophe, bringing in its train a famine, and such suffering to millions, as is only known to the packed populations of China and India. The mighty river Hoangho, which is, or ought to be, to the provinces of Northern China what the Kiang is to the south and centre, burst its banks, and flooded for hundreds of miles the flat low-lying country of Shensi and Kansuh. In face of this appalling calamity the utmost effort of man could accomplish little, and when the waters had abated the population fell victims to the dearth which ensued. Since that time the overflowing of the Hoangho has been periodic, and from some cause, which has never been thoroughly ascertained, that splendid river has never performed the useful functions that might be expected from it. Its gigantic course is clearly traceable on the map, but in the reality of fact it lies across Northern China deprived of half its strength and all its utility.

The surrender of the Prince of Nanyuei, and his recognition of the Emperor's authority have been already described. He was in some way threatened at this time by the turbulent people of Yuei, whose raids have been referred to, but instead of at once taking up arms for their chastisement, he asked the Emperor for advice and assistance. The local governors were instructed to take the necessary steps to comply with this demand, and the Prince of Nanyuei was encouraged to proceed to extremities. There is some reason for taking the view that these measures were put into force as a cloak for the design Vouti had formed of incorporating Yuei with the Empire. His true mind seems reflected in the following sentence from a memorial of the day: "that although Yuei never has belonged, it beyond doubt should belong to the Chinese Empire." The doubts suggested in another very able memorial, "Is the conquest of these barbarians worth the loss of the many thousand faithful subjects, which it must inevitably entail?" were never seriously discussed, when the object before the government was the acquisition of a kingdom. The Prince of Nanyuei cast aside his inactivity the

instant he found that Vouti approved of his entering the field, and marched his troops into Yuei simultaneously with the advance of the Chinese generals. The war was brought to a speedy and a bloodless conclusion. The people of Yuei refused to oppose an invader who was resolved to crush all resistance regardless of loss, and the brother of the king, playing the part of the most devoted patriot, slew the ruler, and sent his head to the Chinese commanders. Peace then ensued, on the footing of Yuei becoming a tributary province, over which Yuchen, the fratricide, was placed in authority.

In the sixth year of Vouti's reign (B.C. 135) the Tartar king sent an envoy to ask for a Chinese princess in marriage, and to express a desire for the continuance of the truce between the peoples. These periodical missions had as often as otherwise proved the precursor of war ; but whatever the result, the main object of their mission had generally been granted. But a new feeling was springing up among Chinese statesmen on the subject of the Tartars. Their experience had taught them that however much the desert chiefs might promise to keep the peace, they had not the power, and perhaps not the inclination, to restrain the impulse of their followers, and they were at last beginning to recognize that no useful purpose could be served by closing their eyes to their experience, and by assuming 'improbabilities because pleasing. So it was that in the Grand Council assembled by Vouti for the consideration of the request of the Tartar king, the party advocating the rejection of the demand, and the adoption of stringent measures against the Tartars, took up a bolder position ; but the time had not yet come when their views were to prevail. The bold policy of Wang Kua, who had had personal experience of the state of affairs on the Western border, "of destroying them rather than to remain constantly exposed to their insults," was not yet to be accepted, and the Tartars were granted one more opportunity of shaping their action towards the Chinese on a friendly basis. The difficulties of a campaign in the wilds of Central Asia appeared to the peaceful Chinese to be insuperable, and as yet their experience had not afforded them any reason to believe that the subjection of the Hiongnou could be accomplished.

Wang Kua had no intention of abandoning what may be fairly styled his pet project, and he endeavoured to bring Vouti round to his way of thinking by his personal address, and by working on the esteem in which the Emperor held him. The defeat of Han Kaotsou, many years before, by the Tartars, was used as an argument in favour of their views by both parties ; while Vouti studiously abstained from expressing an opinion one way or the other. Another Grand Council was summoned, and Wang Kua's argument that the defeat at Pingching should be retrieved proved more convincing than the contrary theory that was advanced of Kaotsou having, by his subsequent inaction, admitted that the attempt should not be made because it could not possibly succeed. Vouti closed the conference by deciding that war was to be declared. A great army was collected for the purpose, and Wang Kua, with four lieutenants under him, assumed the chief command.

Wang Kua had thus attained his heart's desire, but he was doomed to disappointment. The policy which was good and sound enough on paper was to be made to appear unwise, if not ridiculous, by the hard logic of facts. In every country, and at all ages, a daring and a prescient policy can only be proved to be justifiable by attaining success. If its development is marred by disaster, its conclusion is shorn of its anticipated proportions ; the public voice will infallibly condemn it, and in most cases history agrees with the decision. There is much force in the argument that dangers that can be foreseen should be promptly grappled with and nipped in the bud, but the statesman must submit to the only test that will be applied to his measures—their success, or their failure. Such has been the case sometimes in the annals of European nations, so it was on the occasion we are discussing with Wang Kua, the Chinese statesman and general. The army, computed to number three hundred thousand men, was concentrated in the vicinity of the frontier, and Wang Kua resorted to a carefully devised stratagem for the purpose of enticing the Tartars within his reach. In this he failed. The Tartars eluded all his efforts to attack them, and the campaign closed ingloriously without result. When Vouti learnt

the failure of the project, he ordered the arrest of his ambitious but unlucky general, who, wisely accepting the inevitable, put an end to his existence. Thus perished Wang Kua, the originator of China's aggressive policy towards the West, and the first leader of an army charged with the task of subduing Central Asia. Unfortunate for himself, his great idea took root, and became, in course of time, incorporated with the national policy.

A short lull ensued in the Tartar war, and Vouti employed all his resources in extending his Empire towards the south. The brief campaign in Fuhkien had served to create a breach between the Empire and the ruler of Nanyuei, whose protestations of fidelity were received with more incredulity than good will. Chinese envoys were sent to explore his territories and to examine into the practices of his court, and these were in turn followed by Chinese generals instructed to subdue and annex the countries skirting, and, in a military sense, commanding the districts of Nanyuei. Having vanquished the resistance of the mountaineers of Western Szchuen, Vouti's lieutenants employed them in constructing roads through the most difficult parts of that region, and by this measure the greater portion of Szchuen was made a Chinese province, and Nanyuei became isolated and outflanked. The new possession was divided by Vouti into twelve departments, and took its place for the first time in history as an integral portion of the Chinese Empire. Similar events were occurring in other quarters of the country, and several princes, after being deposed, had to esteem themselves fortunate in the loss of nothing more than their states. Others, such as the King of Wei, anticipated the inevitable by a timely surrender, so that on all sides, and from a variety of causes, there was a tendency to promote the union of China.

The effect of the failure and disgrace of Wang Kua had been to inspire the Tartars with fresh courage and audacity. The war once begun they prosecuted it after their own fashion with the greatest vigour. Their raids became more incessant and more daring, and in the skirmishes which ensued with the Chinese forces they were more often

victorious than not. Six years (B.C. 127) after the death of Wang Kua, they entered Kansuh and Shensi for the third time since the accession of Vouti. It was then that Vouti had recourse to the slower and more extensive plan of forming military settlements in Shensi as a bulwark in that quarter, and of improving the roads from the interior to this extremity of the country.

The Hiongnou Tartars had during these years been prosecuting a war with a people to the south of their territory—a contest which, some time before Vouti made these strenuous preparations on his western borders, reached a conclusion, and one fraught with important consequences to the peoples of the neighbouring states. That tract of country, which on the modern map includes the north-western portion of Kansuh, Kokonor, and a considerable part of the southern half of Gobi, was then inhabited by a people called Yuchi or Yueti. Lanchefoo and Shachow were towns in their possession, and they acknowledged a king of their own race. Numerous and prosperous as they were, they were no match for the hardier Hiongnou, and in the year B.C. 165 they were not only defeated, but compelled to quit their homes, and to seek elsewhere the independence which they were unable to maintain. The Yuchi retreated along the Tian Shan range to the countries of Trans-Oxiana, where they coalesced with those other warlike tribes which a few centuries later overran the Roman Empire. When the tale of the discomfiture of this people was brought to Vouti, he loudly expressed his commiseration with their hard fate, and turning to his council he asked, in the spirit of Arthur proposing a quest to his knights, if there were any sufficiently adventurous to follow these wanderers and bring them back. With the promptitude of a Galahad, Chang Keen volunteered to make the attempt, and to track from one end of Asia to the other the relics of this unfortunate race.

Chang Keen set out on his adventurous journey accompanied by one hundred devoted companions, but on his entering the country of the Hiongnou they were all made prisoners. The story affirms that they were kept in a

state of confinement during ten years, and that they then managed to make good their escape, and to continue their journey in search of the Yuchi. After visiting many of the western countries, they reached that of the Yuchi, with whom they lived for one year. The Yuchi could not be induced to go back to China, and eventually, under the name of the Scythians, defeated the Parthians and destroyed the Greek kingdom of Bactria. Chang Keen then returned to China, bringing back a large stock of information concerning the peoples of the other Asiatic kingdoms, but of all Chang Keen's companions only two survived. Chang Keen drew up a memorial describing what he had seen, and throwing light on the geography of Asia. Among the most important of his observations is that insisting on the advantages of the short land route to India through Szchuen, which was, as we have seen, gradually falling into the hands of the Emperor. Vouti then sent several exploring parties in this direction, but they fared badly at the hands of the people beyond the frontier. One party succeeded in penetrating into Yunnan, but another was ignominiously turned back before it had passed the borders of Shensi.

Meanwhile the war with the Tartars was far from languishing. Encouraged by what they considered the weakness of the Chinese, they renewed their incursions and carried them further than before into the heart of the western provinces. Inflated by their success, the Tartars cast aside some of their habitual caution in war, and they were thus taken at a disadvantage by a general whom Vouti had sent with instructions to come to an engagement wherever he might find them. The Tartars fought with the courage of despair, and their king, with the greater number of his troops, cut a way through the Chinese forces. But he left his camp, baggage, wives, children, and more than fifteen thousand soldiers in the hands of Wei Tsing, the Chinese general. This great victory was the most effective blow which had yet been dealt by the Chinese in their long wars with the Hiongnu, and Wei Tsing became the hero of the age. Honours were showered upon him, and when he returned to the capital Vouti went out a day's journey to meet and welcome him. A few months

after this victory Wei Tsing again engaged the Tartar army, and, although the result remained doubtful, the general confirmed by his skill and intrepidity the good opinions he had already won.

The most important result of these successes was that the Chinese recovered the confidence which a succession of Tartar victories had impaired. Hitherto they had stood always on the defensive, but they felt it was now time to assume the offensive. Vouti's council approved of the proposal to carry the war into the enemy's country. An expedition was accordingly fitted out and the command entrusted to Hokiuping, an experienced officer. It consisted mostly of cavalry. The Tartars were taken completely by surprise when they found the Chinese adopting their own tactics, and offered but little resistance. Hokiuping carried everything before him, and having traversed an extensive portion of the Hiongnu territory returned to China, with a vast quantity of booty, including the golden images used by one of the Tartar princes in his religious ceremonies. Shortly after this adventure, Hokiuping repeated it with a larger force, and with increased success. He advanced as far as Sopooumo in the desert, and on his return boasted that "thirty thousand Tartars" had perished by the sword of his warriors. A great outcry arose among the Hiongnu that these disasters had fallen upon them through the incompetence of their princes, and the wish for, if not the intention to carry out, a rough justice for their demerits was loudly expressed. The two princes inculpated took alarm at these threats, and a large number of their followers made a voluntary surrender to Vouti. At first Vouti was disposed to receive them with great state, but being better advised by his ministers he ordered them to be disarmed on crossing the frontier, and to be dispersed in settlements throughout the border provinces.

The expeditions of Hokiuping were only intended as the forerunners of an invasion on a large scale of the Hiongnu country. A considerable army, divided into two columns, was collected, and the generals Wei Tsing and Hokiuping were each appointed to a command. Both advanced boldly

into the desert, and fought the Tartars in several engagements on its northern side. The Chinese appear to have been uniformly successful, and to have inflicted much loss on the Hiongnou ; but they did not return from their campaign in the desert without having themselves suffered some loss both in men and horses. The Tartars also were only cowed for the time, and not permanently overthrown. Shortly after this war, in which he had taken so prominent a part, Hokiuping died. He was the most popular of all the generals with the private soldiers, who marched with confidence under his orders, because he always vanquished the enemy. As his countrymen naively put it, his loss was the greater because he never suffered a check, and on that ground they claim for him a place among the great captains of his time.

Chang Keen, whose adventurous journey has been already mentioned, was entrusted about this time with a diplomatic mission to the court of the neighbouring kingdom of Ousun.* At one time this prince had been tributary to Hiongnou, but he had shaken off their yoke, and was now an independent king. Chang Keen was sanguine enough to expect that this prince, rejoicing in his new-found liberty, would raise no objection to becoming the vassal of Vouti ; but in this view he was disappointed. Chang Keen resided some time in Ousun, where he was honourably entertained, and from this place he sent explorers into the surrounding countries, both to the south and also to the north. Vouti, on learning that Chang Keen had failed in the main object of his mission, caused two fortified cities to be built on the Shensi frontier, thus affording protection to the traders who were beginning to carry on commercial relations with the peoples of this region, at the same time that he provided against possible contingencies in future wars with the Tartar tribes. By this step he cut off the communications between the Hiongnou and the peoples of the Kiang Valley. It was well that he did so, for his struggle with the former was on the point of being renewed. In the year B.C. 114 the Tartar king died, and his son Ouwei succeeded him ; but the contest was for

* Ousun was a state south of Kokonor.

a brief space postponed in consequence of the exhaustion of the Tartars, and of Vouti's attention being engaged by other matters which cannot be passed over without some notice.

The war with the people of Fuhkien, when the Prince of Nanyuei was relieved from his embarrassment, has already been described, and the relations of that principality with the Emperor remained fairly satisfactory during the lifetime of Prince Chowhow, but his son and successor indulged excesses which speedily led to his death. There then ensued a period of disturbance which finally broke into open war, and Vouti, seeing that the time had come to assert his authority, put forward his claims to the possession of Nanyuei. The Imperial troops entered the province from four sides, stamped out all resistance, and conquered the province which was thereupon divided into nine departments. The province of Fuhkien at last shared the same fate. Its inhabitants were carried away, and it was converted into a vast desert. These two wars occupied Vouti's attention during four years, but they left him much stronger within his frontier, and able to devote his full attention to foreign affairs.

It was, therefore, with increased confidence and strength that the Chinese commenced the new Tartar war (B.C. 110). For the first time Vouti took the field in person, although the active command was divided between twelve lieutenant-generals. Having assembled a large army of nearly two hundred thousand men in Shensi, Vouti sent an ambassador to the Tartar chief calling upon him to surrender all prisoners and plunder, and to recognize China as the dominant country in Eastern Asia. The Tartar's only reply was to imprison the ambassador, and to hurl his defiance at the head of the Emperor, who, for some reason that it is now impossible to discover, refrained from prosecuting the campaign on this occasion, making instead a grand tour through the northern and central districts of his dominions. One of the last acts of the year was the reincorporation of the northern province of Leaoutung, which, after the fall of the Tsins, had been permitted to acquire for a time its former independence. This result was not attained without some difficulty, but it was attained; and the difficulty and the loss counted even then

for little in the eyes of Chinese statesmen so long as the result was satisfactory.

At the same time that Vouti was engaged in the far north in reducing to his sway the country beyond the Peiho, his generals were prosecuting similar enterprises with ardour in the southern territory of Yunnan. There also the Chinese were completely successful. Yunnan was reduced to the condition of a Chinese province, and its king had the good sense to accept, with an appearance of grace, the smaller dignity of a Chinese governor. The Chinese then turned their arms against the small kingdom of Cherchen situated beyond the western mountains of Szchuen. The Chinese general on advancing with a small force to reconnoitre the capital was attacked by the king at the head of his army. The Chinese not only repulsed the attack, but pressing their advantage home entered the city simultaneously with the vanquished. The garrison then surrendered, and the king was sent prisoner to Changnan, the old name of Singan. The neighbouring states, awed by this brilliant success, voluntarily admitted their dependence upon China, and their liability to pay tribute. With one exception, in the case of the kingdom of Tawan, this result was attained without either loss or any untoward occurrence. This state, famous for its breed of horses, had in several ways evinced hostile sentiments, and its ruler had distinctly refused to hold any commercial relations with the Chinese. The murder of Chinese merchants brought on a crisis, and Vouti ordered up a small force under the command of one of his brothers-in-law to exact reparation. Unfortunately for the Chinese, this scion of the Imperial family proved a very incapable commander. Outmanœuvred by his more astute antagonist, he and his force, attenuated by famine and losses in the field, were obliged to retire into a fortified city where they hoped to make good their position until relief came. It was not for some time that Vouti was able to send any reinforcements, and when they arrived, although his relative Li Kwangli was relieved, and Tawan subjected, the difficult nature of the campaign was shown by the severe losses incurred by Vouti's army.

In the meanwhile everything was subservient in Vouti's

mind to the necessity of chastising the Tartars, and preparations for a final campaign were in active progress. The Hiongnou were far from being united among themselves, and at one moment a plan had been formed for a Tartar general to declare himself an ally of the Chinese on the appearance of their army. The dilatoriness of the Chinese commander gave time for the Tartar king to discover this arrangement, and while his lieutenant was meditating over his act of treachery, the order was given for his execution. Nor did the misfortunes of the campaign end here. Ousselou, the Tartar chief, promptly followed up this blow by attacking with overwhelming numbers the advanced guard of the Chinese army, which he destroyed to a man; and while the Chinese commander-in-chief remained inactive on another part of the frontier, Ousselou marched through Shensi, putting the inhabitants to the sword, and giving towns and hamlets to the flames. The Emperor was advised to leave these fierce and turbulent neighbours alone; but the advice was not palatable to him, and he continued his warlike preparations. The death of Ousselou, in the moment of his triumph, removed the pressing danger, and left Vouti time to perfect his arrangements.

In B.C. 101 Vouti announced his formal intention of attacking the Tartars in order to exact retribution for the insults offered to the national dignity, for, as he said, "chastisement does not become the less deserved because tardy." The new Tartar king showed some symptoms of a desire for a pacific settlement, and negotiations of a semi-formal character were begun between him and the Chinese. Neither party was remarkable for good faith, and, after some months passed in attempting to get the better of each other, the usual climax was reached. The Chinese envoys were placed in confinement, and a fresh rupture went to swell the long list of grievances that had already been accumulated. Vouti's arms were again destined to defeat, partly through the incompetence, a second time demonstrated, of Li Kwangli, who had been entrusted by the Emperor with the command. The Chinese army was virtually destroyed on this occasion after a brave resistance. It became of the greatest moment that

this disaster should be promptly retrieved, and Liling, Li Kwangli's grandson, volunteered to accomplish the task. He marched into the Tartar country with a small force, won one battle by the superior skill of his archers, fought a second with indecisive result, but was worsted in a third. Fighting valiantly he strove to make good his way back to China; but harassed throughout his march, and surrounded by vastly superior numbers, he thought discretion the better part of valour, and laid down his arms. Not content with this, he came to the decision, by a line of argument difficult for one of our customs to appreciate, that it was more in consonance with his honour to take service with the victor than to return to the presence of his own prince as a vanquished general.

The very next enterprise which Vouti attempted against the Tartars fared as badly at their hands, and proof was afforded that Liling had done as much in his campaign as it was in human resolution and capacity to perform. In the year B.C. 90, when Vouti had been engaged for fifty years in constant war with the Tartars, Li Kwangli was sent on a fresh and, as it proved, a last mission of revenge. At first he carried everything before him, defeating the Tartars in several battles, and was on his road back to China when he was surprised by his crafty enemy and defeated. Li Kwangli laid down his arms and, like his grandson Liling, accepted the favours of the Tartar king. This was the last act in the foreign policy and military career of the great Emperor. The Tartar war which he had waged for more than fifty years had not closed in the decisive manner which he had anticipated; but, although marked by many disasters after the death of the great generals Wei Tsing and Hokiuping, it left China stronger on her western frontiers, and with a greater reputation in Asia than she had ever before possessed.

Three years after the defeat of Li Kwangli, Vouti died in the seventy-first year of his age. He had been Emperor of China for the long space of fifty-four years. His later days had been rendered unhappy by quarrels in his own family, and the rivalry of his heirs provoked disturbances which, on one occasion, resulted in a short civil war. Ill-health and the

superstitious habits * which he had acquired tended to throw an increased gloom over his declining days. The anxiety produced by the Tartar war did not allow of its being mitigated, and when he found his end approaching there was as much of apprehension as to possible dangers, as of satisfaction at what he had accomplished in his survey of the great charge which he was about to leave to other hands. When Vouti's death was announced the Chinese and their neighbours felt that a great prince was no more, and that his death might be the signal for disturbance and change.

There can be no question of the great qualities of the Emperor Vouti. In Chinese history there stand out at intervals, generally far apart, the names and the deeds of rulers as great as any the world has ever seen. Of these we may claim for Vouti that he was, among Chinese monarchs, the second in point of time. The great Tsin ruler Hwangti may fairly be considered the first of these, as in some respects he proved himself to be the greatest prince that ever sat on the Dragon throne. Vouti appears to us to have been a less able ruler than the founder of the Tsins, but it must be remembered in his favour that his conquests proved more durable than those of his great predecessor. Fuhkien, Szchuen, Yunnan, became under his guidance Chinese provinces, and the independent kingdoms south of Kohonor were reduced to the condition of vassal states. In his own habits he was studiously moderate. His chief amusement in early days had been to hunt fierce animals unattended by the great escort customary with Chinese rulers. He was of robust build, and addicted to martial pursuits; but neither his passion for sport nor the desire for martial fame made him

* The Chinese historians have preserved several stories indicative of Vouti's superstition. Of these the following, which tells its own tale and carries its own moral, is perhaps the most striking: A would-be magician pretended that he had discovered an elixir of eternal life, and having obtained audience of the Emperor, was on the point of offering him a draught when one of the courtiers present stepped forward and quaffed it off. Vouti, enraged, turned upon his minister and ordered him to prepare for instant death. "Sire," replied the ready courtier, "how can I be executed since I have drunk the draught of immortality?" The quack was exposed, and Vouti admitted the folly of the whole proceeding.

blind to the true wants of his people. With the Tartars he saw there never could be any stable peace, and his anticipations proved more correct than even he could have imagined. He would have continued to the very end a war which had to partake of much of the character of one of extermination, and when he left it unfinished he impressed on his ministers the duty of continuing and concluding it. His deeds lived after him, the Han dynasty became established and consolidated under his influence, and his memory still survives among the Chinese, who are now, and probably will always be, proud to style themselves "the sons of Han."

CHAPTER VII.

THE HAN DYNASTY (*continued*).

ON Vouti's death, Chaoti, the only one of his sons who had taken no part in the civil disturbances referred to in the previous chapter, became Emperor ; but, as he was only eight years old, his share in the functions of government was at first small. The administration was entrusted to and carried on by the two ministers Tsiun-pou-y and Ho Kwang. As has often been the case in Eastern countries, the death of a strong ruler and the accession of a child to supreme power afforded the opportunity sought by the ambitious for the advancement of their private ends. So it was when Vouti died and Chaoti was proclaimed successor, for Lieoutan, one of Vouti's elder sons by a wife of inferior rank, openly raised the standard of revolt, and enjoyed for a brief space in his own principality the attributes of imperial power. But the movement did not receive popular support, and the measures taken by Chaoti's ministers were so effectual that within a few months of Lieoutan's first declaration his followers had been dispersed, and he himself was occupying a prison in the palace fortress at Changnan. The clemency of the new ruler was shown by his moderation towards the rebel, whose life he spared. Another attempt was made by an impostor, a sort of Perkin Warbeck, who gave himself out as Vouti's eldest son, but his career was cut short by Tsiun-pou-y arresting him with his own hands.

Although Lieoutan had experienced the generosity of his brother he had by no means laid aside his pretensions to the throne. Permitted to be at large in the palace, he turned his

liberty to account by joining in the intrigues of dissatisfied courtiers against both the minister Ho Kwang and Chaoti himself. He became the centre of these plots which had as their chief object the placing of himself upon the throne. Fortunately intelligence of these schemes reached Chaoti's ears before their preparations had been completed, and we are told that "he took up his red pencil, and signed the order for the arrest of the conspirators with the greatest possible calmness." The whole of the conspirators were publicly executed, with the exception of Lieoutan, who as a special favour was permitted to poison himself. This was the last of the plots formed against Chaoti, who throughout had borne himself in a becoming manner and had given promise of the possession of great qualities.

The relations with the Tartars were on the whole satisfactory, and Chaoti succeeded in effecting the release of Souou, a Chinese envoy, who had been kept in confinement by them for nineteen years. The fidelity of this minister, Souou, long formed a favourite theme with the ballad-makers of his country, who loved to draw a contrast between his fidelity and the falseness of Liling and Li Kwangli. While there was tranquillity on the western border the relations with some of the tributary populations were not equally satisfactory. A rising in Leaoutung had to be put down by the employment of a picked force of Chinese troops, and this happened on two different occasions. Similar events occurred in other parts of the Empire; but in no case did the risings assume serious proportions, and in all they were repressed without difficulty. It was just as all danger to his authority had been dissipated, and when his people were forming the most glowing expectations of his future rule, that the young Chaoti died in his thirty-first year. Beyond question his early death was a serious loss to his country and a grave blow to the prospects of a dynasty which was already undecided as to its legitimate head.

Some hesitation was shown in proclaiming any of his relations Emperor, as Chaoti had left no heir; but the claim of his uncle Lieouho was considered to be the strongest. Whatever hopes may have been formed as to his qualifications

were, however, soon dispelled. He developed low tastes, and his conduct brought contempt upon the Imperial dignity. He was speedily deposed, and retired without regret into private life where he could indulge, unobserved and without hindrance, the coarse amusements for which he showed so marked a preference.

It was the great minister Ho Kwang who assumed the conduct of the measures necessary for the deposition of Lieouho, and for the selection of a successor to the throne. The latter was a task not free from difficulty, and after some consideration the choice was made in favour of Siuenti, a prince who was at this time about seventeen years of age, and the eldest of the great-grandchildren of Vouti. Ho Kwang held towards him not only the delicate relations of a confidential minister, but also the more intimate position of an affectionate and solicitous guardian. Ho Kwang strove to make Siuenti the model prince which Chaoti had given promise of being, and the native record runs that "Ho Kwang gave all his care to perfecting the new Emperor in the science of government." Siuenti's early years had been passed in ignorance of his origin, and the official who had been entrusted by Vouti with the charge saw no reason in the troublous times prevailing to divulge the secret of which he became the sole depositary. It was only when Ho Kwang was in search of a prince that Pingki, the official in question, produced the right heir. The first acts of the new Emperor were marked by moderation and a sound appreciation of the wants of his subjects. They furnished the nation with good reason for looking forward to a reign of peace and internal progress and development. Nor were they to be disappointed.

Early in the new reign (B.C. 71) the Tartars, thwarted in their attempts to break through the Chinese frontier, turned their attack against the dependent kingdom of Ousun, which appealed for aid at Changnan. After the usual deliberation, and a fresh declaration of the views of Chinese statesmen on the subject of the Tartars, it was decided to comply with the request of the vassal Prince of Ousun, and to send a large army to his assistance. The generals were appointed, and the army set out in due course for its destination; but these

unwarlike generals had far different ideas in their heads than those connected with the hardships of campaigning and the dangers of battle. Their instructions were to drive the Tartars beyond the Gobi desert ; but after passing a pleasant sojourn in the close neighbourhood of Shensi, they returned, giving out that they had won several victories and accomplished all the objects of the war. This deception could not remain long concealed, and when it was made known the generals were commanded to put an end to their existence. This order they showed no reluctance in obeying, and perhaps they may have consoled themselves with the reflection that, as victory would have been impossible to such as them, they were meeting the inevitable after a more pleasant experience than would have been that of the warlike qualities of the Tartars.

Meanwhile the Tartars were themselves not free from some of those disturbing elements which have been seen at work within the Chinese Empire. Civil strife and conflicting ambitions had set one tribe against another, and chief opposed to chief. Five kings had risen in their midst, and these warred with each other after the bitter fashion of their race. The struggle sapped their strength and exhausted their energy, and several of the chiefs turned towards China in the desire to obtain some guarantee for the preservation of the possessions that remained to them. One prince voluntarily surrendered to the border authorities, and another came in, after a formal arrangement had been drawn up, and was received with open arms by the Emperor. In accomplishing this satisfactory result the well-known character of the Emperor for justice and generosity towards his opponents exercised a great influence, and for the first time in history the Chinese troops became known among the peoples of Eastern Asia as "the troops of justice." They were the police, defending the weak against the turbulent and the strong. It was at this period that all the peoples from Shensi to the Caspian Sea acknowledged in some form, however vague and slight, the supremacy of China. Siuenti determined to celebrate this event by erecting a hall in which portraits of all the generals and statesmen who had helped

to attain this great result should be placed. This hall was named the Kilin or pavilion, and prominent among those whose images stood therein were Souou, Pingki, and, greatest of all, Ho Kwang. Thus terminated for this epoch, in an act of ceremony, the long Tartar wars (B.C. 51).

One circumstance, and one only, had marred the happiness of the young Emperor, and disturbed the tranquillity of his reign. The great minister Ho Kwang, who had done so much for his country, showed his true greatness of mind by the moderation of his conduct. He had played the part of king-maker with the necessary address and courage; but he had no evil intentions against either the constitution or the person of the Emperor. He was well content that the state should be governed by its legitimate head, and, very shortly after his elevation, Siuenti was practically left to rule the Empire in accordance with his own judgment. But if Ho Kwang was perfectly satisfied with being the chief adviser and minister of a constitutional sovereign, his family were not equally content with a subordinate position. To them it seemed that nothing short of supreme power could reward Ho Kwang's deserts, or satisfy their desires. Therefore while Ho Kwang was himself perfectly satisfied and devoted to his master, there was in the state a party, nearly allied by blood to himself and trading on his name, which was working to effect the overthrow of Siuenti.

At the bottom of this plot, which had for its object the raising of a member of Ho Kwang's family to the Imperial dignity, and which, if it failed, would be sure to have the effect of discrediting that minister, was a woman, goaded by an insatiable ambition, unrestrained by those dictates of generosity that often qualify the acts of the worst men. Hohien, Ho Kwang's wife, had obtained a footing on the threshold of the enterprise she had conceived by the marriage of her daughter with the Emperor; but, although both mother and daughter endeavoured to obtain the concession, Siuenti persistently refused to acknowledge as Empress any except his first wife Hiuchi. Hohien was not to be easily balked in her desire. Hiuchi fell ill and died; and the physician, a creature in the pay of Hohien, was cast into prison, there

to await examination under torture. In this extremity Hohien made full confession to Ho Kwang, who, to save the family honour, ordered that torture should not be applied to the prisoner. The pressing danger of discovery thus staved off, Hohien's daughter was proclaimed Empress; while Hohien, still unsatisfied, turned again to dangerous plotting. Siuenti showered honours on this family, which Ho Kwang refused for himself, and unwillingly saw bestowed upon his relatives. But if Siuenti was thus anxious to show his appreciation of Ho Kwang's services, he was actuated as much as ever by a love of justice. Hohien's daughter had been recognized as Empress, but when an heir-apparent was proclaimed (B.C. 67) it was the eldest son of Hiuchi, the murdered wife. Soon after this event a design which Hohien formed for the poisoning of the young prince was discovered, and she and all the members of her family were either executed, or commanded "to drink the waters of eternal life." So was it that the crimes of a woman cast a shadow of opprobrium across the spotless name of Ho Kwang, one of the greatest statesmen China ever possessed.

Siuenti died in the year B.C. 49, at the early age of forty-two, having during his reign of twenty-five years evinced many great and estimable qualities. He had directed much of his attention to the laws which he had simplified, and his eulogist boasts that he had stripped them of everything which could serve as a subterfuge for the elusion of prompt and effectual justice—a statement which, remembering that Chinese intellect is as subtle and acute as any in the world, must be accepted with much reservation. Entitled to respect for what he himself accomplished, there is no doubt that his successful administration was also largely due to the wise acts of the great Vouti.

Yuenti, the son of the deceased Emperor, had the good fortune to ascend the throne at a more mature age than any of his immediate predecessors, but he appears to have been unable to benefit either himself or his people by the fact that he was competent to assume the task of government without any interregnum. His first acts were fairly prudent, and of a kind to make the person of the new prince popular;

but his reign of sixteen years affords little scope for detailed description. A great rising took place in the southern provinces, and a large army had to be sent against the rebels. At first too small a force was sent, and the rebels were successful; but then large reinforcements were despatched, and the rising was stamped out. The reputation won by this victory was enhanced by a great triumph over a chief of the Tartars. Chichi, one of the kings of the Hiongnou, had, in the disruption of the confederate power of his people, gathered to himself a formidable band of devoted followers. He assumed an attitude of semi-defiance towards the Chinese, who at first only regarded his movements with suspicion, and then came to the decision to put a stop to them before they could constitute a danger to their peace of mind. For this, however, the credit did not belong to Yuenti.

Chintang, the Chinese commander on the Shensi frontier, was one of those resolute and prescient soldiers who never hesitate when an emergency arises to act in independence of their official instructions. Holding joint command with himself was one of those men who, always respectable, adhere to the minutiae of their duty when the safety of the state is imperilled, and who postpone action until the favourable opportunity has passed away. On this occasion Chintang, taking all responsibility upon himself, resolved, in spite of the objections of his colleague, who wished to refer the matter to the capital, to attack Chichi before he was fully prepared for war. The boldness of his plan was equalled by the celerity with which he carried it into execution. By forced marches he approached and surrounded the chief camp of the Tartar king, and, although Chichi defended himself valiantly, the Chinese attack succeeded. Chichi died of his wounds, and his head was sent to Changnan. The effect produced by this great victory was felt along the whole of the frontier, and all the Tartar chiefs hastened to renew the expression of their dependence on the Emperor.

The expedition against Chichi was, indeed, the sole event of any importance which marked the reign of Yuenti. That prince proved timid, irresolute, and superstitious. An

eunuch swayed his council, and luxury and apathy prevailed in his palaces. The Empire was prosperous because it enjoyed peace, but the peace was not so much due to the vigilance of the sovereign as it was the natural consequence of previous events. Yuenti died in the sixteenth year of his reign, unmourned by the subjects who had welcomed his accession (B.C. 33).

His son Chingti became Emperor, and one of the first acts of the new reign was the disgrace and banishment of the eunuch who had injured the character of Yuenti's administration. But as he replaced him by distributing the higher offices indiscriminately among the relations of his mother, neither the public service nor those representing it benefited by the change. Chingti soon showed that he was not much impressed by the greatness of his position. He neglected the cares of government for the pleasures of the table, and his amours and carousings became the scandal of the well-ordered and decorous Chinese officials. Various calamities fell on the country during his reign. Floods and violent storms were of frequent occurrence; and on one occasion Changnan, the capital, was flooded, and the Emperor and his family had to seek safety in boats. These misfortunes were further aggravated by popular disturbances and by the decline in vigour of the central authority. As if to reflect on the conduct of this prince, the King of Kipin, or Samarcand, who had alone held aloof from China under the previous reigns, sent an embassy to Changnan, where it was honourably received. Chingti saw in this act a testimony to his own greatness, and not the result of the wisdom of his predecessors. Fortunately for China, Chingti died suddenly after he had been on the throne for twenty-six years. Unregretted, save by those who had shared his orgies, this prince has left the name of being one of the worst of Chinese monarchs, a kind of Chinese Vitellius. His death happened in the year B.C. 7.

Chingti was succeeded by his nephew Gaiti, who endeavoured to restore the sinking credit of his House. He had not been an indifferent spectator of the disorders in the palace during the reign of his uncle, and he strove to remove

the abuses and to generally reform the state administration. But his reign was all too short to afford scope for the amiability of his disposition and to allow of his reform taking root. He surrounded himself with men of his own age, and the nation anticipated that he would establish a new order of things. If time did not allow of any very remarkable achievement being performed, there was at least a return of vigour to the administration, and Gaiti's reign might have taken a high place among the Han Emperors had it been of longer duration. He died one year before the commencement of our era, having occupied the throne only six years.

Among the great officials who had been displaced by Gaiti was Wang Mang, who had taken a considerable part in affairs during the life of Chingti, but who, on the death of that prince, had thrown up his appointments and retired into private life. He had, however, far from given up the ambitious dreams which he had cherished from his youth, and his powerful influence at court brought him back into public life on Gaiti's death. One of his first acts was to disgrace and overwhelm with ruin the favourites and admirers of the deceased Emperor, when, having accomplished this to his own satisfaction, he entered into a pact with Gaiti's mother for the governing of the state. There was a short interregnum during which these events occurred, and then a young grandson of the Emperor Yuenti was placed by these allies on the throne. As he was only nine years of age, he was unable to assert his rights in matters of state, and the persons who put him forward gave him the name of Pingti or the peaceful Emperor. Pingti began his reign in the first year of our era, but as it closed within five years it need hardly be said that the transactions under his nominal guidance were carried out without either his cognizance or consent.

Beyond incurring blame for his insatiable ambition the administration of Wang Mang deserves praise rather than censure. He preserved the national credit in the necessary dealings with the neighbours of the state. The Tartars were compelled to comply with the letter of their treaties,

and the kingdoms of the south sent tribute and presents to the capital. In all his acts Wang Mang strove to obtain a popularity which would enable him to shake himself free, when the favourable opportunity should present itself for throwing aside the mask, from the few trammels upon his conduct left to such Imperial authority as remained.

The one element of embarrassment to him was the want of money ; and this compelled him to resort to the desperate expedient of stripping the tombs of the deceased princes of the Han family of the jewels and other valuables buried with them. This act was, no doubt, shocking to the higher orders, but by some skilful manipulation, which the records do not preserve, Wang Mang was able to commit this sacrilege without alienating the support of the people, although he was violating one of the most cherished of Chinese customs. Having gone to this length, Wang Mang did not hesitate to take the next step, and get rid of the Emperor. Wang Mang himself handed Pingti the poisoned cup, and when the unfortunate boy was lying in agony in the palace, Wang Mang had the presence of mind to loudly express his grief at the sad fate which had befallen his master.

A child named Jutse Yng was placed upon the throne for the sake of appearances, but Wang Mang was accorded all the prerogatives of supreme power. A party among the great men in the state was formed against him, but after some hesitation, Wang Mang grappled with and crushed them. Jutse Yng had then served his turn, and vanished from history. Wang Mang, after ten years' intriguing, discarded further concealment, and was proclaimed Emperor. He sought to give permanence to his dynasty by taking a fresh name and style. The Han Empire became by his decree that of the Sin, and for a short space disappeared from history ; but the later historians have agreed in expunging its name from their works.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REVIVAL AND FALL OF THE HANS.

HAVING cast aside the mask, and assumed supreme authority, Wang Mang hoped to strengthen his position by a policy of violent and sweeping innovation. He divided the Empire into principalities more in accordance with what he considered his interests demanded, and reduced the number of feudal princes by numerous depositions and arrests. The very boldness of his measures unnerved his enemies, and he carried matters with a high hand during the earlier years of his usurped authority. The success of his audacity was not to prove of long duration, and while his subjects were cowering under his implacable resentment, his neighbours saw in the disappearance of the Hans and the rise of an adventurer the opportunity of setting aside the arrangements which wiser rulers had concluded for the purpose of binding them to the Chinese alliance. The Tartars were the first to openly proclaim their resolution to concede no longer to the new ruler the outward marks of respect which they had yielded to his predecessors. They openly set Wang Mang at defiance, and, fostering the agitation among all the bordering tribes, carried their incursions into provinces which had become prosperous and wealthy by their absence during a whole generation. In the face of this irruption, Wang Mang showed the greatest irresolution and weakness. While his frontier garrisons were besieged or destroyed, he did nothing to assert his authority, and allowed the Tartars to continue their raids with impunity. The provinces of the north, which had flourished during thirty years of assured tranquillity, again suffered from the

depredations of the neighbouring hordes, and the wealth and prosperity which had come in the train of peace vanished from the land.

In comparison with other troubles, which speedily arose, that caused by the Tartars was slight. Wang Mang was threatened by dangers much more pressing and nearer home. Risings in the eastern provinces were soon succeeded by a serious rebellion in the south, where the districts beyond the Great River were but loosely knit to Chinese authority. Wherever Wang Mang turned, there were foes either declared, or only awaiting a favourable opportunity to reveal themselves. Wang Mang had displaced the Hans, and raised himself to a supreme position by a capacity for intrigue in the palace; but it soon became clear that, unless he could make good his position by valour and ability in the field, the Chinese people would not long accept him as their ruler. The apathy which he showed in his movements against the Tartars, who were the first to put forward a proclamation demanding the restoration of the Hans, encouraged his other opponents, and when the prevailing sedition revealed itself Wang Mang failed to act with the necessary promptitude. It was only after the popular resentment had broken out on all sides that Wang Mang began to bestir himself. He had waited too long. The spell of inactivity had warped his strength, and when he appealed to the sword the foundations of his power had been sapped, and his enemies were on the high road to victory.

Sluggish in his movements, his new-found activity was scarcely more happy in its result. Having sent an overwhelming force against a small band of rebels in Szchuen, his general succeeded in enclosing them in a town where they were obliged to yield themselves up "on terms." Wang Mang refused to recognize the validity of the arrangement, and caused them all to be put to the sword. In this act of treachery and cruelty his other enemies saw proof that the struggle was to be one without mercy and to the death. The wave of popular feeling, strong in China with the strength of a free-thinking and self-opinionated people, set in against the usurper, and in favour of that line of kings whose merits were

remembered with regret while their faults and frailties were condoned.

So it happened that after this slight success which had thrown a gleam of brightness over the darkening fortunes of Wang Mang, the popular hostility became intensified, and the confidence of the leaders of the hostile parties rose higher and higher. The descendants of the Han princes came out of the seclusion into which they had been forced, and stood forward in the van of Wang Mang's opponents. Defeat followed defeat, and the circle of his foes drew in closer and closer to his capital; yet Wang Mang, diffident of his own courage, or unnerved in the presence of danger, refused to take the field in person. After twelve years of a war, marked by all the painful and cruel circumstances of civil strife, the usurper was besieged in his capital, which he failed to defend. When the victors had established themselves within the city, and were on the point of entering the palace, Wang Mang retired to one of the upper towers to put an end to his existence; but here his heart failed him, and he was slain by the soldiers of the Han princes. All he could exclaim was, "If Heaven had given me courage, what could the family of the Hans have done?" His body was hacked to pieces, and his limbs were scattered about to be trampled underfoot by the throng in the streets of Changnan. Fourteen years of independent authority, marked by a series of misfortunes and disasters, had failed to give Wang Mang any reward or consolation for the crimes which he had committed in obtaining a position that ceased to be of value as soon as it had been attained.*

* Among the most formidable of Wang Mang's enemies was Fanchong, leader of a band of rebels in the modern province of Shantung. Fanchong defeated all the troops sent against him, and became the most popular of the leaders in the war with Wang Mang. In the very crisis of the struggle he took a step which, perhaps, had a greater effect than any other circumstance in determining the course of the contest. He caused his soldiers to paint their eyebrows red, as expressive of their intention to fight with the last drop of their blood. He gave out as his proclamation, "If you meet the 'Crimson Eyebrows,' join yourselves to them: it is the sure road to safety. Wang Kwang (Wang Mang's general) can be opposed without danger; but those who wish for death

Lieou Hiouen, the elder of the Han princes, was placed upon the throne by the victorious soldiery; and one of his first steps was to remove the capital from Changnan to Loyang. The restoration of the Hans was hailed with general expressions of delight throughout the whole of China. The old men wept with joy, says the Chinese chronicler, when they again saw the banner of the Hans waving over the person of the Emperor. Lieou Hiouen afforded the people no solid reason for welcoming the change. He gave himself up to the indulgence of pleasure, and left to his cousin Lieou Sieou the task of restoring the family authority. Lieou Sieou set about his work in an energetic fashion, and, while the Emperor was engaged in court pleasures, this prince employed himself in the reconquest of lost provinces, and in the gradual formation of a party of his own.

The "Crimson Eyebrows" who had taken, under their chief Fanchong, so prominent a part in the delivery of the kingdom from Wang Mang, had now become a source of danger to the public tranquillity. Fanchong was ambitious, and his personal influence served to keep a large number of his followers under his flag. From patriots they became brigands, and the allies of the Hans developed into their most formidable enemies. After a stubbornly contested campaign, however, Lieou Sieou completely defeated them. They were not finally overthrown until some years later, and the Crimson Eyebrows were to again come prominently forward before they passed out of history. The incapacity of Lieou Hiouen, or Yang Wang, was by this time demonstrated beyond all dispute, and the same army which two years before had placed him on the throne, declared unanimously that Lieou Sieou was the only man fit to rule the Empire and to restore the Hans to their ancient splendour. Lieou Sieou, bred to a soldier's life, was proclaimed Emperor amid the clash of arms, under the style of Kwang Vouti.

The new ruler wished to treat the deposed prince with magnanimity, although he had murdered one of his brothers, may join that commander." The Crimson Eyebrows became not less celebrated in the China of their day than the Camisards were in France. —"Mailla," vol. iii. pp. 248, 249.

and sent him a guarantee of personal safety, with an offer at the same time of the principality of Hoai Yang. This proposal the deposed prince indignantly refused, placing himself instead in the hands of the Crimson Eyebrows. Fanchong broke the laws of hospitality, and, after a momentary hesitation, caused his guest to be put to death. Thus ended the short career of the first of the restored princes of the Hans.

The very year marked by the accession to power of the Emperor Kwang Vouti beheld the reappearance of Fanchong's bands as enemies of the public peace, and as fighting for their own hand. While the new ruler was establishing his position at Loyang, the Crimson Eyebrows had seized Changnan, which they pillaged. So long as there was enough to supply all their wants in the deserted capital and the surrounding district, they made it their head-quarters, and indeed it was not until they had reason to dread the approaching army of the Emperor that they withdrew from the city, which had been the scene of the overthrow of Wang Mang, and of the reinstatement of the Hans in power. Their excesses while there had marked them out as public enemies, and although their numbers were computed to exceed two hundred thousand men, they were none the less the objects of national execration.

An army smaller than their own was sent against them by Kwang Vouti as soon as he had succeeded in restoring order in the other districts of the realm; and the command was placed in the hands of Fongy, one of the best generals of the age. By a series of skilful manœuvres he made up for deficiency in numbers, and, having worsted the Crimson Eyebrows in numerous skirmishes, he accepted a general engagement, which resulted in a complete and brilliant victory. In the crisis of the battle Fongy turned the tide in his own favour by bringing up a reserve composed of prisoners he had captured in the previous encounters, who mingled themselves without being observed among their former comrades, when their sudden attack produced a panic, and Fanchong's army was driven in a shattered state from the field. Soon after this Fanchong accepted the terms

offered him. The Crimson Eyebrows disbanded, and Lieou Penti, a younger member of the Han family, whom they had put forward as Emperor, became a state prisoner. Fongy crowned the campaign by a brilliant success over a large army composed of the fragments of several rebel bands. With this victory, won two years after his accession to power, Kwang Vouti had crushed all his domestic opponents, and was able to turn his attention to affairs connected with the state, and its foreign relations.

Although thus far victorious, Kwang Vouti had still many troubles and difficulties before him; in fact, his whole life was spent in the task of overcoming them. A great war in the south was carried on with remarkable vigour and bitterness. It had many phases, and did not conclude until a much later period; but in the year 29 of our era a general named Keng Kang brought its first phase to a satisfactory conclusion by several victories obtained over superior numbers. The honour of these successes belonged exclusively to Keng Kang, who, although on the eve of being reinforced by the Emperor in person, seized a favourable opportunity for striking a decisive blow against his adversary. When one of his lieutenants recommended that he should defer his attack until the Emperor had come up with fresh troops, Keng Kang is reported to have made the following apposite reply: "The duty of a son and of a subject, when his father or his prince is expected, is to prepare the best wine and to kill the fattest calf for their reception, and to go forth to welcome them in advance; therefore since the Emperor is so close at hand we must give battle to-morrow, in order that we may appear before him as brave and faithful subjects." The victory was commensurate with the spirit in which it was fought on the side of the Imperial troops. The rebel leaders, indeed, escaped from the field, but discord followed in the train of defeat. Mutual recriminations ensued when one leader, seeing no hope save in recognizing the authority of the Emperor, murdered his comrade and accepted the terms offered him.

Another bitter war was fought with an ambitious prince named Weigao, in the difficult country between Shensi and

Szchuen, but during many years the result proved dubious. At last this chief died, and, although his son Weichun inherited both his position and his ambition, the Chinese generals then succeeded in bringing the war to a speedy termination. Weichun, having been taken prisoner, was placed in honourable confinement, but, breaking his parole, was recaptured and executed. Kwang Vouti had been twelve years on the throne when this event occurred, and, wearied of the long wars which he had been compelled to wage, he looked forward to peace and tranquillity during the remainder of his life. It is reported that, when his son asked him, about this time, how an army was placed in order of battle, he refused to reply, in the hope that, if an everlasting peace had not been reached, his wars, at least, were over. Events were to prove too strong for him. Desirous of being a man of peace, the necessities of the time made him a warrior. While professing his wish to devote his days to the study of the art of government, and to sheathe a sword he had wielded since his boyhood, the number of his opponents, the confidence of his neighbours that China was in a state of decrepitude, kept his attention directed to the field of active affairs, and prevented the sword of just authority being hidden in the scabbard. So to the end of his days Kwang Vouti remained a man of war.

Out of civil disturbance, fostered in some cases by restless neighbours, there arose foreign wars and expeditions against the states adjoining his own. From Leaoutung to Cochin China, on all the borders of the Empire, there was not an ambitious chieftain, or a marauding clan, which did not see a favourable opportunity for encroachment, if only for the purposes of rapine. It was Kwang Vouti's peculiar duty to show that this opinion was a mistaken one, and to restore the diminished splendour of the authority of the Chinese sovereign. Among the most notable of the wars thus occasioned was that with the state of Kaochi, the modern Tonquin and Cochin China. The subjection of a portion of this country will not have been forgotten; and during the crisis of these later years there stood forth in that region a daring woman, who aspired to be the deliverer of her native land. This

heroine, a princess of the native line, was called Chingtse, and, having stirred up her own people and those of the neighbouring states, she led her army to encounter the Chinese troops garrisoning the country. Her skill proved as conspicuous as the intrepidity she had previously shown, and the Chinese garrison was either destroyed or sought safety by making a timely retreat. Chingtse was proclaimed Queen of Kaochi, and for a time she ruled her native land with wisdom and without being disturbed.

Kwang Vouti could not acquiesce in so decisive a reverse at the hands of a woman. It was incumbent upon him to act vigorously for the retrieval of a defeat calculated to injure his reputation more seriously than other disasters of greater importance. A vast armament was collected both on land and on sea, the roads to Kaochi were repaired, and after months spent in preparations for carrying on war on a large scale, an immense army was collected in the southern portion of Kwantung for the invasion and reconquest of Kaochi. Mayuen, who ranked with Fongy and Keng Kang as the best generals of the age, was entrusted with the command.

Chingtse spared no effort to worthily oppose this host, and in the battle of the war the Chinese historians admit that, had her allies fought with the same resolution as her immediate followers, it might have gone hard with their own troops. In the result, however, Chingtse was completely defeated, and her country again became the vassal of China. No sooner had Mayuen brought this campaign to a successful conclusion, than he volunteered to lead another army against the Hiongnou, saying that it ill became a man of courage to die in his bed surrounded by his family, for a field of battle strewn with arrows, pikes, and swords, was in truth his only bier of honour. Mayuen, elated by previous success, was not completely victorious in this new enterprise, and years were passed in a desultory warfare which, although tending to consolidate the authority of the Emperor, was marked by no event of striking importance. Both the Hiongnou and other Tartar tribes in the west, and the Siempi in the north were, after twenty years of constant warfare, less reluctant than they had been to accept the generous terms of the Emperor, and

Kwang Vouti's closing years were marked by, if not an assured peace, at least a respectful truce.

In the year A.D. 57 Kwang Vouti died, after a reign of thirty-three years, leaving behind him a reputation for ability, and for a desire to foster the interests of his people, scarcely inferior to that of any of his race. To his ability as a general much of the credit for the restoration of the Hans was due, and it was not the least meritorious feature of his reign that his moderation helped still more towards restoring the popularity of his family. He never pronounced a sentence of death without regret, and until his offers had been spurned, and his acts reciprocated with treachery, he never treated his adversaries with the sternness always meted out in Eastern countries to a foe. He strove above all things to restrain the ambition of the great, and to govern the country in accordance, not with the interests of the few, but with the necessities of the many. China has had greater rulers than Kwang Vouti, but she has never had one more popular with or better loved by his subjects.

Mingti, the fourth of his sons, was chosen to succeed this ruler (A.D. 57), and during his reign of eighteen years gave general satisfaction to his subjects by his wisdom and clemency. The clouds which had so thickly obscured the horizon had to a great extent cleared off, and although there were troubles in the neighbouring kingdoms, only the echo of them penetrated into China. The strength of the Hiongnou had greatly declined in consequence of divisions in their own camp, and a few successes obtained in the Kokonor region by a general named Panchow, who will play a prominent part in the history of the next reign, sufficed to bring the whole of the bordering tribes to their knees. With the exception of this war, in which the Chinese strength was only partly engaged, Mingti's reign was one of peace. Prominent among the great works to which he devoted his attention and surplus wealth, was that of regulating the course of the Hoangho, which had proved a perennial source of destruction to the adjoining provinces. Mingti caused a dyke thirty miles in length to be constructed for the relief of the superfluous waters, and so long as this great work was kept in

repair we hear no more of the overflowing of the Yellow river. Mingti, if not indulging in war, took steps to promote the efficiency of his troops. He restored the military exercise, and rendered it incumbent on all to practise the use of the national bow. Devoted to literature, he still spared time to impress on his generals the precepts of Mayuen, whose daughter Machi he had married. When Mingti died, in A.D. 75, the Hans were firmly re-seated on the throne. All rebels had been either vanquished or brought into subjection, and from Corea to Cochin China, from Kokonor to the Eastern Sea, there were none but loyal subjects or contented vassals of the Emperor.

The most remarkable event in the reign of Mingti was certainly the official introduction into China of Buddhism, which, although often opposed by subsequent rulers, bitterly hated by all the followers of Confucius, and treated with dislike and indifference by the people as a foreign invention, made good its position in spite of every obstacle, and still remains inextricably entwined with the religious customs of the nation and the state. In consequence of a dream that appeared to Mingti, and interpreted to him as meaning that he had seen the supernatural being worshipped in the West, under the name of Fo or Buddha, the Emperor sent envoys into India, or Tianchow, to learn what they could about this new teacher, and if possible to bring back his law. In this they completely succeeded; and although some rumours of Buddhism, and of the teachings of Sakya Muni, appear to have penetrated into China at a much earlier period, it was not until the first century of our era was far advanced that, at the invitation of a Chinese ruler, Buddhism made its formal entry into the country, and took its place among the creeds in which it was held permissible for rational men to put their faith.

On Mingti's death his son Changti, not eighteen years old at the time, became Emperor, and his reign also was one of tranquillity scarcely disturbed by the noise of war. Neither civil brawl nor foreign strife marred the even tenour of his days. It is true that when he assumed authority the embers of a quarrel were still smouldering on the north-western

frontier, and that the occasion was afforded a Chinese commander to show resolution of no ordinary kind in defending the town entrusted to his charge against an overwhelming force of the Hiongnou. This satisfactory incident was the only exception to prove the rule. Changti, under the guidance of his adopted mother, Machi, the daughter of the great Mayuen, and one of the finest female characters in Chinese history, turned his attention to peaceful pursuits, and by reducing taxation and regulating the imposts, sought to advance the best interests of his people.

The only war in which China was concerned, even indirectly, during this reign, was one in the country west of Shensi. Panchow, reluctant to lose the fruits of previous success, solicited Changti's permission to continue his operations on his own resources, and his request was conceded. Panchow was joined in his enterprise by Siukan, a high official, who obtained permission to recruit an army for this service from pardoned criminals—a force for the first time used in these western wars, but to be frequently employed at later stages of history down to the present day. About this time the Hans were further afflicted by the growing power of the Sienpi, a people established in the western portion of Leaoutung. Between the Sienpi in the north, and Panchow in the south, it fared badly at this time with the Hiongnou ancestors of the Hun devastators of the Roman Empire. One of the last acts of Changti's short reign was to sanction the sending of the tribute from Cochin China by land instead of by sea, as had hitherto been the practice; and for this purpose one hundred thousand taels were expended in the construction of a road to that country. Changti died in the thirty-first year of his age, deeply lamented by a people whom he had governed with prudence and justice (A.D. 88).

Changti was followed by his son Hoti, a child of only ten years; and while his reign was on the whole peaceful, it witnessed one of the most remarkable campaigns ever engaged in by China, but which, occurring at a very great distance from the centre of her power, raised scarcely a ripple on the surface of Chinese affairs. Hoti's mother became Regent, but her brother attempted to wrest, and for a time succeeded

in doing so, the governing power out of her hands. As soon as the Emperor reached an age when he was capable of ruling for himself, he evinced qualities of greatness and of virtue that won for him his subjects' hearts. During his reign the eunuchs, who afterwards proved a still greater source of trouble and difficulty, asserted themselves in the administration, and obtained some of the highest offices in the state through the ability of their chief, Ching Chong. Hoti died, A.D. 105, after a reign of seventeen years, which would have been uneventful but for the deeds of Panchow, now to be described.

During the previous reigns Panchow had warred with unvaried success in the region west of China Proper. Some small kingdoms and numerous tribes had been brought into subjection, and Panchow had spread the terror of his name far beyond the limits of his actual conquests. Several years before Hoti ascended the throne, Panchow is stated to have conquered the city of Kashgar, and to have extended the Chinese Empire to as far west as the Pamir; but when Changti died and the youthful Hoti became ruler, Panchow, the veteran general and foremost of Chinese subjects, was able to order things more after the fashion of his own heart. With a largely increased army he made his position in Eastern Turkestan, or Little Bokhara, the stepping-stone for greater triumphs in the kingdoms beyond that state. It is said that in the course of this later campaign, which doubtless covered several years, he reduced fifteen kingdoms, and reached the Caspian, or Northern Sea, as the Chinese called it. This barrier, which he meditated crossing, was represented to him by the inhabitants to be so formidable and of such extent that he abandoned the design he had conceived of carrying his master's dominions beyond its borders. The difficulties which he and his army had overcome in their long march across burning deserts, lofty mountain ranges, and mighty rivers, and through innumerable enemies, afforded every reason for supposing that the Caspian could not retard a host whose progress had up to that been irresistible. The peoples on its borders were fully cognizant of this, and they invested it accordingly with terrors that it did not possess. Panchow's

army remained for some time encamped in this quarter, when commercial relations are believed to have been established with the Roman Empire, or the great Thsin, as it was called by the Chinese. It is instructive to know that the Parthians and their neighbours placed obstacles in the way of this intercourse through their country because they found that their own trade suffered in consequence. Panchow has always been represented as having undertaken these wars from mere love of military ambition, and it would be significant to learn that his object was of so practical a character as the coercion of the peoples of Western Asia for purposes of trade. In most cases the desire to advance personal interests is found to be a more potent motive-power than the mere love of fame. After concluding this brilliant expedition Panchow returned to China, where the veteran died in his eightieth year, trusted by his sovereign, and, in no extravagant sense, the popular idol.

Hoti was succeeded by his son Changti, only ten days old when his father died, but he expired within the same year.

Ganti, son of the Prince of Tsingho, a brother of Hoti, then became the choice of the people, or rather of the Palace, and was proclaimed Emperor in the year A.D. 106, when he was only thirteen years of age. Hoti's widow was named Regent during his minority, and wielded the executive power for almost the whole of his reign of nineteen years. Long after Ganti attained years of discretion the Empress-Regent evaded the representations made to her to surrender her position. No remarkable events occurred during this reign, which proved singularly barren of interest. The Regent, wisely recognizing that the borders of the Empire had been extended further than its strength could permanently sustain, contracted its limits, and relaxed the hold that had been obtained over numerous vassal princes. Internal peace was the better preserved, and the ravages of a pirate named Changpelou were checked and their perpetrator executed, after a career of successful impunity of more than five years. Famines and other grave visitations had brought suffering to the Chinese and anxiety to their rulers; but on the whole the Regent showed herself well able to provide for all the

wants of the people ; and when Ganti died, in A.D. 124, he left after him the name of an amiable and conscientious prince.

His son Chunti, who succeeded him, soon became engaged in several small wars, out of which he emerged successfully. The later years of his reign witnessed the outbreak of several rebellions, of which that headed by Mamien was the most formidable. Mamien, aspiring to play a great part, caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor ; but his career was speedily cut short, and, being taken prisoner, he suffered the extreme penalty of the law. The only other event of this reign of any importance was the passing of a law that no one should be raised to the magistracy who was less than forty years of age. The contests among men were matched by the conflicts of the elements. To famines there were added earthquakes and landslips on a large scale among the natural phenomena of the time, and Chunti died, it is said, of fright brought on by one of these catastrophes. Of the same age as his father, like him he reigned nineteen years.

To Chunti succeeded his infant son Chongti, and to Chongti another child Cheti, a descendant of the Emperor Changti. The former was always sickly, and died in a few months after Chunti. The latter held nominal authority during one year, when he was poisoned by Leangki, a noble whose ambition forms one of the episodes of the period, and of whom during the next reign more will be heard.

On Cheti's death, Houanti, the elder brother of that unhappy prince, was proclaimed Emperor by the exercise of unwarranted authority on the part of the murderer Leangki. Like most of the ambitious intriguers who have from time immemorial infested the palace of the Chinese ruler, Leangki was not a prince of the blood, but the brother of one of the Empresses. During the long minority which had followed among the Chinese sovereigns after the death of Hoti, the opportunity was afforded this personage of advancing his own interests at the expense of the state. In the palace his word became virtually supreme, and none ventured to question his commands. An incautious phrase on the part of the boy Cheti had cost him his life ; and now, under the nominal

authority of Houanti, Leangki sought to carry everything before him with a high hand. His intrigues and crimes constituted the gravest danger in the path of the new ruler. Having removed by foul means several of the ministers of whose influence he was most apprehensive, Leangki grew so confident that he ventured on one occasion into the presence of the Emperor with a sword by his side—an act punishable with death. He was at once charged with the offence, and would have suffered the penalty of the law if Houanti had not intervened, and spared his life in consideration of his having placed him on the throne. Leangki, far from feeling grateful for this generous treatment, intrigued against the Emperor, and sought to form a party of his own. His plots were discovered, but, when on the point of capture, he accepted the inevitable, and evaded his just sentence by taking poison.

Troubles of various kinds and in different quarters beset the Chinese during this period. The tribes on their borders, constantly stirred up by their own irrepressible energy, and by the spasmodic ambition of their chiefs, again became troublesome, and the consequences of their hostile movements assumed increased gravity because of a growing disposition among them to combine against China. The Sienpi, in Leaoutung, at first carried on hostilities against the Hiongnou, but this quarrel was arranged (apparently by the subjugation of the Huns, part of whom migrated to the West, arriving in Europe at a critical moment, while the rest coalesced with the Sienpi) when they turned their united armies against China. Owing to the skill of the general Twan Keng, and, at a later stage of the contest, of Toanyng and Hoangfoukoue, these tribes were defeated, and the authority of the Emperor was re-established on a firm basis. In the final battle of the war the balance of victory hung in doubt, until Twan Keng, rushing to the front of his army, exhorted his men to charge once more, with the following heroic speech: "Recall to your minds how often before you have beaten these same opponents, and teach them again to-day that in you they have their masters." Houanti's reign was, therefore, one of brilliant military achievement; and when he died, in A.D. 167, there was no symptom that the long term of the Han rule was

approaching its close. Never, indeed, did it appear more vigorously established than when, after a reign of more than twenty years, the fingers of Houanti relaxed the sceptre of his ancestors.

Houanti died without leaving an heir, and a young prince, one of the descendants of Changti, was placed on the throne under the name of Lingti. The eunuchs had, during the previous reigns, been extending their influence, and steadily acquiring the chief posts of authority. Under Lingti their activity increased, and, finding in the Emperor a weak and easily-guided instrument, they aimed at nothing short of a supreme position, when they would be free of all control. The very first act of his reign was to extend his protection to the eunuchs whom the other ministers endeavoured to crush; and it was under the encouragement of Imperial favour that they hatched the plot which made their position more assured than it had ever been. Turning their occupation of the palace to account, they gained possession of the Emperor's person, and while one of their number amused him with sword exercise, the rest, making use of his name, seized their rivals and had them promptly executed. After this bold move no one ventured, for some time, to challenge the authority of the eunuchs.

Lingti was engaged in a war of considerable difficulty and importance with the Sienpi, who had shown a fresh disposition to encroach on the Chinese dominions, and through the courage and ability of his commander, Chow Pow, the contest had a very satisfactory termination for him. By some means the family of this general had fallen into the power of the Sienpi, and when Chow Pow came face to face with the enemy they exhibited his mother outside their camp, threatening to slay her the instant he made any movement. There was a short struggle in the mind of Chow Pow, and then duty to his sovereign and his country triumphed over his affection for his mother. He attacked and defeated the Sienpi, who, however, carried their threat into execution. Chow Pow, infuriated at his loss, offered up hecatombs of warriors in expiation of the crime. It fared ill that day with any foe who crossed the path of a Chinese soldier, but

Chow Pow took his loss so much to heart that he died very shortly after his great victory. The war with the Sienpi was followed by an insurrection fomented by three brothers of the name of Chang, and called that of the Yellow Bonnets. This confederation, like that of the Crimson Eyebrows, did not carry out in practice the admirable precepts with which it started; and after an ephemeral success, Lingti's generals succeeded in defeating its forces, capturing its leaders, and completely crushing the whole movement. Fortunate in those who acted for him, Lingti suffered none of the inconveniences which he fully incurred through his own negligence, and the confidence he reposed in his eunuch courtiers. He died in A.D. 189, after a reign of twenty-two years.

Lingti's death was followed by an interregnum of nearly two years' duration, which witnessed several events of considerable importance. It was during this period that symptoms of the approaching fall of the Hans became more clearly visible. Lingti left by the Empress Hochi a son named Lieou Pien or Pienti, and by the Empress Tongchi another, Lieou Hiei or Hienti. At first the latter found the more favour in his father's eyes, but owing to some shortcomings in his mother he was put into the background, and Hochi's son proclaimed heir-apparent. The eunuchs, and their chief Kien Chow in particular, favoured Hienti; but Hochi, mainly by the support of her brother, General Hotsin, carried her point, and Pienti became nominal Emperor. Out of this intrigue there arose bitter enmity between the eunuchs and Hotsin, the latter vowing that he would ruin them. He took his measures with great skill, brought troops from the provinces, and undoubtedly had the people at his back; but on the very day when the time had come to strike, his overconfidence gave the eunuchs a momentary advantage. He entered the palace alone, and was at once slain by them. His comrade Yuen Chow stormed the palace, slaughtered every eunuch on whom he could lay his hands, to the number of ten thousand, and took an ample revenge for the murder of Hotsin. The loss of Hotsin proved, however, irreparable to the cause he represented. An intriguing noble, Tongcho, brother of the Empress Tongchi, seized the reins of power.

Yuen Chow was compelled to flee. The Empress Hochi—who had previously got rid of her rival, Empress Tongchi—and her son Pienti were thrown into prison and poisoned. Hochi was powerless in the hands of Tongcho, and her only weapon was to exclaim, "Just Heaven will avenge us." Tongchi's son was proclaimed Emperor as Hienti, and the new reign began in the year A.D. 191.

During the thirty years that Hienti was nominally Emperor he was only a puppet in the hands now of one intriguing minister and again of another, while the country was distracted by the conflicting pretensions of several ambitious princes, each of whom aspired to found a dynasty in succession to the expiring one of the Hans. Prominent at first among these was Tongcho, who had placed Hienti on the throne; but his enjoyment of power proved shortlived. His ambition and love of display brought him many rivals, and when he issued, in the Emperor's name, an order that all those who went to court should doff their bonnets in his presence, he added fuel to the flame of growing resentment at his pretensions. Prominent among his opponents was Tsow Tsow, who in the end triumphed over him, and obtained the upper hand in the Imperial Council. Tsow Tsow, who to a capacity for intrigue added a knowledge of war, and a personal courage which marked him out as the ablest leader in the country, gradually collected in his hands all the administrative power, and Hienti found that in changing Tongcho for Tsow Tsow he had not become more independent, but had simply altered the name of his master.

If, however, the last of the Hans was powerless in the grasp of his minister, there were others reluctant to acquiesce in the supremacy of Tsow Tsow. Twenty years of constant warfare ensued from this cause, and Yuen Chow, Sunkiuen, and Licoupi set up rival parties in different portions of the realm. The first-named had himself proclaimed Emperor, but his success fell short of his expectations. His overthrow by Tsow Tsow, and early death, left the three other princes to settle the Empire between them; and although Tsow Tsow was uniformly successful in the field, he had to content himself with one-third of the state. Each of these princes,

Tsow Tsow, Sunkiuen and Lieoupi, became at a later period the founder of a dynasty, and when Tsow Tsow died his position was inherited by his son Tsowpi. This event occurred in the year A.D. 220 ; whereupon Hienti, apprehensive of violence, abdicated in favour of Tsowpi. Hienti retired into private life as Prince of Chanyang, thus terminating the brilliant dynasty of the Hans which had ruled China for more than four hundred years with splendour and wisdom. Their triumphs in war, and the remarkable progress in material welfare made by China under their guidance, had raised the nation to the first rank among the peoples of the world. Chinese armies had marched under their banners across the continent of Asia, Yunnan had been made a Chinese province, Cochin China and Leaoutung vassal states ; while the face of the country had been covered with populous cities and great public works—roads, canals, bridges and aqueducts—which still remain to testify to the glory of the Hans.

CHAPTER IX.

TEMPORARY DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE.

THE fall of the power of the Hans, and the disappearance of the main line of their dynasty in the mass of the people, whence five centuries previously it had sprung, left China split up into three independent kingdoms known as the period of the Sankoue. This fact not proving palatable to subsequent native historians, the acts of these three states have been classed together, and treated as if relating to one kingdom under the heading of the sixth dynasty. There can be no question that during this period, which extended over less than half a century, there were three distinct governments in China; and, as many subsequent events were clearly attributable to the occurrences of this time, it is necessary to unravel as best we can the intricacies of the mutual relations and foreign policy of the three contemporary and rival rulers. The first of these was known as the Later Hans, and held possession of the modern province of Szchuen, with the capital at Chentu. Although exercising authority over a smaller extent of territory than either of the others, this family of the Later Hans, on account of its semi-royal descent, is the one which the court historians have since striven to alone recognize. The second, that of Wu, comprised five of the southern provinces, with a capital at Wuchangfoo at one period, and at Nankin at another, and maintained its independence down to a later date than the Hans. The third, the kingdom of Wei, far larger in extent and including the most populous districts in China, embraced all the central and northern provinces, with a capital at Loyang, the recognized metropolis of the Empire.

The first ruler of the Later Hans was Lieoupi, already mentioned, who took the name of Chow Lieti, and who was descended in a direct line from the Han Emperor Kingti; while the general Sunkiuen, and Tsowpi, the son of Tsow Tsow, were the founders respectively of the kingdoms of Wu and Wei. It will be seen that the more powerful state of Wei gradually asserted its authority over the rest of China, and that the triumph of the descendants of Tsow Tsow was only marred at the eleventh hour by the intrigue of a successful general.

The great advantage which Tsowpi enjoyed over his contemporaries was that of possessing the recognized capital. By this means he retained his hold upon the vassals and tributaries. The embassies from the princes of Central Asia, and, it cannot be doubted, the trade intercourse as well with the regions of the West, continued to proceed to Loyang, thus giving the Wei ruler a larger claim to general consideration. That claim, however, the court historians have persistently refused to admit.

Chow Lieti, first Emperor of the Later Hans, had no sooner assumed the style of an independent prince than he occupied his mind with thoughts of vengeance for the ruin brought to the House of which he was a scion. His neighbour Sunkiuen, the ruler of the Wu kingdom, was an object of his special resentment, and, although advised that he had more danger to apprehend from Wei, and that it would be better to league himself with Wu against the more formidable enemy, he permitted his personal resentment to get the better of a conviction of political necessities. Rushing blindly into a war without due forethought or preparation, there was no reason to suppose that the Fates would disentangle him from the consequences of his own blunders.

The gravity of the danger that threatened him forced Sunkiuen to accommodate his difficulties with Tsowpi. The latter was acknowledged as Emperor, and the former was confirmed in the possession of his dominions as Prince of Wu. Meanwhile the army of Chow Lieti had taken up a position on the frontier, menacing the existence of the

state, and threatening to force a way to its capital. Sunkiuen had the good fortune to possess a skilful general, Lousun, and the ability he displayed in defending the frontier proved a better ally than Tsowpi, who regarded both his neighbours with an eye of doubt. The campaign turned out a protracted one. Twelve months were passed with the two armies each waiting before venturing to attack the other for such favourable circumstances as never came. These Fabian tactics were mostly in favour of the force which was fighting on its own soil and with a friendly population at its back. When Chow Lieti's army was reduced by inaction, and dispirited by the failure to obtain any result, that of Lousun was still comparatively fresh and eager for the fray; and then Lousun resorted to all the strategy within his knowledge. A night attack in force, and at several points, carried everything before it. The best generals of Chow Lieti were either slain or taken prisoners; thousands of his soldiers fell on the field of battle, thousands more were captured, and all the baggage of the camp became the spoil of the victor. Chow Lieti himself barely escaped with his life from the scene of this crushing disaster, which in the stupefaction that fell upon him he could only attribute to the wrath of Heaven.

On the news of this victory Tsowpi at once increased his demands upon Sunkiuen, and the late opponents found in the pretensions of Wei a strong reason for forgetting their differences and combining together for mutual defence—the law of self-preservation again proving superior to every other. Chow Lieti never fully recovered the shock of his great defeat, and three years after his assumption of the Imperial title he died, leaving to his son pretensions greater than his actual power, and the legacy of a feud in which he must inevitably prove the weaker party. That son, Heouchow, began his reign in the year A.D. 223, when he was nearly seventeen years old. About the same time Tsowpi died, leaving his possessions to his brother Tsowjoui, so that of the three rivals Sunkiuen was now the sole survivor that remained. The moment appeared to him to be auspicious for making an attack on his northern

neighbour's dominions. It never occurred to him that Tsowpi's lieutenants might prove more than a match for himself in the conduct of a campaign. From this fond delusion he was speedily awakened. Repulsed in two attempts to seize fortified towns, he was ignominiously defeated when he sought to retrieve his bad fortune in the open field.

And when the ruler of the Hans, or Chows, as they were called, with the aid of the great captain Chu-kwo-liang, strove to restore the balance of power, neither the advantage obtained by a sudden attack, nor the admitted superiority of the commander, availed to produce a different result. The generals of Wei triumphed, in the most decisive manner, over those of both Wu and of Chow. A desultory war ensued, in which the successes were mostly on the side of Tsowjoui, and, whether owing to mismanagement or to the hard decree of fortune, both Wu and Chow met with a long succession of reverses. In the north, too, Tsowjoui was not less successful. Kongsunyuen, King of Leaoutung, incurred his resentment, and a large army under the command of Ssemay was sent against him. Kongsunyuen defended himself with resolution, and obtained a slight success in the beginning of the struggle; but the ruler of Wei sending large reinforcements to his army in the field, Kongsunyuen was shut up in his capital and killed in an attempt to cut his way through the beleaguering lines. His capital was given over to the victorious soldiery to plunder, and the whole of Leaoutung became a province of the Wei kingdom. This decided and brilliant success gave Tsowjoui a more prominent place in the opinion of all his neighbours, but he did not live long to enjoy it. A few days after the return of the victorious general Ssemay, Tsowjoui died, leaving his throne to his nephew Tsowfang, a child eight years old. On his deathbed Tsowjoui exhorted Ssemay to be as faithful to his successor as he had always proved devoted to him (A.D. 239).

To Sunkiuen, who still survived as the last of the former rivals, the accession of this child appeared to be the long-sought opportunity for establishing his power on a supreme basis. The skilful arrangements of the general Ssemay foiled

his plans, and Sunkiuen retired baffled from the contest. Another war ensued from this with the ruler of Chow, but Heouchow was successful in beating back from his frontiers the danger which threatened him, and for a time the state of Wei was divided within itself by the intrigues of Tsowchwang, a minister who attempted to seize the governing power. When Ssemay had curbed his pretensions and restored order, other disturbances followed. Several of the possessions of Sunkiuen were wrested from him, and when he died in A.D. 252 it was clear that the days of the kingdom of Wu were already numbered. About the same time also died the brave general Ssemay, to be succeeded in his position by his son Ssemachi.

Sunleang, Sunkiuen's son and successor, rushed by the rash advice of his general Chu-kwo-ko into a war with Wei. Seven months were wasted before the walls of Sinching, a small fortified town held by a garrison of three thousand men, and then Chu-kwo-ko was obliged to beat a hurried retreat with the loss of half his army. At one time it had looked as if Sinching would have had to open its gates to the invader, and it was only the fortitude and presence of mind of its commandant Changte which averted that result. For ninety days the siege had gone on, and the ramparts of Sinching had been pierced in numerous places, and several breaches lay gaping to the foe. In short, Changte had done all that a good commander could, and, as no relieving force was near, there was nothing left for him save to die as a brave man. In this extremity he had recourse as a last chance to the following ruse. He sent word to Chu-kwo-ko that he was willing to surrender Sinching without further resistance, if the act of surrender were postponed until the hundredth day, as "it was a law among the princes of Wei that the governor of a place which held out for a hundred days, and then surrendered with no prospect of relief visible, should not be considered as guilty." Chu-kwo-ko, already wearied by the protracted defence, readily accepted this offer, but his astonishment may be imagined when a few days later he found the ramparts and forts of Sinching assuming their original appearance. All the breaches were repaired, new gates were

constructed, and fresh defensive works erected, and as these bulwarks appeared over the ruins of a three months' siege the spirits of the garrison under their bold commander rose in proportion. When Chu-kwo-ko sent to ask what was the meaning of these proceedings, and how they were to be reconciled with the terms of the agreement, Changte sent the bold reply, "I am preparing my tomb, and to bury myself under the ruins of Sinching." Of such resolute valour and indifference to death the military records of China contain many examples; but very seldom has any soldier shown such fertility of resource, and resolution not only to save personal honour, but also a charge of national importance, as did Changte on this occasion. The siege of Sinching brought honour to Changte, and security to his state; but to Chu-kwo-ko it signified disgrace and death as an unsuccessful and consequently a criminal general.

Meanwhile a series of events in the internal history of Wei had led to the deposition of Tsowfang by the general Ssemachi, and the elevation of Tsowmow, another of the nephews of Tsowjoui, in his place. Ssemachi died shortly after this occurrence, but his influence and dominant position in the state did not pass out of his family. To Ssemachi succeeded his brother Ssemachow, and the real governing power in the country remained in his hands. The war between Wei and its southern neighbours still lingered on; but in the year A.D. 257 it took a more decisive form. The army of Ssemachow under the command of Wangki won several battles in the south with comparatively small loss, and the capture of the important town of Chowchun, with its garrison of one hundred and fifty thousand rebels, struck a heavy blow in favour of the pre-eminence of Wei. Ssemachow took all the credit of this result to himself, and, in spite of the protests of Tsowmow, caused himself to be proclaimed governor of the Empire with the title of Prince of Tsin. Tsowmow was not destitute of courage, and he resolved to overthrow by prompt action this too-powerful soldier. Taking a few companions into his personal confidence, he proceeded to Ssemachow's palace with the intention of ridding the Empire of an ambitious subject. The project was a bold one,

but it miscarried. There was, in truth, to be a deed of blood that day, but Tsowmow himself was the victim, not Ssemachow.

Ssemachow, having got rid of Tsowmow, undertook the invasion of the kingdom of Chow, where Heouchow, the ruler of the Later Hans, still preserved the name and the dignity of the illustrious house from which he sprang. Tengai and the other Wei generals carried everything before them. A council of despair was held in the capital, and several propositions, some pusillanimous and others courageous, but all showing the desperate character of the situation, were placed before the Emperor. Heouchow accepted the suggestion of one of his ministers that the preferable alternative was to throw himself on the generosity of the Prince of Wei. His son Lieouchin, worthy heir of the characteristics of the great Vouti, declared that, "If we are without resources, and if there is no choice save to perish, we can at least die with honour. Let us march to meet the enemy with what may remain to us of brave men, and if our dynasty is on the point of extinction, let it finish only with our lives." To Heouchow, the timid, this advice was unpalatable, and he proceeded to grace the triumph of the victor by his own presence, while his son Lieouchin put an end to his existence with that of his family in the temple of his ancestors. It is in the act of Lieouchin rather than in the apathy of Heouchow, that the last scion of the great family of the Hans vanished from the gaze of his contemporaries, leaving a blank where once there had been the presence of a great name.

The war closed with the incorporation of the state of Chow with that of Wei. The general Tengai wrote from the captured city of Chentu to Ssemachow exhorting him to prosecute without further delay the war with Wu, so that his triumph might be made complete by the double conquest of the two southern kingdoms, because as Tengai wrote with a truth and pregnancy applicable to all times and circumstances, "An army which has the reputation of victory flies from one success to another." Ssemachow did not adopt this advice, and the conquest of Wu was put off for nearly twenty years. In A.D. 265 Ssemachow died, being

succeeded by his son Ssemayen, who at once deposed the nominal Emperor Yuenti, and had himself proclaimed in his stead. A new dynasty, that of the Tsins, was declared, and Ssemayen became the first ruler of the line under the name of Chitsou Vouti. The rivalry of the three princes and generals who had divided the Empire of the Hans thus terminated in favour of that founded by Tsowpi, the son of Tsow Tsow; but in the end it lost the fruits of its policy to the grandson of the general Ssemay who had contributed so much to its success. The Tsins won the Empire by the sword, and so long as they retained the capacity to assert their power they maintained an admitted supremacy throughout the whole of the country.

CHAPTER X.

THE DYNASTY OF THE LATER TSINS.

WHEN Ssemayen exalted himself on the Dragon Throne, and became the founder of the later Tsin dynasty, he took the title of Vouti, the warrior prince. It will be borne in mind that at this period numerous wars, the machinations of years, and the gradual growth of an ambitious family, had prevented the extension of the authority of the Wei ruler through more than two-thirds of the Empire. It became the one object of Vouti's life to incorporate the independent kingdom of Wu in his dominions; but twenty years passed away before he compassed his purpose. The speedy conquest of Chow, and the fall of the representative of the Hans, created a great alarm in the bosom of Sunhow, Prince of Wu, and when Vouti seized the supreme power, Sunhow sent an embassy to Loyang to congratulate him, and to express a desire to become the vassal of the Tsins. Vouti received the ambassador with marked courtesy, but Sunhow was still hankering after the ambitious dreams of his father Sunkiuen. The supremacy of the Tsins was for the time incontestable; but there was disaffection in the land, and their rule might not prove of long duration. So it happened that when the envoy who came "whispering words of humbleness and peace" returned south of the Great River, Sunhow began to plot not merely for the preservation of his independence, but even for the subversion of the Tsins. In Kiangsi and Hoonan, among the reedy marshes of Fuhkien and the woody glens of Kwantung, there was a furbishing of arms, and the grim expectation of coming battle disturbed the fishermen on Tunting, and the miners of Chowchow.

The strong positions held by the troops of Vouti, both on the northern banks of the Yangtsekiang, and also in the western province of Szchuen, inspired a prudent caution, and reckless as Sunhow was disposed to be, he long "let I dare not wait upon I would." As a precautionary measure, he removed his capital from Wuchang, in the plains of Houkwang, to Kiennie, in the maritime province of Chekiang. This prudent alteration had been made on the recommendation of the able Loukai ; but that wise minister did not live long to guide aright the policy of his master. His death, in A.D. 269, deprived Sunhow of his mainstay, and left Wu a divided and headless state at the mercy of its powerful neighbour.

Meanwhile, Vouti had been steadily drawing the toils tighter round Sunhow, whom he had marked as his prey. The insincerity of that prince's protestations of friendship had been made evident, and there was no valid reason why the task of uniting the Empire should be postponed in deference to a prince who was false and ambitious at the same time that he was cringing and destitute of courage. On all sides, therefore, Vouti's lieutenants were bestirring themselves, and preparing the legions that were to be launched across the Great River for the overthrow of a usurper and the annexation of his state. Along the upper course of the Kiang, Wangsiun was busily constructing a fleet of war junks, from the woods of Szchuen, to sweep down on the unsuspecting and over-confident admirals of Sunhow, while Yanghou, the greatest commander of the age, spared no effort to make the main attack successful. An attempt at a rising in Chow was suppressed in the summary manner that found favour in the eyes of Eastern despots, and a war, which calls for brief notice, with the Northern Siempi was begun ; but the successful result in the latter case proved only temporary.

In A.D. 270 the Siempi, under their king, Toufachukineng, invaded Chinese territory with a large force, and a general, Houliei, was sent to drive them back. A great battle ensued, in which the Chinese were victorious ; but the commanders on both sides were among the slain. A revolt in Leaoutung followed close on this incursion, of which the Siempi were not

slow to avail themselves. They returned in greater force, and retrieved in a second encounter their recent defeat. Several years were occupied in desultory and irregular fighting, during which the Chinese admit that "an infinity of soldiers" were slain. Their frontier officials strove, and not in vain, to set one tribe against another, and by this means, although no decisive result was obtained, the borders were kept in a fair state of security. At a later period, A.D. 281, the Sienpi renewed their raids, and a clan occupying the modern Manchuria carried its arms to the shores of the Gulf of Pechihli. So that on the whole these tribes must be held to have had rather the best of the contest during the reign of the first Tsin Emperor.

One of the most remarkable occurrences of this reign was the bridging of the great river Hoangho, a task until then considered impossible. The difficulty, and positive danger at many seasons, of crossing this great stream had at all times occupied the grave consideration of the government; and many schemes had been suggested for improving the means of communication between the provinces north of the Hoangho and those south of it. But none had produced any result. At last, in A.D. 274, an adventurous individual named Touyu came forward and offered to construct a bridge across the Hoangho if the Emperor would support his scheme. The project was brought before the Imperial Council, and, after some discussion, rejected as impossible, because, as these "wise men" naively put it, if the thing were feasible it would have been done by their ancestors. So far as the collective wisdom of the ministers could prevent the carrying out of a great work of public utility, the project of Touyu failed to obtain official patronage and sanction; but the bold engineer was not discouraged, and his frequent memorials moved the heart of the Emperor to give him permission to make the attempt. In a very few months Touyu threw a bridge across the Hoangho at Mongtsin, thus connecting Honan with Shansi. This bridge no longer exists. The state of the Hoangho is the most serious reflection on the present Government of China. Vouti came in person to see the wonderful work, and inaugurated its opening for the use of his subjects by

ceremonies of an exceptional character. At this time Vouti is stated to have ruled his people with a prudence and moderation that gained him all hearts, and certainly this useful work should not be placed last among the benefits he conferred upon China.

In A.D. 272 Sunhow had been obliged to employ force in putting down a revolt within his dominions, and by rapid marching his general Loukang succeeded in overcoming all opposition before Vouti's general Yanghou, who had promised to afford the rebel assistance, could come up. A few years later Yanghou, having completed the scheme for the invasion of the states of Wu, died, to the great relief of all over whom he had exercised authority; and the master, whom he had served faithfully and for so many years, caused an eulogium, cut in letters of gold on stone, to be erected to his memory, reciting his numerous virtues—at once a reward to the minister and an exhortation to other officials to follow his example.

The year following Yanghou's death beheld the long-expected invasion of Wu on the eve of being put into practice. Five different corps from as many points were to attack Sunhow's dominions at the same time. One general carried everything before him between Henkiang and the Yangtsekiang; while Wangsiun, descending that river with his fleet, struck terror into the hearts of the people of Wu, who were quite unprepared for this unusual form of attack. In this emergency the only device they could think of was to throw chains across the river; but these Wangsiun forced with ease by using fire rafts. The whole military and naval strength of the Tsins was, therefore, converging on the very heart of the dominions of the King of Wu, and the nearer the approach of the danger the less able did Sunhow appear to be to defend himself. Touyu, the engineer of the Mongtsin bridge, had been entrusted by Vouti with the chief command, and while his lieutenants were obtaining successes in other quarters of the field, he won the great victory of the war near the city of Kianling, which fell to his arms without resistance. The effect of this was enhanced by a further battle won at Panpiao, in Kiangsu, when Changti, the most resolute of Sunhow's

remaining generals, met a soldier's death, fighting bravely at the head of his men.

After these disasters, unrelieved by the smallest ray of success, with his fleet destroyed and his armies shattered, Sunhow came to the resolution that it was time to abandon his dreams of ambition, and to make up his mind that the supremacy of the Tsins could no longer be disputed. He therefore gave himself up to Wangsiun, the general who, by constructing a fleet in the conquered province of Chow, had done so much towards deciding the fortune of this war. This event took place in the year A.D. 280, twenty years after the incorporation of Chow, and it added to the Tsin Empire a kingdom of vast dimensions. Wu at this time comprised four large provinces, sub-divided into forty-three departments, containing five hundred and twenty-three towns and villages, and a standing force of two hundred and thirty thousand men. This large territory was re-incorporated with the rest of China, and passed under the same laws as those which had been imposed elsewhere by the Tsins.

Having thus accomplished the object of his life, Vouti showed an inclination to pass the remainder of his days in peace. He reduced, against the advice of many of his ministers, his standing army to the lowest dimensions, and he also gave himself up to the indulgence of pleasures which, in his earlier days, he had regarded with stoical indifference. It almost seemed as if his mind, having been braced to a great effort, relaxed after the strain had been removed, and refused to recover the mastery over his mundane actions. Be that as it may, the last ten years of his life were passed in a different manner to his earlier ones. After the conquest of Wu, numerous customs were introduced which ill accorded with the sobriety of the northern races. A band of comedians, composed of five thousand females, who had been wont to amuse the leisure of Sunhow, was brought to the capital, and established in Vouti's palace. His principal pastime became to spend his time in their midst, and to drive in a car drawn by sheep through the gardens of the royal residence. There was much in this to shock the strict simplicity of Chinese life, and while his great qualities are

not ignored, the native historian visits with censure this weakness of the Emperor. The close of his reign was after a different fashion, therefore, to the commencement, and although the founder of the later Tsin dynasty, he was the first to exemplify the faults which entailed its ruin.

In A.D. 290, Vouti fell ill and died, having reigned over Wei and Chow for fifteen years, and over the whole Empire for ten. He was succeeded by his son Ssemachong, who was at this time about thirty years of age. On his deathbed, Vouti left the principal part in the administration to Yangsiun, an ambitious but weak-willed personage, more anxious to advance his own interests than those of the Tsins.

Ssemachong took the name, on mounting the throne, of Hweiti, and his first anxiety was caused by the ambition and intrigues of the minister Yangsiun; but these were of slight importance in comparison with the sinister intentions and criminal designs of his own wife, the Empress Kiachi. Resolved to avenge herself for slights which she conceived had been offered her during the reign of Vouti, Kiachi breathed vengeance against that ruler's widow, Yangchi, and the minister Yangsiun, nor did she rest content until her wrath had been gratified. The weakness and vacillation of Yangsiun, who could have averted the catastrophe by exhibiting ordinary courage and promptitude, played the game into the hands of Kiachi, whose partisans attacked the minister in his palace, and put him and his followers to the sword. The Empress Yangchi was deposed from her position, and relegated to the ranks of the people. Kiachi appointed other ministers, but these soon forgot the lessons of prudence, and thought their chief duty was to establish a party of their own. The fall of Yangsiun changed only the name of the dominant minister, and the Emperor, a miserable and harmless prince, became a mere puppet in the hands of a wicked wife and a designing statesman.

This state of things in the capital invited confusion throughout the realm, and rendered it impossible for the border lieutenants to resent with the necessary vigour the insults which the neighbouring peoples dared to offer the national dignity. Risings on a small scale took place, and remaining

unrepressed, speedily assumed larger proportions. The generals sent against them passed their time in quarrelling among themselves as to which should have precedence of the other ; and when, their troops disgusted and their supplies exhausted, they hurled themselves against the confident rebels, it was only to incur a defeat which had been rendered almost inevitable by their dissension and misconduct. More significant, though of less immediate import, some of the Tartar kings were extending their authority far to the west, over states nominally Chinese vassals, and all the court did was to say that these places were too remote for any interest to be taken in their fate. Yet the key of the whole situation lay in those northern and north-western provinces, whence conquerors of China have sometimes, and devastators of her fair plains have always, come in hordes prolific of hardy warriors. Before this Tsin dynasty had been fairly placed on the throne, it was made clear that the causes of its fall were already in operation. Its vitality had never been of the most vigorous kind, and the folly of Vouti's successors made it assume a stunted growth.

In the midst of a world of disunion, and at a time when the bonds of society are loosened, it often happens that a single human genius appears upon the scene, and by some brilliant act fully exposes the weaknesses and decline of the age, at the same time that he revives the memory of former vigour. The truth of this was exemplified in China at this time by the deeds of Mongkwan, a eunuch in the service of the Empress Kiachi. When all the leading generals had been defeated, and the court was reduced to despair, Mongkwan was entrusted with an army as a last resource. His acts more than justified the choice. Although in the depth of winter, he marched against one of the rebels, defeated him in several encounters, and finally crushed him in a great battle, when his whole army surrendered. Thus did the Chinese Narses restore in one district the waning authority of Hweiti. But Mongkwan could not act everywhere, and in all other quarters of the Empire it went hard with the representatives of the Tsins. Neither the tranquillity of the realm nor the interests of the dynasty were

promoted by the murder of the heir-apparent, who was poisoned at the order of Kiachi.

In the year A.D. 304 the Hiongnou were divided into five clans dependent on the Chinese government, and a number of them had been distributed throughout the Empire. Lieouyuen had been appointed chief over them, and he and his family, that of the Lieous, occupy a prominent place in the events which happened during the closing years of Hweiti's reign. Lieouyuen's son Lieousong had had all the advantages of a Chinese education, and in addition to the martial qualities of the Tartar, he possessed the scientific knowledge and other accomplishments of the Chinese. These Tartars had not forgotten the traditions of independent authority which still survived in their history, and seeing the disunion prevailing among the members of the royal family, they resolved to turn the opportunity to their own personal advantage. Skilfully concealing their plans, they claimed to be working for the common good, and identified themselves on the first occasion with the party of the Emperor. But after a show of friendship they withdrew to Leaoutung, where they established an independent authority, and Lieouyuen was proclaimed king. Not content with this, he laid claim to the Empire as the representative in the female line of the Hans, and assumed the title of King of Han.

The disorders in the Empire had now reached their height. Hweiti was compelled to flee from his capital, which was plundered and given to the flames; but the weak king did not even then make any effort to shake off the tyranny of those who, possessed of his person, ruled in his name, but only for their private ends. His death, in A.D. 306, was a happy release from a state which possessed no meaning, and a situation full of anxiety without any compensating advantages. His brother Ssemachi succeeded him as the Emperor Hwaiti, and at first promise was afforded of an improvement in the state of affairs. At the least, it could not become much worse.

Hwaiti began his reign with the best intentions, and with a resolve to personally attend to the cares of government.

Unfortunately the situation was grave, and required acts, not intentions. Lieouyuen and his son Lieousong, with their pretensions to the Empire, and their established authority, were steadily encroaching towards the south, and their course was not to be stayed by either the virtues or the promises of the Emperor. Lieouyuen and his generals advanced to a considerable distance south of Leaoutung before their career was momentarily arrested by Wangsiun, the general who thirty years before had constructed the fleet on the Yangtse for the conquest of Wu. But the same year which beheld this ray of hope for the Tsins also witnessed the appearance before the gates of Loyang of a large and victorious army under the King of Han. On this occasion indeed it was repulsed, but the wave was only checked, not rolled back. The next year Lieouyuen resumed the war, which he conducted with not less success than moderation. Several fortresses were taken, and one great victory ushered in the new campaign, which again closed with a repulse of the Han troops under the walls of the capital. The Tsin general on this occasion skilfully availed himself of the division of his opponent's army into two bodies by a river to crush one with superior numbers. But this was only a single success. Elsewhere the Han troops had been completely victorious, and they only withdrew for the purpose of making a more decisive advance on the next occasion.

Lieouyuen's death, and his desire to leave his throne to an elder son, threatened the newly-formed Han kingdom with serious trouble, for Lieousong, who had taken so prominent a part in the wars of the period, refused to forfeit what he held to be his right. Fortunately for the cohesion of his people he proved strong enough to make good his pretensions, and, having slain his two elder brothers and their chief partisans, he caused himself to be proclaimed King of Han. These changes occupied the greater portion of the year A.D. 310. In the following year he resumed the enterprise against Hwaiti, and marched his armies on Loyang. On this occasion the capital of the Tsins fell to its northern conqueror, and Hwaiti fled from his palace in disguise. He was discovered and brought back to grace the triumph of the victor. Having

pillaged Loyang, and executed Ssemachuen, the heir-apparent, Lieousong's general carried off Hwaiti to Pingyang in Shensi, his master's capital. There Hwaiti was placed under strict surveillance, and his distressed people chose as governor of the Empire during his absence his second son Ssematoan, and concentrated their shattered forces at Mongching in Kiangnan (Kiangsu and Anhui). These preparations, and the union which at last came in the face of disaster, did not deter the warriors of Han from prosecuting their incursions against the defenceless people of Tsin. The same year that beheld the surrender of Loyang and the carrying-off of Hwaiti to Pingyang, witnessed the capture and sack of Changnan, where several of the princes of the reigning House were taken and forthwith executed.

After two years' captivity, Lieousong resolved to rid himself of the presence of his prisoner Hwaiti, and he availed himself of the opportunity of a defeat inflicted upon his troops by a neighbouring Tartar chief, to offer the greatest insult in his power to this representative of fallen majesty, and then to crown the outrage with his murder. Dressed in black, the Tsin Emperor waited at table on his Tartar conqueror, and then on a flimsy charge, of which not a tissue of proof was afforded, he was led to execution. Upon the news reaching Changnan, the ministers proclaimed, A.D. 313, Ssemaye, Hwaiti's next brother, Emperor under the style of Mingti. The new monarch brought no change to the waning fortunes of the Tsins. During the four short years of his reign the troubles in the Empire became worse instead of better, and when he had been three years on the throne the Han generals again appeared before Changnan, which had partly risen from its ruins, and captured it after a show of resistance. Mingti was conveyed to Pingyang in the same manner as Hwaiti, and after a year's imprisonment, during which he was subjected to numerous indignities, he also was executed. For the second time in the course of a few years was the melancholy spectacle afforded of a Chinese Emperor being compelled to perform menial services for the amusement or glorification of a barbarian potentate.

To Mingti succeeded four Emperors, whose reigns,

extending over a period of twenty-eight years, call for no detailed description. Yuenti removed his capital from Changnan to Kienkang, the modern Nankin, thus obtaining a temporary immunity from insult. In the same year the Han king Lieou song died, leaving to his son Lieou san the dominions which had been won by his own intrepidity. Lieou song's great qualities are clearly shown by what he accomplished. He was the first of the foreign rulers to engage in a war with, and to defeat the Chinese with their own weapons.

His death, however, brought numerous troubles upon his people. Lieou san reigned only a few weeks, and an ambitious minister endeavoured to establish his personal authority. It was not until the next year that the general Lieou yao succeeded in restoring order, when he was proclaimed King of Han. In the confusion, the capital, Pingyang, had been sacked, and the seat of government was then transferred to Changnan. The unsettled state of the country during this period may be accurately inferred from the frequent changes in the place of the capitals. Shortly after his removal to Changnan, Lieou yao altered the name of his family from Han to Chow; and as if to proclaim his hostility to the Chinese he placed Mehe, the celebrated king of the Hiong nou, at the head of his ancestors. Fortunately for the Tsins this formidable northern Power split up into two parts, each hostile to the other, and thus afforded a brief breathing space to the Emperors who nominally governed China. Of this Mingti the Second strove to avail himself as best he could, but he only lived three years to give effect to a policy which aimed at restoring his authority through profiting by the weakness and disunion of his opponents.

Although not recognized as Chinese sovereigns, the Han kings of the north ruled over large districts of the Empire, and included among their subjects a majority of Chinese by race and associations. They copied as closely as they could the practices of the greater Emperors, and their palaces and court ceremonials were in exact imitation of what prevailed at the capital under the great Hans. In one palace we are told more than ten thousand persons resided, and in China in those days the palace was not only a barrack and a

fortress, but included a park and pleasure grounds as well. The most striking and original of their customs was the band of Amazons, who were specially attached to the person of the ruler. These were mounted on excellent Tartar horses, and dressed in the magnificent fashion that becomes the body-guard of a great ruler. These luxuries, and this imitation of Sardanapalus would have been more natural, and less exposed to censure, if there were not the unanswerable contemporary criticism recorded in history that the people were ground down under the oppression of their rulers, and that the poverty of the country formed a striking contrast to the luxury and dissipation of the court. Among all the rulers who divided China between them there was not one of any worth as regards public spirit. They were all adventurers in one sense of the word, enjoying the day and reckless of the morrow. The Chinese moralist in his disapprobation of a standard of living and of governing so far removed from his maxims has had to create a semi-mythical principedom of Ching, where at least the ancient virtues and sobriety of life were practised during these dark ages of Chinese history.

When the boy Kangti died, after having held possession of the throne for two years, his son, an infant named Moti, was elected his successor. During the life of this young ruler his mother held the reins of authority, and, as if in mockery of the rampant evils in the state, the chronicles contain nothing but the record of how much the qualities and virtues of this prince were in excess of his years. The trite observations of these sciolists did not add much to the removal of national evils, and the golden promise of the ruler's younger days afforded no remedy for a crisis pregnant with danger to the permanent interests of the nation.

The skill of a general named Hwan Wen shed lustre on the military annals of Moti's reign. He defeated in a pitched battle the army of the Prince of Han, who had in turn become the victim of the corruption of the age. Very soon the disintegrating causes at work in the region brought under a single sway by the ability of the Lieou family clearly revealed themselves, and the formidable military power which had been created in the north, and which threatened to destroy

the Tsins, was dissolving again into its component parts. The revival of military capacity among the lieutenants of the Emperor, and the skill of Hwan Wen in particular, enabled the Tsins to profit to a great extent from the disunion and strife prevalent among the chiefs of Han, who all wished to be first, and have precedence of the others. So it was that in A.D. 352 the proud edifice erected by Lieouyuen and his son Lieousong fell finally to the ground, and the great family which had contested on equal terms with the Tsins disappeared from its place among the rulers, and became practically extinguished. It must not be assumed that all the advantage of this change went to the Emperor, for two new principalities, those of Yen and Chin, rose on the ruins of the Han domination.

At the age of sixteen Moti began to reign for himself, and continued to do so during the three remaining years of his life. The successes of Hwan Wen continued, and tended to restore the fading reputation of the Emperor. Moti's death arrested the career of progress, and the short life of his successor, Gaiti, did not make the prospect of the Tsins any the brighter. When Gaiti died, after holding the sceptre during four short years, his brother Yti, or Tiyeh, succeeded him. The general Hwan Wen, whose abilities had been an element of strength to his predecessors, was seized by the demon ambition, and deposed Yti after he had occupied the throne for five years. In Yti's place Hwan Wen put Kien Venti, but he accepted the charge with hesitation. Fearful of the responsibility, and trembling at the prospect of danger, Kien Venti was out of his sphere on the Dragon Throne. It was indeed a happy release for him when he was removed from a world of care and uncertainty. There is no knowing what part Hwan Wen meditated playing in the regulation of the affairs of the state at this critical juncture; but a greater power than his will intervened, and after a short illness he died from the effects of a prolonged debauch.

Kien Venti was followed, A.D. 373, by his son Ssemachang-ming, a boy of ten years old, who on his assumption of the supreme dignity took the proud name of Vouti. His reign showed a considerable revival of power, and when Foukien,

the principal of the northern rulers, threatened to overrun his territories, Vouti marched boldly to encounter him, and obtained a brilliant success over his opponent. After his defeat, Foukien's own partisans turned upon him and caused him to be strangled in his residence. Vouti appears to have thought that with this achievement he had done sufficient, and retiring to his palace gave himself up to an unbridled course of pleasure. Having offered a slight to one of his wives, she took summary vengeance for the wrong by smothering, under a bed, her lord and master whilst in a state of intoxication. So died the Emperor Vouti the Second after a reign of twenty-five years, which beheld one victory on a large scale that might have been made the stepping-stone to greater results.

The twenty-two years of his son Ganti's reign would have been devoid of interest and importance were it not for the first appearance of the man who was to regenerate the Empire and to raise China, if only for a brief space, from the abyss into which she had descended. In the north a new enemy showed themselves in the Gewgen Tartars, and in the south the daring expeditions of the pirate Sunghen spread terror and desolation along the banks of the great rivers which were the scene of his activity.

The Gewgen, or Juju, as they were sometimes called, occupied the same relative position to the Emperor that the Hiongnou and Siempi had previously, and at this time their military vigour being at its height, they succeeded in establishing their own authority on the northern skirts of the Empire. Their chief, Chelun, assumed in A.D. 402 the higher title of Kohan, or Khakhan, a name which eight centuries later acquired terrible significance in the hands of the Mongols.

It was at this conjuncture that a man named Lieouyu, a child of the people, raised himself from the class in which he was born by evincing capacity of no common order. Deserted by his parent through poverty, he was brought up on the charity of others, and from his earliest years was remarkable for his quickness in learning. The necessity of making his livelihood compelled him for a time to follow the humble

trade of shoe-making, but he chafed at the monotony of his occupation. Feeling within him the instincts of a soldier, he seized the first opportunity to adopt the profession of arms, in which he showed such proficiency that he was at once entrusted with a small independent command. It was against the pirate Sunghen that he earned his first laurels. During three years he was constantly engaged in opposing, and sometimes in forestalling, the descents made by that leader. The credit of Sunghen's final overthrow does not indeed belong to Lieouyu, but it was he who first broke the reputation of the pirate, and shattered his power by repeated successes. After this introduction to military life, Lieouyu's promotion was rapid. He led the Emperor's armies on numerous occasions; and, having overthrown a formidable rebel named Hwanhiuen in a battle which was fought with a smaller force both on land and on water, Ganti could only manifest his sense of the high service rendered by nominating him commander-in-chief of all the forces of the Empire.

Lieouyu showed no falling-off in either ability or energy, because he had attained the summit of a soldier's ambition. Marching from one province to another, he repressed sedition and restored the blessings of a settled rule; and was fast giving reality to the theoretical claims of the Emperor to obedience. In the course of his expeditions he came into contact with Topa, Prince of Wei, a district north of the Hoangho. This prince having refused permission to Lieouyu's troops to march through his territory incurred his resentment. Lieouyu forced the passage of the Hoangho, routed the army of Wei, while one of his lieutenants marched on Changnan, the capital of the newly-formed principality of Chin. The expedition against Changnan was commanded by a resolute officer named Wangchinou, who, having conveyed his force as far towards its destination by water as was possible, caused his ships to be cast adrift. Addressing his soldiers, he said: "We have neither provisions nor supplies; and the current of the Weiho bears away from us the barks in which we came. But let us beat the enemy, and while covering ourselves with glory we shall regain a hundredfold everything we have lost. If on the other hand we are conquered, death for us all is

inevitable. To conquer or to die, that is our lot; go and prepare yourselves to march against the enemy." The result of the campaign was in proportion to the fortitude of the commander. Changnan surrendered, and the Prince of Chin was executed as a rebel. Lieouyu arrived hard upon the heels of his victorious troops, and made preparations for extending still further his conquests. At this moment he was recalled to the capital, and his further advance was suspended. During his absence Changnan and all the recent conquests were lost, and a great reverse was inflicted on the arms of the Empire. In this year Lieouyu, dissatisfied with the conduct of Ganti, who had only raised him to the third rank among princes, as Prince of Song, caused the Emperor to be strangled, and named his brother successor under the style of Kongti (A.D. 418).

Kongti reigned less than two years, being then deposed by the man who had set him up. The change was effected in the most formal manner. Kongti resigned a position which he felt incapable of retaining, and the ambitious Lieouyu assumed what he had long coveted. In a field they erected a scaffold, and on it they placed a throne, from which Kongti descended to give place to the Prince of Song. Before the assembled thousands of Kienkang, and in the presence of the great officials, Kongti then paid homage to Lieouyu *; and in this act the dynasty of the Tsins reached its consummation. Their rule had extended over one hundred and fifty-five years, and there had been fifteen Emperors of the name; but on the whole no family with less pretensions to the right of government has ever lorded it over the docile people of China. The impression they leave on the mind is as vague and indistinct as the part they played in the history of their age (A.D. 420).

* The Emperors of China wore and still wear a cap or crown with twelve pendants. The assumption of this crown formed the principal portion of the coronation service. Its shape was peculiar. Round in the front, it was straight behind, and was ornamented with one hundred and forty-four precious stones. The pendants consisted of strings of pearls, four of which hung over the eyes for the purpose, it was said, of preventing the Emperor seeing those who were brought before him for trial. See "Mailla," vol. iv. p. 69.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SONG AND THE TSI RULERS.

WHEN Lieouyu assumed the Imperial dignity in the year A.D. 420, and proclaimed himself by the name of Kaotsou, the founder of the Song dynasty, China was still as a house divided against itself. Six kingdoms had been established within the borders of the northern provinces, and each aspired to bring its neighbour to its feet, and to figure as the regenerator of the Empire. As none of them were formidable, their weakness at least constituted an efficient defence against each other, and when all were decrepit there was safety in an incapacity for offence. The new ruler did not possess the means of giving reality to his pretensions of authority over these states, to which his own did but add a seventh competitor; and, although the fact is disguised as much as possible, the Songs were never more than one ruler among many, and their government always that of only a small section of the Chinese nation.

As the general of the later Tsins Kaotsou had shown great skill, and obtained many successes; but during his brief reign the opportunity did not present itself of following them up by any further triumph. The only event of any importance was the murder of the deposed Emperor Kongti, and this circumstance is chiefly invested with interest for the reason that Kongti refused "to drink the waters of eternal life," because suicide was opposed by the principles of his religion. This is the first, and indeed the only, instance in history of a Chinese ruler violating the custom of the nation by declining to acquiesce in the inevitable. Kongti was thereupon

murdered in his palace by the guard in whose custody he had been placed.

Kaotsou enjoyed possession of the throne for no more than three years. That he possessed many sterling qualities is not to be denied. His frugality and attention to his duties were most worthy of being commended; and the courage which he evinced on the field of battle was well calculated to have produced great results in an age more remarkable for the practice of chicane than for the manifestations of the qualities of a soldier. His kindness and devotion to the foster-mother who had nourished him, and who had lived long enough to see Kaotsou on the throne, were most exemplary, and received the eulogium of his countrymen. On the other hand, he was unfortunate in not coming to the front until well advanced in life, and the prudence obtained only with the experience of years made him loth to endanger what he possessed by striving to attain the wider authority with which, when a younger man, he would alone have rested satisfied.

The reign of the next Emperor Chowti, Kaotsou's eldest son, would not call for notice were it not for the deeds of the northern kingdom of Wei, the ruler of which saw in the death of Kaotsou a favourable opportunity for resuming the operations suspended through fear of the military skill of that prince. The glimpse that is obtained of Topasse, the king of Wei, shows him to have been a man of exceptional talent and energy. At the great council of war, which he held on the eve of the invasion of the Song territories, he propounded the question whether the enterprise should be begun by attacking some fortified place or by overrunning the open country. The former course was adopted mainly on the advice of Hikin, and under the command of this leading general of the period several successes were obtained by the Wei troops. It was not, indeed, until they appeared before the walls of Houlaou, a small fortress defended by a brave officer named Maotetso, that their career was in any degree arrested. Topasse sent his best troops to the assistance of Hikin, and came in person to encourage his army with his presence; but Maotetso relaxed in no degree the vigilance with which he defended his post. His skill and valour baffled the flower

of the army, and the most skilful of the generals, of Topasse during seven months, and when at length Houlaos surrendered, the conquerors won nothing but a pile of ruins. Topasse died shortly afterwards from the hardships he had endured at, and the chagrin caused by, this siege; but at all events he has secured a durable place in history by the magnanimity, not often met with in Asian annals, which he evinced in the honourable reception he accorded the gallant Maotetso.

This disastrous war was the only event which marked Chowti's reign of one year. From the first it had been plain that he possessed neither the capacity nor the desire to govern his people well. He gave himself up to amusement, and neglected all public business. The nobles and great officials thought that it would be better to check his course with as little delay as possible, and with Tantaotsi at their head they deposed him, putting his brother in his place. Knowing well that there was no safety for themselves or for the nation in a deposed prince who preserved the desire for power, they secretly caused Chowti to be put to death, thus relieving themselves from further apprehension on that score.

Although profiting by their deed, one of the first acts of Wenti, the new ruler, was to punish the murderers of his brother. In this has been seen an instance of fraternal affection; but perhaps it might be taken with more truth as showing the fears of the ruler, who saw in the persons of these deposers and executors of a king the ever-present wardens of the people's rights. This act, which was viewed at the time as to be commended rather than condemned even by those who had applauded the fall of Chowti, so fickle a thing is the public mind, did not prevent Wenti's reign beginning under the fairest auspices. On his side there appears to have been the best intentions, and as to the people, their hopes led them to augur the things which they most desired.

Topasse, of Wei, had been succeeded by his son Topatao, a man not less capable or ambitious than his father. In A.D. 426 he resolved to attack and, if possible, conquer the dominions of Hia, which had just lost their ruler; and with that object he despatched a large army across the Hoangho

under the command of Hikin, the same general who had conducted the siege of Houlao. At first the career of this army was unopposed. Town surrendered after town at the mere sight of the invader, and the troops of Hia never ventured to meet those of Hikin in the field. It was only when Hikin had advanced to a considerable distance from his base, and began to suffer from the want of provisions, that the Hia forces rallying took fresh courage, and ventured to engage the invaders of their country. Hikin was obliged to confine himself to his camp, which he fortified to the best of his military knowledge, and there he prepared to offer a stout resistance. The day arrived, however, when his stock of supplies was completely exhausted, and the soldiers had no alternative between surrender and cutting their way through the enemy. In these straits Hikin's fortitude did not shine with so bright a glow as that of Gankiai, who scouted all idea of surrender, and led a fierce attack upon the beleaguering army. In this battle the army of Wei was completely victorious, and Gankiai had the honour of taking the Prince of Hia prisoner with his own hand. Gankiai received all the credit of this victory, which irritated Hikin so much that he resolved at all hazards to perform some brilliant action which should eclipse the feat of his colleague whose name and deed were now on the tongues of all men. Partly no doubt by his own carelessness, and also through his tyrannical treatment of the soldiers in contravention of the regulations in force at all times in the Chinese army, which disgusted every one under his command, Hikin failed in his great design. Instead of surpassing Gankiai by a fresh victory, he demonstrated the marked superiority of that officer by incurring a defeat. He marched on Pingleang, the Hia capital, as a conqueror, but it was only as a prisoner that he could obtain admission.

The next year to that which witnessed this campaign against Hia saw the Wei troops engaged in an arduous war against the Gewgen Tartars. There was little fighting, as these tribes retired into the desert on the approach of the regular troops; but, such as it was, it was wholly in favour of Topatao, now the most powerful prince in China, and

a much greater personage than the Song Emperor himself. Indeed, so completely did he overshadow the nominal ruler of the Empire that a collision between them sooner or later was seen to be inevitable, and each had been long preparing himself for the struggle. It was Wenti who first threw down the glove, but Topatao showed no hesitation in picking it up.

The great province of Honan, lying south of the Hoangho, and to the north-west of the Song capital (Nankin), had been overrun and annexed by Wei in the course of the campaign in the reign of Chowti. Wenti resolved, in A.D. 430, to attempt its reconquest. For that purpose he assembled an army of fifty thousand men, and concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with Hia against the common foe. Before ordering the advance of his army, part of which was to be conveyed in boats up the Hoangho, Wenti sent an embassy to the court of Topatao, requesting him to hand over all that part of Honan which lies south of the Yellow River. Topatao's reply was dignified and to the point. "I was not out of my teens when I heard it said on all sides that Honan belonged to my family. Go and tell your master that if he comes to attack me or mine, I shall defend myself; and even if he succeed in seizing this province, I shall know how to retake it as soon as the waters of the Hoangho are frozen." The war forthwith commenced, but in accordance with sound strategy Topatao withdrew his garrison from southern Honan, and stationed his army on the northern banks of the Hoangho. The ostensible object of the war was therefore obtained without a blow. It only remained for Topatao to put his threat into execution with the advent of winter.

Taoyenchi, Wenti's general, made all the necessary preparations for the defence of the territory which he had so speedily subdued, and the need of fortified places was soon shown by the activity of Topatao's lieutenants. The valiant Gankiai, entrusted with the chief command in the field, sought an early opportunity of adding to his reputation. The occasion soon offered itself, for one of the Song generals ventured to pass over the Hoangho, when his detachment was attacked by Gankiai with a superior force, and cut to

pieces. Gankiai then crossed the river at an unguarded spot, and obtained several successes over the Song generals. The effect of these victories was enhanced by a severe defeat inflicted about the same time by Topatao in person on the army of the Prince of Hia. Very few months after the first declaration of war the formidable league against the kingdom of Wei had failed to achieve any permanent success. The victories of the war had been to the credit of Topatao, and Wenti could only console himself by making the most of the hold he had secured over southern Honan, which each day was slipping more completely out of his grasp.

In this emergency Wenti entrusted a fresh army to Tantaotsi, a general who had taken a foremost part in the deposition of his predecessor. Sent to repair the faults of the other Imperial generals, Tantaotsi was fortunate in finding an early opportunity of accomplishing his task. In the district watered by the Tsiho he fought no fewer than thirty combats with uniform success, and it was only the want of provisions that compelled him reluctantly to order the withdrawal of his troops. The army of Topatao hung constantly on his rear, and all the knowledge of the Imperial general was required to bring his outnumbered force scatheless from the ordeal. The Wei army then again crossed the Hoangho, and re-occupied Honan. Topatao had fulfilled his promise. Honan, momentarily lost, had been won back, and Wenti's great effort had had no other result than to exhaust his strength and waste his resources. Topatao was relatively the stronger by the overthrow of the military power of both Hia and the Songs; and, having annexed the greater portion of the former kingdom, his victorious army stood ready to meet any opponent and to give law to fresh regions. The reputation of this great success went abroad among the nations, and embassies came from distant parts of Asia to express to Topatao the foreign opinion of his achievement. There was at this time a prevailing impression that in the kingdom of Wei the ancient glories of China were about to revive.

At the court of Wenti the gloom was in proportion to the gravity of the situation. A war, in which many thousands of

lives and an infinity of treasure had been expended, closed without result. The enterprise had been commenced for the acquisition of a definite object, and the people looked forward to the rewards of victory with a full appreciation of their value. By as much as Wenti's policy had been granted popular support and approval on the assumption that it would prove successful, by not less was it condemned, and repudiated when it was seen to have resulted in hopeless failure. The national rejoicings had been turned into lamentations, and in place of garlands on the temples, the cypress and the myrtle decked the tombs in memory of those who had fallen beyond the Hoangho. Wenti assuredly felt the full bitterness of his experience, for to him, more than to either his generals or his subjects, it meant anxiety and danger. In several quarters of his dominions pretenders to his throne put themselves forward, and the significance of their act was increased by the circumstance that they all claimed to represent the family of the Tsins. And as if the dangers and anxieties of his position were not sufficient, Wenti, by his own rash and ill-judged act, aggravated them by executing Tantaotsi, the only man who had shown any skill or met with any success in the war with Topatao of Wei!

The martial instincts of the two peoples having been indulged, and no immediate inducement remaining for either to again tempt the fortune of war, both Wenti and Topatao devoted themselves, we are told, to the interests of science. The study of history was encouraged in the dominions of Wenti—of that history which was the most expressive commentary on his acts and their crushing condemnation. He also ordained that no magistrate should remain in the same office for a longer period than six years, a measure calculated to secure popular support, and to advance the interests of the people. Topatao was in no way behind Wenti in his endeavours to benefit his people, but he varied the monotony of domestic legislation by the exciting persecution of the Buddhists within his dominions. These had made many converts, and were permeating with their theories every class of society. Against them Topatao resolved to employ all the weapons in his power, and to exterminate them root and

branch. It was not difficult to give an aspect of treasonable practices to the ceremonies and observances of these Buddhists and their bonzes, who were in some respects violating the first principles of Chinese life, and Topatao availed himself of the justification thus afforded to adopt the most stringent measures against these enemies, as they were considered, of public morality. The commands of the prince were carried into execution. At a blow their temples crumbled to the dust, their holy books were given to the flames, and those who were unable to escape fell by the edge of the sword. In Wei, at least, the errors which had alone brought ruin to the proud dynasty of the Hans would not be tolerated—so ran the exact words of Topatao's edict.

The peace between Topatao and the Emperor did not prove of long duration. In A.D. 450 the former crossed the frontier at the head of one hundred thousand men with the intention of finally humbling the power of the Emperor, and he was the more encouraged to make the attempt because he had recently obtained several successes over the nomadic tribes on his northern frontier. Topatao was destined to disappointment, however, for his good fortune deserted him from the very commencement of this war. Being detained with his whole army for several months before a place of little importance, Topatao saw his own reputation for rapid success wane at the same moment that time was afforded the generals of Wenti to collect their forces. He was glad at length to withdraw his army; baffled indeed in his main object, but still without having suffered any serious discomfiture. The Emperor, encouraged by this sudden change in the complexion of his contest with Topatao, resolved to follow up his success by striking a blow in his turn. His army was ordered accordingly to march in pursuit of the retiring troops of Topatao, and a fresh campaign ensued within the dominions of the Prince of Wei. A sanguinary engagement was fought outside the walls of the town of Chenching, in which, at the close of a doubtful day, the advantage remained on the side of the Imperialists, principally because the Wei general had fallen early in the battle. In a second battle fought with similar result, both sides suffered so heavily that for some

time the armies stood face to face in enforced inactivity. Under the influence of this shock both sides endeavoured to come to terms, and the arrangements for the conclusion of peace had been almost concluded when the war broke out afresh, in a final effort to obtain a decisive result for one party or the other.

The only incident in this second campaign that has been preserved for us is the siege of Hiuy, defended by the valiant Tsangchi. Tsangchi defied Topatao to do his worst, and spurned the offers made to him to propitiate that conqueror by a graceful surrender. Tsangchi foiled all the attempts of Topatao to take the fort, and met each device of his opponent with some fresh counter-device of his own. Batteries and mines were freely employed in this celebrated siege, and when Topatao gave it up in despair he had lost twenty thousand of his best men by the sword, and a still greater number by disease. The disgrace was the more keenly felt in that he had publicly sworn to burn Tsangchi, and his retreat was an acknowledgment, patent to all, of his inability to execute his threat. Neither his reputation nor his power was benefited by the senseless and cruel outrages which he committed on the defenceless towns and inhabitants along his line of retreat. The following year Topatao was murdered by some dissatisfied courtiers, and the state of Wei was for several years entirely occupied with its own internal troubles, and forgot to prosecute those foreign enterprises which had once been its principal object.

Wenti's own life was also drawing to a close. His son Lieouchao had formed a party hostile to his father at court, and in A.D. 453 he attacked Wenti in his palace, and slew him with his own hand according to some, or, according to the majority, caused him to be slain before his eyes. The parricide did not long benefit by this deed of blood. Defeated on the field of battle by his brother Lieousiun, he was unable to make good his escape. Lieousiun caused him to be executed with his family, and ascended the throne as the Emperor Vouti. Wenti was only thirty-five years of age when he was murdered, during twenty of which he had been the ostensible ruler of China.

After the termination of the troubles caused by the violence of Lieouchao the Empire was at peace, and the government of Wei, occupied with its own affairs, showed no disposition to interfere with its neighbour. Among the men who had been most instrumental in putting Vouti on the throne was Lieoutan, a member of the Song family, and for several years there were cordial relations between the two; but, at last Vouti saw in this young prince, whose great qualities had endeared him to the people, a possible rival, and one who had grown too powerful to be an obedient subject. He, therefore, dismissed him from the court, appointing him to a distant governorship; but Lieoutan was not the man to tamely submit to the slight offered him. He attempted to form a party in the state hostile to the Emperor, and might have succeeded had he been allowed time to complete his arrangements. An army of observation had been sent after him, and at the first sign of an intention to revolt he was attacked and overwhelmed. The defeat and death of Lieoutan secured peace for Vouti's last years. Being an excellent horseman and archer, he gave himself up to the indulgence of his taste for the chase, neglecting, it is to be feared, the important duties of his elevated position. He was also given to excessive eating and drinking, which brought on an attack of apoplexy. He died, after a reign of eleven years, at the early age of thirty-five, leaving to his descendants the troubles of which his own conduct had sown the seeds.

Lieoutsenie, known in history as the Emperor Fiti, or the deposed, succeeded his father at the age of sixteen. Although he reigned less than one year, he gave abundant cause for his brief reign to be remembered in Chinese annals. He began by a wholesale massacre of innocent persons, and throughout his life a minister had only to fall under his suspicions to be sentenced to death. By so reckless and untamed a savage no people in the world, and least of all the Chinese, would long submit to be governed. The enumeration of the atrocities he committed would cause a thrill of horror, but they met with their just requital before his career of infamy had more than commenced. He was murdered by one of the

eunuchs of the palace, and his uncle Mingti was appointed ruler in his stead.

Mingti was scarcely less of a barbarian than Fiti. One of his first acts was to murder fourteen of the sons of his brother Vouti, because he feared they might prove formidable rivals to his own branch of the family. But as he had no sons he adopted a child and put it forward as the heir-apparent. In China, where the right of adoption has never been recognized as in India, these supposititious princes have always been regarded with secret disfavour, and the public mind has ever been prone to expect no good from them. In order to give solidity to this scheme of leaving the crown to this boy, Mingti followed up the murder of his nephews by the execution of his brothers, and it is recorded that the inclination to crime left him only with life. He died in the year A.D. 472, and his loss was not lamented by the people.

His adopted son Lieouyu then became Emperor, under the name of Gou Wang, or Fiti the Second. He was not less wicked than either of his immediate predecessors, and his youth placed no restraint upon his criminal propensities. After four years he was murdered by order of Siaotaoching, a general of ability and reputation, and the founder of the next dynasty. Although requested to take the throne, Siaotaoching, whose plans were not ripe, ostentatiously refused, thus protesting the purity of his motives and his disinterestedness.

Lieou Chun, or Chunti, a third adopted son of Mingti, was placed on the throne by Siaotaoching, but in two years he was deposed. After his abdication, Siaotaoching consented to become the Emperor Kaoti, of the Tsi dynasty; but apprehensive of danger from Chunti in the future, he completed his crimes by adding the murder of this child to that of the boy Fiti.

The history of the Tsi dynasty affords neither a more glorious nor a more interesting subject than that of the Songs. During the four years that Kaoti held possession of the throne not much progress was made towards that regeneration of the Empire which had been put so prominently forward in the programme of each military adventurer and aspiring ruler.

It is said of Kaoti that he was more favourably known after his accession for the support he accorded to science than for his military exploits. Beyond the sentiment that, if he were spared to rule the country for ten years, he would make gold as common as earth, history has preserved no record of his achievements as a domestic legislator or as a patron of the fine arts. In this, too, it will be seen that the future was scanned by the excellence of the intentions rather than on the basis of accomplished fact. A lingering war ensued with the King of Wei, and the successful defence of the towns of Chowyang and Kiuchan left the advantage in the hands of the generals of Kaoti. At the most favourable view this was, however, little more than a drawn contest. The Wei troops were foiled in their attempt, but Kaoti dared not follow them into their own territory. The eulogium on the character of Kaoti, who died in A.D. 482, reads exaggerated by the light of what he did, and by the insignificant display made by his successors.

His son Siaotse became the Emperor Vouti, the second ruler of the Tsi family. At this time the boast was made that China had the good fortune to be divided among princes who thought only of the welfare of their subjects. The native panegyrist must have referred to a very brief period, although there is no doubt that the division of the Empire had been followed by less serious consequences than might have been expected. The war with Wei broke out again during this reign, and continued to rage at fitful intervals; but on the whole the Tsis did not get the worst of the struggle. That it was not through their merit may be perceived from the fact that under this prince, the most respectable of the Tsis, it was publicly proclaimed that they had attained supreme power "not by merit, but by force," and that a dynasty based on that principle could not long maintain the position it had wrongfully acquired. One of the most notable acts of Vouti's reign was to prohibit marriage between families of the same name. This was the revival of an ancient law to that effect, framed no doubt at a time when the intermarriage of blood-relations had been attended with pernicious consequences. It is probable that a similar evil had arisen in this age through

the falling-off in the population of the districts which preserved the closest resemblance to the old system.

Vouti died in A.D. 493, and his infant grandson Siaochoao succeeded him for a short time. In the following year he was murdered by Siaolun, brother of Kaoti, the founder of the dynasty, and having paved the way to power by further atrocities Siaolun threw aside all hesitation, and ascended the throne under the name of Mingti. On the throne Mingti showed no transcendent ability, and, although his reign witnessed another abortive attempt on the part of the Wei ruler to extend his kingdom, the Tsis could not compare for power or for the enlightenment of their policy with their northern neighbours. About this time the Weis changed their capital from Pingching to Loyang, and their family name from Topa (Lord of the Earth) to Yen (Yellow), of whom more will be heard at a later period. Mingti's last years witnessed a revival of the cruel acts by which he had won his way to power, so that when he died, in A.D. 498, it was felt that there was more cause for rejoicing than for grief. His assassination of the general Siao-y, who had done most for the defence of the state against its northern assailants, was the culminating act of his career, and brought about eventually the fall and extirpation of his race.

Of the two last rulers of the Tsis little need be said. Paokwen, Mingti's son, ruled for two years under that name, or as Hwen Hu, and on his deposition and murder his brother Siaopaoyong enjoyed the titular rank of Emperor as Hoti for a few months. Neither possessed any real power, and, as both were mere youths, they could offer only a faint opposition to the astute general, who was urged on to effect their ruin partly by a desire for revenge and partly by the promptings of an insatiable ambition. This general's name was Siao-yen, and his one passion was to exact the most ample vengeance from the ruling family for the wrong done him by the barbarous murder of his brother Siao-y. The success of his operations, the crowds of soldiers who flocked to his banner, the general support accorded him by the people, all encouraged him to proceed to the bitter end with the enterprise he had begun. In the face of this semi-popular movement,

loyalty to the Tsis became a crime, and the punishment for fifty years of misgovernment and tyranny descended with irresistible force on the persons of two youths, who had hardly assumed the responsibility of government before they found that they and their race were condemned beyond the prospect of reprieve.

The dynasty which had, as we were significantly reminded, established itself by force and not by merit, reached the close of its brief career in the murder of Hoti in the year A.D. 502. They sent that unfortunate prince, whose life had been spared, a quantity of gold, and the irony of the present brought his altered circumstances home to him. "What need have I of gold after my death?" said he, "a few glasses of wine would be more valuable." So they brought him what he asked, bottles of the strong wine of the country, and he drank himself into a stupor, when he was strangled with the silken cord of his robe—an end not inappropriate for the last of a race which had shut its eyes to the necessities of the people, and which had always sought the shortest road to unscrupulous and uncontrolled authority.

CHAPTER XII.

THREE SMALL DYNASTIES.

The Leang ; the Chin ; and the Soui.

SIAOVEN was a cadet of the reigning family of Tsi, but, aspiring to mark out a distinct track for himself in history, he took the dynastic name of Leang, of which he was the founder, and the personal style of Vouti. He experienced no great difficulty in overcoming the opposition of several disappointed rivals, and his wise moderation disarmed the enmity of many who stood on the verge of pronounced hostility. Vouti then devoted most of his attention to the administration of public affairs rather than to the possibility of extending his authority over the neighbouring states. His action was not, perhaps, marked by as much prudence and knowledge of the world as might have been expected from one who had risen to a lofty eminence by his own talents. His abolition of capital punishment was attended, as may well be believed, by a great increase in the amount of crime, and Vouti was soon obliged to suspend his well-meant but very injudicious experiment. This and other steps tending in a similar direction were probably taken with the view of making his person popular, and although condemned by the Tribunal of History, they may have had the desired effect. Unsatisfactory and inglorious as the rule of the Tsis had been, there were still those who remembered the fallen House with regret. One minister, sooner than eat the bread of the new Emperor, starved himself to death, whereupon Vouti

with the stoicism of the philosopher concealing the chagrin of the new-comer, remarked, "Is it not from Heaven, and not from court notables, that I have received the crown? What reason, then, induced this miserable personage to commit suicide?" Loyalty to an old race or an expiring cause is in most cases unintelligible to the reformer who imports and represents the ideas of the new era.

The main interest of this period continues to centre in the fortunes of Wei rulers. This great northern state was immeasurably superior to that which held together round the Imperial authority at Kienkang (Nankin), and even when broken up into two divisions, each of the fragments was more vigorous than the united realm of the Leang rulers. Yet at the time when the Leangs were first established on the throne the causes which brought ruin to the Tartar family of the Topas or Yens were already in operation. It was not, however, until after the close of Vouti's first war that they revealed themselves in even a partial degree. Throughout Vouti's long reign, the ruler of Wei was practically the arbiter of China's destiny. It was to his court that foreign embassies went, and he regulated the relations with the Tartar and other tribes from Corea to Tibet.

In A.D. 503 the first collision in the long wars, which extended over nearly half a century, occurred between the troops of Wei and those of the new Emperor. In this, as in most cases afterwards, the successes were obtained by the former, although on one occasion the governor of one of Vouti's cities had the courage to leave the gates of his fort open in order to restore confidence by showing how little he feared the foe. But this was the sole exception to the otherwise unchequered good fortune of the great Northern Power. The campaign of the following year was chiefly remarkable for the brave defence of a strong place by the wife of its commandant. Chouyang had been entrusted to the charge of Ginching, one of the most skilful lieutenants of the Wei ruler; but during the temporary absence of that officer with a portion of the garrison, Vouti's generals, learning that Chouyang was denuded of

many of its defenders, seized the favourable opportunity and appeared before the walls at the head of a large army. So rapid were their movements that they succeeded in carrying all the outer defences without a blow. At this stage, when the place was almost in their grasp, Mongchi, the wife of Ginching, appeared upon the ramparts, and restored the sinking courage of the garrison. The progress of the Wei troops was checked, and Mongchi made all the necessary preparations for undergoing a siege in form. The inhabitants were armed and the defences of the gate strengthened, and by promise of reward as well as by the inspiration of her presence, Mongchi imbued every man in the garrison with her own resolute spirit. Her fortitude was duly rewarded by the sight of the withdrawal of the baffled army under the Imperial generals. Her husband Ginching had in the meanwhile won a great victory in the field, but had been compelled to abandon the siege of Chongli in consequence of the flooding of his camp by the overflow of the river Hoaiho. Elsewhere, too, the Wei generals were equally successful, and the campaign closed for the year with unrelieved disaster for the arms of Vouti.

During the ensuing winter internal troubles threatened a disruption of the Wei state, and it appeared doubly necessary for its prince to maintain his reputation by a successful foreign war. In the spring his troops resumed hostilities with the Imperialists, and in the numerous encounters which took place more than fifty thousand men were computed to be slain on the side of the latter. Vouti's generals lost all heart, and feared to come out of their positions. Their opponents composed in doggerel rhyme * a challenge, taunting them with being afraid to cross swords with them; but neither the sneers of the foe nor the desperate nature of their position could induce them to issue from their entrenchments and assume the offensive. The Imperialists were glad

* This challenge was : "They took the head of a dead person and decked it out in a widow's cap, and carried it round the camp chanting the following ditty : ' Neither the young Siao (Siaohong, the Imperial general) nor the old Liu (Liu Singchin, a minister) is to be feared ; no other was formidable, save the tiger of Hofei (Weijoui, the only successful Imperial general).'"—"Mailla," vol. v. p. 225.

to make their escape during the night by availing themselves of a heavy fall of rain.

In A.D. 507 the struggle was renewed with increased fury. Vouti put an army of two hundred thousand men in the field, and entrusted the command to Weijoui, the only one of his generals with any name for success. Yuenyng, the Wei general, began operations by laying close siege to Chongli, which two years before had thwarted the efforts of Ginching. Chongli was a strong place, well fortified according to the ideas of those days, and protected on two sides by the Hoaiho. When Yuenyng sat down before it with an army of three hundred thousand men it was not considered probable that it could stand a long siege, and in order to precipitate its fall Yuenyng sent a portion of his army across the Hoaiho and surrounded it on all sides. The garrison held out bravely, and foiled the desperate attempts made to storm the place; and meanwhile Weijoui was approaching with rapid strides. Yuenyng began to entertain doubts of the result, but he trusted to the bridges he had thrown across the Hoaiho to enable him to come to the assistance of the corps south of the river, should Weijoui attempt to overwhelm it. So he still clung to his lines when the relieving force was announced to be close at hand.

Weijoui had taken in the situation at a glance. He saw the fatal weakness in the long line of circumvallation of his over-confident opponent, and that it was only necessary to destroy the bridges to entail the practical destruction of his force. He accordingly collected vessels, which he filled with combustibles, and sent them during the night up the river with the tide against the bridges upon which the safety of Yuenyng's army depended. The result answered his most sanguine expectations. The morning found the Wei army divided into two portions without any means of communication between them, and the southern division in the power of the overwhelmingly superior army of Weijoui. The Imperial army assaulted the lines with the greatest eagerness, and the whole of the southern division of the Wei army was either put to the sword or drowned in the waters of the

Hoaiho. Weijoui and his lieutenant, Tsaokingsong, followed up this brilliant feat by attacking the portion north of the river, and after a stubbornly contested battle, succeeded in driving it from the field. More than two hundred thousand men perished, and their standards and baggage became the spoil of the conqueror. This brilliant victory compensated for several years of disastrous warfare, and checked the successful career of the ambitious Prince of Wei. The credit for this triumph was due exclusively to Weijoui, who showed great skill and a profound knowledge of the art of war. Had Vouti followed his advice in other matters, the character of his reign might have been raised, and he might have given solidity to his rule.

Although implored by his general to follow up this advantage, Vouti determined to refrain from further action, and to rest upon his laurels. In order to obtain time for his religious devotions, Vouti refused to avail himself of the golden opportunity for advancing his own interests. Having shattered the military power of his chief adversary, he called off his troops, and permitted him to recover from a shock which, had it been followed up, would have been attended with fatal consequences. Several years of peace ensued after the battle of Chongli, and during these Vouti devoted some attention to the education and internal government of his subjects. At this period a statement showing the number of towns over which he ruled was published, and, according to this, there were twenty-three towns of the first rank, three hundred and fifty of the second, and one thousand and twenty-two of the third within his dominions.

At this time it is stated that Vouti distributed rewards among his generals, who had gained fresh laurels in a war with a rebel force, and endeavoured to promote the welfare of his people by studying their wants, and by mitigating the code of punishment in use. This may be considered the brightest period in Vouti's long reign, the time when he had not yet become the slave of a superstition, which was as violent in its expression and as ineradicable in its nature as that of Philip of Spain.*

* Like Charles V., Vouti retired to a monastery of Buddhists, and

Meanwhile, the internal affairs of the Wei kingdom had not been very tranquil or prosperous. Yuenkio had been succeeded in A.D. 515 by his son Yuenhiu as king of Wei; but the reality of power was held by his wife Houchi, an ambitious woman of considerable capacity. In a short time she went the length of absolutely setting her husband aside, and of ruling herself, in the name of an infant son. Houchi was an ardent devotee of Buddhism, and the new sect under her protection speedily regained the ground it had lost during the persecution of Topasse. One of her first acts was to declare war upon Vouti; but the result did not answer her expectations. Her principal army was defeated; and, had it not been for the brave defence of Tsetong by Lieouchi, the wife of the commandant, the war would have been marked by nothing but disaster. When the Imperialists appeared before the place, Lieouchi put herself at the head of the troops, and made all the preparations for defending it to the last extremity. After the siege had continued for some days, she discovered that one of her lieutenants was playing the traitor. She invited him to a general council of her officers, when she accused him of treason. On his admitting the justice of the charge, she severed his head from his body with a blow of her own sword. After this no one in the garrison of Tsetong entertained treasonable correspondence with the besiegers. Lieouchi showed not less judgment than courage in all her measures. Her garrison depended for water on a single well, which the enemy succeeded in cutting off. Lieouchi at once took steps to supply the want by collecting rain water in

bound himself to abide by their practices. When the magnates of the Court came to request him to return to his duties, the priests refused to permit his departure until a large sum of money was paid in the form of a fine. It was proposed to destroy the temple and put its inmates to the sword; but Vouti peremptorily forbade it, and ordered the payment of the money. Two years after this episode, in A.D. 529, Vouti again went into seclusion for the purpose of acquiring an intimate acquaintance, he said, with the doctrines of Buddha. He shaved off his hair and beard, and remained several days in a cell, and the earnest entreaties of his ministers barely availed to recall him to a sense of the weakness and imprudence of his conduct. He again had to pay a heavy fine to escape from the incarceration which he had voluntarily imposed upon himself.

vases, and by means of linen and the clothes of the soldiers, and these fortunately proved sufficient, as it was then the rainy season. Lieouchi* thus baffled all the efforts of Vouti's general; but Houchi had, on the whole, no reason to feel gratified with the result of her first war.

Houchi did not remain long in power after the conclusion of this war. She was deposed and placed in confinement, and Yueny, one of the Wei princes, became Regent. Another turn in the progress of events brought Houchi back to power, and the same wave of party intrigue, turning to its own advantage a phase in popular feeling, carried the dictator Yueny to the block. During these troubles, which were aggravated by a lingering war on the northern frontier with the Getæ and other Tartar tribes, the power of the Wei kingdom greatly declined, and Vouti seized what seemed a favourable opportunity for recovering some of the places which he had lost. The war, once it broke out, went on with fluctuating fortune for several years; but, on the whole, Vouti must be allowed to have enjoyed the greater success.† Several towns which he desired to possess surrendered to him, and at the close of the campaign he showed himself more anxious for its renewal than his opponent.

Meanwhile, the internal troubles of Wei were accumulating fresh force. Houchi's power was fast waning; but it did

* This might be called the brightest period for women in Chinese history. Three heroines in three different ways, Mongchi, Houchi, and Lieouchi, figure prominently in the record of these few years, a circumstance without parallel in the history of the country.

† A deed of heroism performed by Housiaohou, a Wei general, and in its main feature reminding us of the incident of D'Assis, deserves a niche in this history. Housiaohou had been sent with a fresh army to the succour of a beleaguered comrade. He failed, however, and was taken prisoner. Vouti's commander thought that it would be a favourable opportunity to show his remaining opponent how hopeless it would be to continue the struggle, and accordingly sent Housiaohou under guard to the outworks to communicate the news of his own defeat. When within hearing, he shouted to his own countrymen: "I was on the point of arriving for your relief when I allowed myself to be taken by the enemy, more numerous and better supplied than my army. Do not lose courage; defend yourselves like brave men, and I assure you that succour will very soon arrive." He was prevented saying any more by his escort, who slew him.

not appear so clear what was to supplant it. There were popular risings, and intriguing generals figuring in the foreground of rival parties. But the popular risings failed, and it long remained doubtful which of the generals would succeed in establishing his supremacy over the rest. The very disunion in the realm, and the confusion caused by rival claimants, gave a temporary stability to Houchi's position; and had she turned the situation to more skilful account, she might have foiled her opponents, and compelled them to recognize her as a promoter of, and not an obstacle to, the reforms necessary for the preservation of the state. In these straits, the only sure prospect of restoring order lay in the abilities of Erchu Jong, the commander-in-chief of the troops in six provinces; and the necessity for immediate action was brought home to his mind by Houchi's final act, which was to depose her son. Erchu Jong then marched on the capital, which he seized. Houchi became his prisoner, and ended her life and her crimes by being drowned in the waters of the Hoangho.

Erchu Jong appears to have been naturally a man of stern and unrelenting character. For the confusion in the realm he wished to exact a punishment adequate to the crimes of those who had produced it, and, having sentenced Houchi, he proceeded to inflict punishment on her abettors. He assembled two thousand of the notables in a group outside the city, and, having reproached them with their crime in neglecting the welfare of the state, he ordered his cavalry to slaughter them. He carried the same prompt severity into his action against some insurgents who ventured to question his authority; but on the remonstrance of his friends, who pointed out that, the heads being slain, it would be unwise to exasperate the mass of the people, he exhibited a clemency which was perhaps foreign to his nature. It would be tedious to describe in detail the petty wars and quarrels which ensued. Vouti thought the fall of Houchi afforded him a favourable opportunity for resuming the war with Wei, and even went so far as to set up a rival prince to the nominee of Erchu Jong. His general, Chingkingchi, obtained several successes, and made it a boast that he was victorious in forty-

seven combats. But when Erchu Jong took the field in person, Chingkingchi's fortune vanished, and he was compelled to beat a hasty retreat. All the towns that had surrendered were abandoned, and the results of the campaign completely lost. It was at this moment that Erchu Jong formed the ambitious scheme of reuniting the Empire. "Wait a little while," he said to his most trusted colleague, "and we shall assemble all the braves from out our western borders. We will then go and bring to reason the six departments of the north, and the following year we will cross the great Kiang, and place in chains Siaoyn, who calls himself Emperor." Such was the intention of Erchu Jong, the great hunter, and the best general within the bounds of China. There is no doubt that he would have carried out this ambitious and noble scheme had his life been spared; but it was not to be. Erchu Jong had become too powerful a subject not to have bitter enemies at court, and these intrigued so successfully against him that they obtained the prince's sanction to his murder. Invited to the palace on a pretext, Erchu Jong was slain in the Hall of Audience. Thus passed away the man who had done more than any other of the age towards advancing the best interests of the country, which were represented by the one word—union.

The death of Erchu Jong was the signal for fresh strife in the dominions of the Wei ruler, and before it closed the proud kingdom founded by the Tartar family of the Topas was split up into two parts, each inveterately hostile to the other. At the head of one of these stood Kao Hwan, an ambitious and successful general, of whom it may be said that he desired, with less capacity, to emulate the deeds of Erchu Jong.

It was soon after these great changes in Wei that Vouti dreamt a dream which he was weak enough to accept as possessing a practical meaning. There appeared to him a vision of persons offering him the long-coveted province of Honan, and he at once ordered his troops to march into it for the purpose of taking what he believed a supernatural power decreed should be his. The result falsified the anticipations of his credulity. His army was defeated in the field and

driven back in confusion across the frontier. With the collapse of his military preparations the edifice of his schemes of extension of dominion fell to the ground. Frequent disaster left little or nothing of the Imperial dignity, and all his contemporaries saw in it was the spectacle of an aged prince, broken in power as in health, hastening to an inevitable fall.

The final blow was struck by Heou King, one of Vouti's vassals, who had shaken off the authority of his suzerain. In A.D. 549 he published an indictment of the ruler and appeared before the walls of the capital. The slight resistance offered by Vouti's body-guard was soon overcome, and the monarch was helpless in the hands of a turbulent soldiery and their leader. Borne down by the weight of more than eighty years, Vouti deplored his present weakness and the errors which had brought it to pass. "It was I who raised my family, and it is I who have destroyed it. I have no reason to complain," was his truthful comment on the ruin with which he saw that he and his were threatened. He did not long survive the closing catastrophe of his reign. During forty-seven years he had governed his portion of China with justice and a fair show of success; but the surrender of his capital and person to a successful soldier was the death-knell of all his hopes. The chagrin told on the shattered constitution of the octogenarian, and in a few days he found relief for all his troubles in "the eternal sleep." The Chinese historians descant on what Vouti might have been, but it seems to us that in this they leave themselves open to the charge of ingratitude. As the ruler of that part of China which they have identified with the Empire, Vouti appears to have been the greatest and most praiseworthy prince in those years of trouble and littleness which intervened between the disappearance of the Hans and the advent of the great Tang dynasty.

Vouti was more correct than perhaps he expected to be when he said that he had destroyed his family. His third son, Wenti, succeeded him, but he was only a cypher in the hands of Heou King. After a short reign of less than three years Wenti was murdered by his minister, who was in turn

attacked by his victim's brother Siaoy. Siaoy, assisted by Chinpasien, a semi-independent chief, drove Heou King from power, and, on his being taken prisoner, this dethroner of kings was executed, and his body exposed in the streets of Kienkang. Siaoy was placed on the throne as the Emperor Yuenti, but he was not more fortunate than his predecessors. After three years Chinpasien revolted, besieged his ruler in the capital, and bore down all opposition. Seeing further resistance to be hopeless, Yuenti surrendered to his enemy. Before doing so he broke his sword and burnt a library containing a hundred and forty thousand volumes, exclaiming, "All is over! All my skill in war and letters henceforth becomes useless to me." His intuition proved right. His surrender was the signal for his death, and his capital was given over to the victorious soldiery to plunder.

The last of the Leangs was Kingti, Yuenti's ninth son. He reigned only two years when he also was murdered by Chinpasien, Prince of Chin, who became Emperor, and the founder of the next dynasty. The Leangs held possession of the throne for in all fifty-six years, during forty-seven of which Vouti had been ruler. The same year which witnessed the fall of the Leangs also saw the extinction, without a blow, of the Topa family, which had produced the great princes Topasse and Topatao, and which had ruled over Wei during one hundred and fifty years.

Chinpasien gave his dynasty the name of Chin, from that of his principality, and took the usual name of Vouti. Chin Vouti did not long enjoy possession of the throne which he had won. He consolidated his success by suppressing several petty insurrections, and by according terms to one of their principal leaders. His lieutenant, Chowti, restored order for his master in some of the most disturbed districts, and the Chin dynasty appeared to have every prospect of an assured and tranquil existence, when the sudden death of Chinpasien, after a reign of less than three years, threw things again into confusion. Having no children, he had named Wenti, one of his nephews, his successor. This prince reigned eight years, but his life proved singularly uneventful. Several attempts were made to revive the Leangs, and Chowti, Chinpasien's

former lieutenant, rebelled against his prince. But all these rebels were defeated, and Chowti's previous services could not save him from the punishment due to one who had broken his oath to his lawful ruler. Wenti was an amiable prince, and, without performing any particularly brilliant act, he gained the affections of his subjects. When he died, in A.D. 567, his son, Petsong, or Ling Hai Wang, became Emperor, but only reigned two years. Petsong was deposed by his uncle.

Suenti, a nephew of Chinpasien, was the next ruler of the Chins. During his reign of fourteen years, the northern kingdom of Chow, which had been formed after the fall of the Topa family in Wei, was gradually extending its dominion over the whole of the country north of the Yangtse-kiang. The king of that state had found no difficulty in annexing the neighbouring kingdom of Tsi, the ruler of which was more given to the pleasures of the chase and the banquet than to the cares of government. He had great taste, we are informed, in the laying-out of ornamental gardens; but the preservation of his life and of his people's independence was a matter in which he showed less proficiency. When the Chow ruler died, his work was carried on by his son's minister, Yang Kien, Prince of Soui, whose reputation soon overshadowed that of the princes on the throne and spread throughout China. Before Suenti's death it was seen that Yang Kien was "the coming man," and Suenti adopted no measures to avert the peril threatening his family. His devotion to the fine arts and his skill as a musician were most commendable in their way; but the times were such as required sterner qualities for the preservation of existence, both by individuals and by states.

His son, Heouchu, or Chang Ching Kong, succeeded to the throne, but his evil disposition did not take long to reveal itself. He gave himself over to his appetites, and, although nominally sovereign during seven years, it was plain from the first that his power would crumble away at the slightest shock. When his excesses had sufficiently disgusted his subjects, Yang Kien, now become ruler of Northern China, came forward as the deliverer of the oppressed peoples of the

south. His troops crossed the great Yangtse-kiang, entered the capital, and subdued a country which welcomed its conqueror. Heouchu was deposed, and retired into private life, where he survived by twenty-four years the collapse of his own fortune and that of the family of the Chins. Thus terminated, in A.D. 589, the dynasty of the Chins, certainly the least notable of all the families which have ruled in China. In thirty-two years they gave five rulers to the state—none, with the exception of the first, worthy of his position. Undistinguished in themselves, their disappearance from history is remarkable as heralding the reunion of the great Empire, so long divided into independent and hostile states.

Yang Kien assumed the title of Kaotsou Wenti on the consummation of his earthly ambition, and during his reign of fifteen years over a reunited country he gave repeated proof of the possession of great qualities. Under his guidance the power of the Emperor was vested with fresh significance among the neighbouring peoples, and, although not yet restored to the full height it had enjoyed under Tsin Hwangti and Han Vouti, the ancient supremacy of China over all the countries of Eastern Asia may be considered to have been again asserted and established by the founder of the Soui dynasty. His generals on the one hand drove back the Toukinei—or Turks, successors of the Sienpi and Gewgen—behind the desert, and on the other engaged in a war with the King of Corea, who, trusting to the difficult mountain range which serves that country as a barrier, thought it safe to defy the Chinese ruler. Kaoyuen, the sovereign of that remote and little-known kingdom, which, although sometimes overrun by hostile armies, and often averting invasion by a timely surrender, preserved its independence and institutions down to the present age, refused to render to Wenti the tribute which that ruler considered to be his due. After a doubtful campaign, Kaoyuen found it prudent to abandon the position he had taken up, and to accord the Soui prince the compliment which he demanded.

Two of the most important of Wenti's acts in domestic legislation were the bringing of the southern districts of the kingdom under the same law as those of the north,

and the passing of an alteration in the accepted practice in state education. In the former case his well-meant effort failed, as the people would have nothing to do with the new regulations. Wenti had the good judgment to recognize the unpopularity of his attempted innovation, and to withdraw the obnoxious regulations. With regard to the second matter, it had been customary from the time of the Hans to have schools and colleges in all the principal towns established for the gratuitous education of the people. To Wenti, who was an unlettered man, the advantage of this scheme of national education appeared to be no equivalent for the great burden it cast upon the taxpayers; and despite the representations of all the learned classes, he ordered their abolition in the year A.D. 601. According to some, this decree applied to all, with the exception of the Imperial College at the capital; but there is authority for the view that it was to be enforced only in the cases of persons intended for commercial or mechanical pursuits. Regarded in the light in which it has been handed down to us, it can only be considered as a retrograde step; but it is quite possible that it was rendered imperative by financial considerations.

The death of Wenti took place in A.D. 604. There is reason to believe that his end was precipitated by his second son Yankwang, who aspired to be his successor. The suspicion is not weakened by the fact that Yankwang beyond doubt murdered his elder brother, whom Wenti had intended to be his heir. Of Wenti's personal character much might be said in the highest terms of praise, and even the faults with which he has been charged are those that appeal to our sympathy. Brave, and a skilful commander, he possessed the essentials to success in the dark age out of which he emerged like a meteor from a gloomy sky. His moderation gained him friends, and disarmed the hostility of his foes. The magnanimity of a sovereign who spared the life of the prince he had deposed, and who erected temples in honour of neglected dynasties that had immediately preceded his own, was such as appealed to the general understanding. With these great qualifications was combined

a practical wisdom that shone conspicuous in all his acts, and it is without surprise that we read the panegyric written by some Chinese student on the "unlettered" Wenti.

If Yankwang, or Yangti, seized the Empire by means that were brutal and unnatural, he soon showed that he possessed all the qualifications of a ruler of a great people. From the very beginning of his reign he devoted his attention to the construction of great public works, which have earned him a name more durable than that of the general who gives his energy and abilities to conquests that are destined to prove ephemeral. One of his first acts was to remove the capital to Loyang, which he desired to make the most magnificent city in the world. Two million men were employed upon his palace and other public buildings, and fifty thousand merchants were invited or commanded to come thither from other cities in the Empire. Of all his works the great canals,* which he caused to be cut out in every direction, were at once the most useful and the most splendid triumphs of man over the obstacles of nature. By his order, public granaries, to which, during years of plenty, the prosperous were compelled to contribute, were erected in all the provincial capitals in preparation for times of dearth. And when these grandiose schemes had been brought to completion, Yangti, accompanied by his court, the great officials of the state, and the chosen troops of his army, made a kind of Imperial progress through his dominions. Both in his works and in this tour through the realm, Yangti may be said to have resembled the Emperor Adrian.

His foreign wars were not as successful as those of his father had been; but he reduced the Loo Chow group of

* The most authentic account of these canals is that handed down to us in the "Chouhinkingiukien," or History of the Control of Waters, of which the Père Amiot has left the following translation: "Yangti, of the Soui dynasty, who ascended the throne in A.D. 605, and only reigned thirteen years, began in the very first year of his reign to cause either new canals to be constructed or the ancient ones to be extended, so that ships could go from the Hoangho into the Kiang, and from those two great streams into the rivers of Tsi, Wei, Han, etc. Several of these great works still remain to testify to the greatness of Yangti."

islands to subjection, and seven hundred years later the first Ming Emperor based his claim to tribute on that fact. For many years later he was engaged in a domestic struggle with the people of Corea and their intrepid prince. The successes of this war remained entirely with the latter, who repulsed many invading armies, and in the end Yangti was fain to admit that the conquest of Corea would cost too much both in time and money to compensate for the attempt. Elsewhere fortune did not smile on Yangti's arms, although the triumph of the Souis brought to China envoys and merchants from the extremity of Asia. Fresh maps and an interesting description of the countries of Asia were obtained during this reign, and the Kuen Lun, or Mountains of Heaven, are first mentioned at this time. Neither his care for his people nor his devotion to science could save, however, his closing years from trouble and civil disturbance. The vast sums he had laid out on great works, and the extravagance which marked his ordinary expenditure, exhausted his exchequer, leaving him without the source of strength which, of all others, was most essential to the preservation of his position. He showed wisdom of a practical kind in forbidding his subjects to carry offensive weapons, and his successors down to the present day have studiously followed him in the path he marked out in this respect. He reversed much of his father's legislation in educational matters, and was the first to accord the degree of "Doctor" to those officials who had passed a fixed examination.

He tarnished his fame during the last few years of his life by giving himself up to the indulgence of pleasure, and his indifference to his duties brought upon him the vengeance of a fanatic named Haokie. This man, at the head of a party of discontented soldiers, surprised the Emperor while journeying through his dominions, and strangled him before aid could arrive. In this ignominious fashion closed the life and reign of Yangti, who at one time promised to be the most remarkable ruler of his House and period.

His son Kongti was placed on the throne by the assistance of Liyuen and his sons. Liyuen had been made Prince of

Tang some years before, and his intrigues and open sedition had been the cause of considerable anxiety during the last years of Yangti's reign. Kongti was placed on the throne only to abdicate. The same year beheld his rise and fall. The ruin of his fortunes, the collapse of his House, were rendered the more expressive by the destruction of the great and costly palace which Yangti had constructed. Liyuen's second son and acting commander is reported to have said that this splendid edifice was only useful "to soften the heart of a prince, and to foment his cupidity." Accordingly he gave it to the flames. The abdication of Kongti was followed by his murder, when Liyuen assumed the style of Emperor.

Thus passed away the Soui dynasty after twenty-nine years' tenure of power. It was the last of the five small dynasties which ruled China after the fall of the Hans. Of these it was the greatest, in that it ruled a united China, and left to its inheritor the legacy of a country which it had all the credit of having consolidated and of having restored to something approaching its former height as a great administrative and conquering Empire.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE TANG DYNASTY.

Taitsong the Great.

LIYUEN is known in history as the Emperor Kaotsou, first ruler of a dynasty which restored the country to its legitimate place among the nations. His very first act proclaimed both the clemency of the man, and the self-confidence of the rising family. China had still to be conquered, the Tangs were only one set of competitors among many, there must have been some who looked back with feelings of attachment and regret to the days of Yangti; yet despite all these elements of danger and disunion Kaotsou's first act was to spare the members of the deposed House and to allot them pensions. He desired to govern in accordance with the dictates of his conscience, which forbade him to stretch his prerogative or violate the fundamental laws of justice and humanity. The long troubles through which China struggled were at length passing away, and, as they disappeared, they left the ruler strong enough to follow a policy which had as its principal object the welfare of the state, rather than the personal gratification of the ruler. It was the peculiar glory of the Tangs to lead the nation into a new path of greatness, which has proved durable, at the same time that they raised the tone of public life. If the institutions and political power of England first assumed form and took substance in the hands of the Plantagenets, the service rendered to China by the Tangs was neither less tangible nor practical.

The nine years during which Kaotsou occupied the throne were passed in wars, both beyond the frontier and within

the realm ; and, although in all his acts there was conspicuous a kingly capacity seldom surpassed, the fame of Kaotsou has assumed an attenuated form in comparison with that of his greater son. Indeed while he lived it was not very different. The annals of Kaotsou are chiefly of interest because they contain some of the noblest deeds of Lichimin, afterwards the great Taitson. The wisdom of the father was eclipsed by the splendid qualities of the son, and it has been transmitted to us in only a reflected sense through the great achievements of the latter. Had Kaotsou lived at another period he would have been handed down to posterity as an able ruler whose successors should aspire to emulate him. As it is, the Chinese historian records as his most meritorious action the prudence which induced him after a nine years' reign to abdicate in favour of his son.

Kaotsou established his capital at Singan, the ancient Changnan, and his son Lichimin, on capturing Loyang, the metropolis of the Souis, caused Yangti's great palace to be destroyed. It was with the moral reflection—"so much pomp and pride could not long be sustained, and ought to entail the ruin of those who indulged them rather than attend to the wants of the people"—that Lichimin ordered this magnificent pile to be reduced to ashes ; but it would be a mistake to see in this measure only the act of a Vandal. The Souis had fallen, and the Tangs were rising upon the ruin of that family ; but some formal expression of the change was needed. Neither Kaotsou nor Lichimin would wreak their vengeance on the members of the fallen dynasty. The destruction of the building which typified the greatness of the Souis sufficed for all practical purposes, and leaves the reputation of the Tangs free from those moral stains which sully the shield of most Chinese rulers. The capture of Loyang was only one achievement among many. Wherever Lichimin marched victory went before him. His banners flaunted in the breezes of the northern states, and a great Turk confederacy beyond Shansi felt the weight of the military prowess of the young general. Within four years (A.D. 624) of his assisting in placing his father on the throne, Lichimin was able to announce that he had pacified the realm. Rebels

had been vanquished, and foreign foes compelled to sue for peace; while the people rejoiced at having obtained a ruler capable of governing them without resorting to the arbitrary expedients of the despot.

Lichimin did not go without his reward for the brilliant successes he obtained in the field. His return to Singan recalls the description of the triumphs of the conquerors of ancient Rome. Dressed in costly armour, with a breast-plate of gold, Lichimin rode into his father's capital at the head of his victorious troops. Ten thousand picked horsemen formed his personal escort, and thirty thousand cuirassiers followed, in the middle of whom appeared a captive king of the Tartars. The spoils of numerous cities, accompanied by the generals who had failed to defend them, were there to grace the triumph of the conqueror. Just as Marcellus or one of the Scipios filed up the Sacred Way when bringing to the Imperial city the plunder of Gaul or of Carthage, did Lichimin proceed to the Hall of his Ancestors, where he apprised the shades of his progenitors of the success which had attended his arms. Having rewarded his principal officers, and accorded their lives to the defeated, Lichimin was feasted in presence of his army by the Emperor, who gave no stinted meed of praise to the son who had rendered such valiant and opportune service both to himself and to the country. The rejoicings of that eventful day, which beheld the popular ratification of the new government, closed with the proclamation of a general amnesty to all, and of a diminution in the taxes; and it still stands out as one of the most remarkable turning-points in Chinese history.

Lichimin's brothers envied while they could not emulate his greatness. His elder brother, unable to appreciate the generosity of character which had impelled him to advise his father to proclaim him heir-apparent, intrigued against him, resolving in the first place to undermine his position at court, and in the next to take his life. Kaotsou's mind was warped by the wiles of this intriguer against his favourite son, who fell into disgrace, and at one time thought of leaving a court which was as little congenial to his tastes as it was full of danger to his person. The course of history might have

been changed, had Lichimin not discovered the quarter whence these hidden shafts were directed against his person and his reputation. His brothers, afraid of his influence with the people and the army, formed a plot for his murder, but their scheme was divulged. The blow which they had intended for Lichimin was turned upon themselves, and their death left this prince the incontestable heir to the throne. He demonstrated his worthiness for the position by the moderation he evinced towards those who had been the keenest partisans in his brothers' cause; and Wei Ching, the ablest of them all, lived to become in later years the most trusted adviser of the man whose death he had plotted.

The same year (A.D. 626) which witnessed these intrigues and the proclamation of Lichimin as heir-apparent, also beheld the retirement of Kaotsou from public life. It may well have been that it was something more than the alleged reason of weight of years that induced this prince to quit the throne at a time when there seemed to be nothing for him to do except to enjoy his hard-won triumph, and that the force of public opinion compelled him to resign the charge of the administration to his son. The transfer of authority was effected in the most regular manner, and with the necessary formalities. Kaotsou expressed his sovereign determination to seek the charm and relaxation of private life, and Lichimin refused to accept a charge for which he said his capacity was inadequate. But when these courtly phrases had served their turn, Lichimin felt constrained to obey the paternal command. Kaotsou descended from the throne, and Lichimin became Emperor under the style of Taitsong. The greater reputation had absorbed the less, and, having long wielded the executive power, Taitsong, by the voluntary retirement of his father, assumed the position to which his personal qualities gave him every right. Kaotsou lived nine years after his deposition, long enough to witness the most remarkable of his son's achievements, and the complete consolidation of his dynasty on the throne.

The first acts of the new ruler showed that he would rest satisfied with no partial degree of success in the task he had set himself to accomplish. It was his first and principal

object to give the Chinese the benefit of a government which was national in its sympathies and its aims. He had to revive the old sentiment that the Chinese were one people, and that the prosperity of the realm, and the stability of the ruling powers equally depended on the tranquillity and sense of security which should generally prevail. To him also it seemed a matter of the first importance to extend the influence of the Chinese among the neighbouring states, for he knew that by so doing he would alone succeed in preserving what had been won. The surrounding tribes from Corea to Kokonor, and from Tibet to Tonquin, were the inveterate enemies of the Chinese, and nothing but the vigilance of the frontier authorities, and the strength of the border garrisons, could avail to keep them at a respectful distance from the centres of Chinese prosperity. Constantly changing both in name, and perhaps sometimes in race, these nomads were at all times the same relatively to the Chinese. What in the history of this island the Picts and Scots were to the Romans, or the Welsh to the Normans and the first Plantagenets, that were the Huns and the other Turk and Tartar clans to the Celestials. Taitsong fully grasped this fact, and during the whole of his reign he was engaged in a never-ceasing struggle with one or other of his restless neighbours. The result in each case may appear to have been small, and the balance of victory often doubtful; but on the whole the policy was successful. It gave peace to a vast region which for several centuries had been disturbed by all the horrors of war, and thus rendered desolate. Whereas the Great Wall of Tsin Hwangti had failed to secure a permanent result, the activity and foresight of Taitsong accomplished the practical object more efficiently, and with more decisive consequences.

The very year of Taitsong's accession hostilities with these turbulent neighbours broke out on a large scale. They had been vanquished in several encounters a few years before; but, like the snow of early winter, they had melted only to come together again. Scarcely seated on the throne, Taitsong found himself called upon to repel the onslaught of a hundred thousand fierce and implacable assailants.

This horde, for it would be a mistake to apply the term "army" to most of the expeditions fitted out against China in the regions of Central Asia, carried everything before it on this occasion up to the neighbourhood of the capital; and, although Taitsong haughtily refused to comply with the terms proposed by a Tartar envoy for an arrangement, it does not appear that he drove them back by force of arms. It is recorded that he advanced at the head of a few hundred horsemen to the outside of their encampment, and reproached their leaders with their duplicity and want of faith. The effect of his words is represented to have been electrical. Descending from their horses, the Tartar generals, struck by his majestic air, acknowledged their faults, and promised to amend their ways. A subsequent meeting took place on the Pienkiao bridge over the Weichoui River, where peace was concluded and the Tartars retired. On this occasion the vows of friendship and the other stipulations of the treaty were sworn over the body of a white horse offered up to the deity who presides over the relations of neighbouring states.

Having thus repelled or turned aside this hostile invasion, Taitsong devoted most of his attention to the organization of his army,* and to the improvement of the military knowledge of his officers. Many defects existed in the former, and the state of the latter was at a low ebb. Chinese armies had at the best, up to this point, been little more than a raw militia, and in their constant struggles with their Tartar neighbours it had always been an admitted fact that the Chinese soldier was the inferior of his opponent. Taitsong resolved to remedy this defect, and to make the Chinese soldier individually the match for any antagonist he would be likely to have to encounter. In this he had to first overcome the bitter opposition of the lettered classes, who

* The following description of Taitsong's army is extracted from Pauthier's work: "The military was drawn up after a new fashion. It was divided into 895 corps of the same name, but of three different ranks. Those of the superior rank consisted of 1200 men each, those of the intermediary of 1000 men each, and those of the inferior of 800 men each." This force gave an approximate total of 900,000 men; 634 of these regiments were retained for service within the frontier, and to the 261 remaining was allotted the task of guarding the western frontiers.

thought the duties of a military commander derogatory to the dignity of the Emperor; but Taitsong was not to be turned by their representations from the path of duty which he had marked out for himself. The foundation on which he based his policy was that, in order to enjoy peace, it was necessary to be prepared for war; and he therefore passed much of his time in drilling his troops and in accustoming them to the use of arms. Every day he was to be seen inspecting a few companies of his army on the parade-ground in front of his palace, and he rewarded after no stinted fashion those who showed superior skill in the use of the bow or the pike. It was his delight to surround himself with armed men, although this "impropriety" excited the disapproval of his grave courtiers. Undisturbed by either the remonstrances of the slaves of etiquette or the warnings of the over-cautious, Taitsong steadily continued his military reforms, thus obtaining both for himself and his country an element of strength which previous rulers had not possessed.

Within a very few years the occasion offered for testing the efficiency of the machine which he had elaborated. The Turk tribes, who had sworn peace for a second time at the bridge of Pienkiao, were again in a state of agitation and commotion. The cow-tail banner of the Tartars had again been flaunted in the air, and it was evident that the long-standing quarrel between these irreconcilable foes was on the point of breaking out into a fresh flame. A Chinese army marched into the desert and compelled the dissolution of the confederacy that had been hastily formed. The newly organized army earned its first laurels in a bloodless campaign, and Taitsong had the satisfaction of seeing in the incapacity of his old enemies to resist his arms the clearest proof of the use and value of his preparations. On this occasion Taitsong incorporated with his title of Emperor of China the minor rank of Khan of the Tartars, and it was by the latter that he claimed to have a right to regulate the affairs of those peoples. Several of the most prominent of the Tartar khans submitted to him, and became his faithful and devoted followers. His actual conquests only extended

into the desert of Gobi, but his influence was spread over a much wider area. Embassies from distant kingdoms came to solicit at his hands the favour of his laws, and to study from a near view the principles of government which he successfully carried into practice. Within three years of his accession he had attained these great results, but it had been exclusively by means of the army to which he had devoted all his leisure and energy.

The necessity of establishing his authority on a firm basis was imperative, and every other consideration had to give place to it as of minor importance; but Taitson, amid the glitter and clash of arms, was far from forgetting that a great ruler is expected to show other qualities besides those of the soldier. If half the time he spent in the service of the state was devoted to the disciplining of his troops, the other half was passed not less actively in arranging and providing for the domestic administration of his people. Arbitrary taxes removed, and the finances adjusted on a sound foundation, proved his skill as a financier, while showing that he knew where best to assist his people in their efforts towards attaining a permanent and solid prosperity. Neither superstitious nor a fatalist, he was opposed on principle to the innovations of Buddhism, and strove to set his people an example rather of pure morality than of religious zeal. To Confucius he wished to pay exceptional honours, and was never tired of quoting his precepts as the acme of human wisdom. He once declared that they, and the expressions of other philosophers of the same school, were "for the Chinese what the water is for the fishes."

Taitson was assisted in his labours by his wife, the Empress Changsunchi, a woman remarkable for her talent and good sense. Changsunchi was far from being the first great woman in her exalted position in the history of her country, but she certainly was among the very few, if not the foremost of them, not to abuse her position or the influence she obtained over the mind of her husband. By restricting herself to her proper sphere she continued to enjoy throughout her life the confidence of her husband and the affection of the people. The force of her example made itself felt

throughout the country, and the nation, proud of the court, sought to emulate it by cultivating the domestic virtues. The simplicity of life to which this great Empress endeavoured to accustom both her children, and those who surrounded her, was tersely expressed by her in the noble sentiment that "the practice of virtue conferred honour on men, especially on princes, and not the splendour of their appointments." During ten years, Changsunchi helped Taitson in the government of the country, and on her death-bed, in A.D. 636, her last words were to counsel those around her to obey the Emperor in all things. Taitson exclaimed when the sad news was brought to him that he had never sufficiently appreciated her merit, and in the fervour of his regret ordered her to receive the funeral honours accorded to the person of a deceased ruler. Changsunchi had taken a great part in the measures passed by Taitson for the advancement of the education of the people. The great college and the Imperial Library, which adorned the capital, had come into existence as much under her auspices as under his; and when he added at a later period eighteen hundred rooms for additional students at the college, it was doubtless done in memory of the woman who had so greatly assisted him in the discharge of his various duties. After Changsunchi's death, Taitson appears to have lost something of the happy spontaneity of the governing art. Certain it is that disasters, which, serious as they were, could not dim the splendour of his reign, occurred after he had lost the womanly counsel and shrewd judgment of Changsunchi.

In the year A.D. 634 envoys reached Singan for the first time from the kingdom of Toufan, Toupou, or Tibet. Up to the close of the sixth century of our era the vast plateau known by this name, and watered in its southern and less elevated portion by the great river Sanpu, had been inhabited by a number of tribes independent of each other, and ruled by their own chiefs. The natural consequence had ensued here as elsewhere in the world, and one of these chiefs had, at the time when the Souis were consolidating their position, subdued his neighbours, and founded a kingdom of considerable dimensions. This prince marched on one occasion

into Central India, and when he died he left his son an army computed to number one hundred thousand men. It was from this son, whose title was Sanpou, "the brave lord," that the envoys came, and after a brief residence at the Chinese capital they returned laden with presents to their country. Four years later a return Chinese mission was sent to Tibet, where it received a very honourable reception, and the Sanpou, wishing to draw tighter the bonds of amity with the Emperor, made a request that he should be sent a Chinese princess in marriage. This favour Taitsong refused, and the Sanpou, disappointed at what he held to be a slight to his dignity, raised a large army and marched into the districts bordering on Szchuen. He announced that he had come to receive and escort back to his country the princess whom he had demanded from the Emperor. Taitsong sent an army to defend the frontier, and, the Sanpou being worsted in the single engagement of the war, peace was concluded by a fresh recognition of China's supremacy. The Tibetan ruler acknowledged himself a Chinese vassal, paid a fine of five thousand ounces of gold, and returned with the Princess Wencheng, whom Taitsong gave him to wife. The Tibetan king adopted Chinese customs, and gave up his native barbarism. He abolished, at the desire of his Chinese wife, the national practice of painting the face, and he built her a walled city "to proclaim his glory to after generations." Taitsong's relations with his son-in-law continued throughout his reign to be those of friendship and alliance.

The same year, which was marked by the advance of the Tibetan ruler, witnessed a fresh triumph for Taitsong's arms in the Gobi region. For the first time the region, now known as Eastern Turkestan or Kashgaria, was included in the actual administration of China. Divided into four districts it formed with the whole of Tangut the province of Loungsi, and effectually cut off all possibility of communication between the peoples on the western and northern frontiers, all naturally hostile to the Chinese. Kucha, Khoten, Karashar, and Kashgar then became for the first time the head-quarters of permanent officials of the Chinese Emperor. They had often before seen Chinese armies, and their native rulers

had been fain to admit the supremacy of the Emperor ; but Taitson was the first to appoint his own deputies in those remote places. Hamil and Turfan became also the centres of separate governments. Taitson did not carry out this policy without encountering great opposition from several of his ministers, and Wei Ching in particular protested against the unnecessary extension, as he termed it, of the Empire. Taitson listened patiently to their remonstrances, but pursued nevertheless the even tenour of his way ; and having the good fortune to possess a capable general in Lichitsi, the Warden of the Western Marches, the gloomy anticipations of the timid were not realized.

Taitson's personal courage brought him into several dangerous predicaments, but the greatest peril he had to encounter was caused by his own son. Lichingkien, the eldest of his sons, had been nominated heir-apparent early in the reign, and in A.D. 643, anxious to forestall his inheritance, he formed a plot, assisted by some of the discontented spirits always to be found at a court, with the object of deposing his father. Their secret was badly kept, and before the plot was fully ripe the whole scheme was revealed to Taitson. The conspirators were promptly arrested, and the heir-apparent was dismissed from his high rank, while the humbler of his supporters were handed over to the public executioner. The efforts of the disaffected were thus foiled, and Taitson's position became more firmly fixed in the affections of the people because a glimpse had been afforded of what might happen when a new ruler occupied his place.

The most critical event in Taitson's reign—his war with Corea—has now to be described. The king of that country had never been a willing vassal of the Chinese Emperor, and shook off at any favourable opportunity the slight control claimed over his movements. The consolidation of the Empire under the Tangs had so far not been accompanied by any expression on the part of the King of Corea that he either desired, or held it incumbent upon him, to send tribute to, or maintain friendly relations with the Son of Heaven. In A.D. 643 he was accused of molesting the smaller ruler of Sinlo, who sent a mission to Changnan to solicit the aid

of Taitson against the aggressor. In Corea, or Kaoli as it was then called, the governing power had about this time been seized by a great noble named Chuen Gaisoowun, who had murdered his sovereign, and when Taitson's envoy arrived he was treated with contemptuous indifference, and sent back to Changnan without attaining any of the objects of his mission. A large Chinese army was despatched to the frontier and held in readiness to cross it, when Gaisoowun, appalled at the danger which threatened him, sent the required tribute, and promised to abstain from attacking any people under the Emperor's protection. It is evident from other circumstances that Taitson was more resolved to administer to Gaisoowun a chastisement in accordance with his crimes, than to take him into alliance with the Empire. So it turned out that Gaisoowun's presents were not accepted, and that his envoys were sent back without being granted an audience. Both sides thereupon prepared for the war thus rendered inevitable.

Taitson himself proceeded to the frontier and assumed the supreme control of the military operations; and Lichitsi was entrusted with the chief command under him. The total force numbered about one hundred thousand regular soldiers, besides auxiliaries, and a flotilla of five hundred vessels co-operated with the main attack from the sea. Taitson issued a proclamation to the effect that he was coming to punish, not a people, whose interests he claimed to have at heart, but an individual. It was not upon the Coreans that he threatened to bring the plague of war, but simply against the regicide, Gaisoowun.

At first the Imperialists carried everything before them. The towns of Kaimow and Bisha surrendered to them after a show of resistance, and the Coreans saw their line of defence pierced by their more numerous and better prepared enemy. Outside the town of Leaoutung Lichitsi won a very considerable action, defeating a Corean army of forty thousand men, and then laid siege to the place itself. The town, defended by a large garrison, was beleaguered with greater vigour after the arrival of the Emperor, who took an active personal part in the operations. Indeed, it was under his

immediate supervision that the final assault was conducted, and his own suggestion of firing the gate proved the turning-point in the day. Under cover of the smoke, the Imperialists forced their way through the breach, and the city was at their mercy. Ten thousand Coreans were slain, and numbers were taken prisoners, while Taitson admitted a loss of twenty-five thousand men, the flower of his army. Such was the great siege of Leaoutung, the most obstinately contested struggle in which Taitson had been then engaged. A similar success, purchased at less cost, however, was obtained at Baiyen, and Taitson, continuing his march, sat down before the walls of Anshu. The crisis of the war was now reached.

The main body of the Coreans had long been gathering its strength together, and at this point in the campaign a hundred and fifty thousand men had been collected and sent across the Yaloo river to encounter the Chinese army, which had been reduced to less than fifty thousand men. But Taitson at once left his position and attacked the Korean army on three sides, driving it from the field with the loss of twenty thousand men, and of a vast quantity of plunder in the shape of spoils of war. Taitson then turned all his attention to the prosecution of the siege of Anshu, but the garrison resisted with the courage of despair. At one moment it was on the point of surrender, when a successful sortie deprived the Chinese of the advantage they had momentarily gained. After a siege of more than two months, Taitson found himself compelled, by the want of provisions and the approach of winter, to order a retreat, thus losing the fruits of an arduous campaign, which had, on the whole, been conducted with remarkable success. As the Imperialist army broke up from its quarters, the gallant commandant appeared upon the walls and wished the troops "a pleasant journey." But even after the failure of his schemes Taitson was too truly great to indulge any spirit of spite against the people who had so bravely opposed him. Fourteen thousand Coreans remained prisoners in his hands, and he was advised to distribute them as slaves among his soldiers. His heart revolted against the cruelty of treating brave men in this fashion, and he accordingly gave them their liberty, and allotted them

lands within the frontier. Taitson sent several smaller expeditions against Corea and its defiant Prince Gaisowun during the last three years of his reign; but, although he meditated renewing his former attack, his life closed without anything having been accomplished towards the punishment of the regicide. The Corean question was left for his successors to grapple with—the one difficulty which had proved more than the power and ability of Taitson could overcome.

Although as a feat of arms the campaign in Corea had been far from inglorious, its untoward conclusion made a great impression on the mind of Taitson, and after his return he suffered from ill-health and loss of spirit. He saw that his end was approaching, and passed his time in drawing up for the instruction of his son that great work on the art of government which bears the title of the Golden Mirror. His acts were still marked by the clemency and kindly feeling which were his principal characteristics; but it was evident that what he most desired was rest. In A.D. 649, twenty-three years after he succeeded his father Kaotsou, his malady assumed a serious form, and the great Emperor disappeared from a scene on which he had played so prominent a part. He was mourned by his subjects with a grief, the sincerity of which cannot be impugned, and several of his generals were so attached to his person that it was with difficulty they were prevented from immolating themselves on his grave. A statue to his memory was placed outside the Northern Gate, or that of the warriors, by fourteen Tartar officers in his service. The envoys from foreign states in the capital put on mourning, and many demonstrated their grief by cutting their hair, or sprinkling the bier of the deceased prince with their blood.

Taitson well deserved these manifestations of his people's love. No ruler of any country has had sounder claims to the title of Great than this Chinese Emperor. His courage, military knowledge, and the genius which is alone given to great captains were of the highest order. He had passed thirty years of his life in the field, and with the exception of the repulse at Anshu had never known the meaning of a reverse. His soldiers, officers and men, loved him and

obeyed his slightest bidding, because they found him always studious of their comfort, and willing to incur as great inconvenience and danger as "the meanest peasant in his camp." Yet at the same time he was so far ahead of his age that he endeavoured to mitigate the terrors of war, and on one occasion—ten centuries, be it noted, before Tilly and Pappenheim—ransomed a captured city from his soldiers in order to save its inhabitants from the horrors of a sack. In his administration he legislated for the mass of the people, making his main object the attainment of the following results—the security of life and property, a high state of national prosperity by means of low taxes and the encouraging of commerce, and the spreading of a healthy and enlightened spirit among his subjects by a system of national education. To the end he showed himself as singularly free from the lust of power, as from the love of pomp and idle show. He repressed flatterers, slighted those backbiters who, conscious of their own defects, strive, both then and now, to destroy the merit of others by traducing their worth, and banished from his court the knave, the hypocrite, and the charlatan who had prospered under previous rulers by humouring the human weaknesses of the sovereign. Having given China the blessings of peace and settled government, he appears to have been actuated by the noble desire to bestow upon the neighbouring peoples the benefit of the same advantages, and all his conquests were justified by the motives which led him to undertake them. They were doubly justified by the results that followed. All this and more might be truly said of this great ruler; and it is surely enough to place Taitson in the same rank as Cæsar, and those other great rulers who were not merely soldiers and conquerors, but also legislators and administrators of the first rank. If we candidly consider the civilized and truly Christian spirit of Taitson it is difficult to find among the great men of the world one with a right to have precedence before him.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE TANG DYNASTY (*continued*).*Kaotsong to Tetsong.*

KAOTSONG, Taitson's son and successor, mounted the throne without opposition, and during a reign of more than thirty years he maintained at its height the great Empire formed by his father. In a strict sense this was not due to his own exertions, for early in his reign he gave himself up to the enjoyment of his ease, and entrusted to other hands the task of governing his people. No evil ensued from this abnegation of authority, because it fortunately happened that his representatives proved singularly capable in the administration of public affairs.

When Kaotsong had been five years on the throne he resolved to marry the Princess Chang or Wou, one of the widows of his father Taitson. Princess Wou had retired into a Buddhist convent after the death of her first lord, and Kaotsong encountered the strenuous opposition of his ministers when he announced his intention of bringing her out for the purpose of making her his Empress. Kaotsong was fully determined to have his own way in this matter, and, in A.D. 655, his lawful Empress was deposed to give place to the Princess Wou. Her first acts showed the ascendancy she had already acquired over her lover, who soon became a mere tool in the hands of this ambitious woman. Distrusting the influence which the deposed Empress and another of the principal queens might still retain over the mind of Kaotsong, who had allotted these fallen stars apartments in the palace, Wou came to the conclusion

that it would be prudent to sweep them from her path while yet Kaotsong's passion was warm. At her command they cast these unhappy women into a vase filled with wine, having previously cut off their hands and feet. As it has been tersely put, the Empress Wou willed it, and Kaotsong could only obey.

The new Empress then turned all her attention to the thwarting of the plans formed for her overthrow by numerous enemies. Her son was proclaimed heir-apparent, and those among the magnates who were either hostile to, or lukewarm in, her interests were deposed from their positions and cast into prison, where the steel or the cup very soon freed Wou from apprehensions on their score. Her next object was to assume some of the functions of supreme authority. At first she put herself forward merely as assisting the Emperor in his great labours, and, being quick in comprehending the questions of state that were brought before the Council Board, and deft with her pencil in the cabinet, Kaotsong found her ready wit of great use in grappling with difficulties for which he was incapable of suggesting a remedy. Empress Wou showed no common tact in the skilful manner in which she led the Emperor on from one concession of authority to another, until at length Kaotsong virtually retired from the position of Emperor, preserving indeed the rank, but leaving in his wife's hands the reality of power. The Empress Wou continued absolute ruler of the Empire until her death, more than forty years after the time when Kaotsong resigned his power into her hands.

While such was the course of events at the capital, there had been much of interest and importance happening on the widely extended frontiers of the Empire. The foreign relations of the country resolved themselves under three heads, those with Tibet, with Corea, and with the Tartar tribes of Central Asia and the north-western frontier. The Sanpou who married the Princess Wencheng died the year after Tait-song, and, during Yaotsong's reign, his grandson was King of Tibet. The relations between the Chinese government and this tributary state were not as satisfactory as they had been in the time of Tait-song. The new Sanpou, a young

and warlike prince, carried on several wars with his northern and eastern neighbours who were also dependent on the Chinese. His measures were crowned with success, and the kingdom of Tibet was gradually extending its limits over a wide area, including several districts bordering on the frontier of China Proper. This was very distasteful to the Chinese, who wished all the country to the west of their territory to remain parcelled out among petty potentates, who should always be in a state of greater or less importance, and as often as possible knit by a common tie to the Chinese Emperor. The successes and warlike character of the Tibetan ruler threatened this state of things; and a correspondence of a recriminatory character was carried on between the Singan authorities and the Sanpou of Tibet. In A.D. 670 the dispute reached such a pass that a Chinese army was sent to inflict chastisement on the ambitious ruler who was fast uniting the Himalayan regions under his sway, but it fared badly at the hands of the mountaineers. Defeated in two battles on the Shensi frontier, Kaotsong's general was compelled to beat a hasty retreat into Szchuen. A truce appears to have been then arranged, for a Tibetan envoy is found the following year at Singan, whither he had brought presents or tribute from his master.

The truce proved short-lived. Encouraged, no doubt, by his success, the Sanpou resumed with greater vigour than before his inroads into the neighbouring states. In A.D. 678 a large army, computed to exceed one hundred and fifty thousand men, was directed to invade Tibet, but again the Tibetans were victorious. Only the relics of one division of this great force succeeded in regaining China, while the second had to fight its way back, making good its retreat by its own valour. After this reverse, the Chinese were only able to guard the frontier, and had to leave the Tibetans to their own devices. The Tibetans were repulsed in several attacks on the frontier posts, and the death of their ruler, who was succeeded by a child, predisposed them still more strongly in favour of peace.

The Imperial arms had been attended with better fortune in the direction of Corea, where the task left unfinished by

Taitsong was completed by the generals of his son. In A.D. 658, and again in A.D. 660, the Chinese won several battles over the Coreans, and an expedition sent by sea in the latter year effected the conquest of Baiji, the eastern portion of the peninsula. During the ten following years the Chinese carried on a bitter struggle with the inhabitants of Baiji and the patriotic King of Kaoli, who called in the Japanese to his assistance. The Empress Wou threw all her energy into the struggle, and fitting out fleets and fresh armies, concentrated the whole strength of the Empire in overcoming the opposition of the Coreans. The allied forces of the Japanese and the Coreans were defeated in four separate encounters, and the fleet in which the Japanese had crossed the sea was almost totally destroyed. The flames of four hundred of the best war junks of Yeddo lit up the Northern Sea, and it is doubtful if any of the expedition returned to Japan to tell the tale of their defeat. In A.D. 674 the King of Sinlo, having shown great pusillanimity in assisting the Chinese, who came as his allies, was deposed, and his territory was incorporated with the Empire; and from this time for a period of nearly sixty years little is heard of Corea. It remained a Chinese possession, and its people, not forgetting the tradition of their freedom, set themselves to the task of recovering the material prosperity which had been lost during a century of desperate strife. The Chinese government had accomplished its purpose at immense sacrifice, and it may be doubted whether it derived any adequate advantage from its costly victory.

In Central Asia the Chinese authority was maintained at its full height. Souting Fang obtained several decisive victories over the Turks in Western Asia, and in the commotion caused by the campaigns of the Arabs in the countries of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, the Chinese Viceroy in Kashgar adopted an observant attitude towards the belligerents. They claimed to be the arbiters of the question, but peace did not result from their arbitration. The ruler of Persia demanded at this period their assistance against the fanatical warriors issuing from Arabia with the Koran in one hand and the scimitar in the other; but Kaotsong was

compelled to reply that Persia was too far distant for him to send an army to her aid. A Persian prince, the son of Isdegard, King of Persia, was for some time resident at Singan, and Kaotsong caused him to be proclaimed king on his father's death. He was driven out of his country by the Arabs, who sent an embassy to Kaotsong about the year A.D. 655. At this epoch it is also recorded that no fewer than three embassies arrived at different periods from the Kings of India. From these facts it is sufficiently clear that the Chinese had the good sense not to throw themselves in the path of the advancing tide of Mahomedanism, but by nursing their strength they were able to maintain their authority undisturbed over their own provinces.

In A.D. 683 Kaotsong's death, after a nominal reign of thirty-three years, produced a break in the progress of affairs, and threatened the position of the Empress Wou. She showed herself equal to the occasion, and asserted herself in the administration of the country more emphatically after her husband's death than she had before.

Chongtsong, the eldest son of Kaotsong, was proclaimed Emperor in accordance with his father's will, but he reigned only a few days. The Empress Wou availed herself of a decree passed in favour of the family of the new Emperor's wife to take steps for his deposition, and, having quickly executed her purpose, she again assumed the supreme power surrendered only with reluctance. Having gone so far, and having banished Chongtsong and his family, she determined to carry matters with a high hand. She put forward, indeed, another prince as nominal Emperor, and ruled in his name, but he was only a shadow. The Empress transacted all public business, received petitions, and disposed of the chief offices in the Empire. She erected temples to her ancestors, wore the robes of state restricted to an Emperor, and offered sacrifice to the great God of all. Though a woman among a people who despised womankind as much as any race on earth, she seized all the attributes of power and authority handed down to a Chinese Emperor from immemorial antiquity, and, if she is to be judged by her acts, it must be allowed her that she triumphed manfully over her

difficulties, and maintained the dignity of the throne in a manner becoming a great prince.

There were many who resented her arbitrary act in deposing Chongtsong. They could have forgiven her much tyranny within the chambers of the palace, and it would not have grieved them greatly had Chongtsong proved as pliable an instrument in her hands as Kaotsong had been. But that the Empress Wou should stand forth in the light of day as the actual ruler of China, and dispense in her own name the gifts of Imperial favour, was in contradiction of all precedent, and more than many could bear. She did not consider it necessary to dispel the growing opposition to her by any attempt at concealing the objects of her policy. Indeed, she went out of her way to invite hostility by changing the name of the dynasty, and by distributing the great offices of state among the members of her own family. Several risings took place, and plots were formed for her assassination; but one and all failed. Her measures were too prompt for her opponents, and no matter how eminent the services or great the rank of the individual, she ordered him to the block the moment he incurred her suspicion. Her spies were abroad in all directions, but their very numbers soon tended to defeat her object, as so many false accusations were brought before her. To provide against this evil, she passed an edict punishing with death those who brought false accusations, and it happened one day that out of a thousand charges, eight hundred and fifty were found to be false, when their promoters were executed. Her favourite plan of punishment for great nobles or ministers was death by execution in the streets of Singan, and the inhabitants came to regard these events with feelings very like those of our ancestors at the similar spectacles to be witnessed on Tower Hill and at Tyburn Gate.

The Empress Wou did not neglect other plans for advancing her objects and strengthening her hold upon the people's mind. She ruled the country with wisdom, and spared no effort to maintain the dignity of the nation. Her neighbours showed the same respect for her power as they had for that of her predecessors, and in all essentials

the most exacting of her countrymen cannot but admit that she fulfilled every condition that may be demanded from a sovereign. While thus seeking to show her solid claims to the lofty position she had seized, she did not neglect any means of bringing home to the heart of the nation a sense of the great services she had rendered by her wise government. She caused books to be written about her public work and freely circulated, while the ministers of religion were instructed to descant on her numerous virtues, and to point out how indispensable she was to the welfare of the state. By means such as these she maintained her supremacy for more than twenty years after the death of Kaotsong. The one act of weakness committed during her long career was her infatuation for a Buddhist priest, if indeed this is not the invention of her enemies, who have spared no effort to blacken her character. However great may have been the degree of affection she felt towards him, she certainly did not suffer his influence to assert itself in the government of the state.

In A.D. 692 she sanctioned a scheme sent for her approval by the Governor of Sichow, the modern Turfan, for the reconquest of the districts seized by the Tibetans some years before. The scheme was approved, and the territory retaken after a sharp but decisive campaign. Four years afterwards war broke out afresh, and the balance of success was in favour of the Tibetans at first; but before long the superior skill and numbers of the Chinese told, when the results of the previous campaign were maintained. Early in the eighth century the Tibetans were visited by troubles of their own; their king was killed during an expedition into India, and they found more important matters to occupy their minds than unnecessary and unprofitable disputes with the Chinese.

A new enemy had risen up on the northern frontier in the person of the Khitans, a Tartar people in the region immediately to the north of the province of Shensi, and as these threatened to become very formidable, the Empress found it politic to form an alliance with a Turk chief named Metcho, to whom she sent the patent of a Khan. A treaty

was concluded in A.D. 697, but Metcho proved false to his engagements. He turned against the Chinese the arms he had received for their defence, and ravaged the border districts. On the approach of the Chinese army he retreated, having first put to the sword ten thousand captives taken during his expedition. These frontier wars will serve to show the numerous difficult questions which were constantly attracting the attention, and requiring the consideration of the Chinese ruler.

In the meantime the Empress Wou was suffering from the inevitable malady of humanity. The weight of eighty winters told its tale upon even her vigorous mind and ardent spirit. In A.D. 704 she was confined to her chamber with a serious illness, and her ministers were not admitted to her presence during several months. Her enemies seized the opportunity for which they had been long waiting, and, having slain the principal of her relations, they presented themselves in a body at the palace. Resistance was hopeless, and with a dignity which shines out through the grudging admission of the chronicler of the times, the Empress Wou handed to them the Imperial seal and the other insignia of royalty. She died the next year after what may be called her fall, leaving the mark of her influence clearly imprinted on the history of the period, and standing forth prominently in the eyes of posterity as the woman who ruled the Chinese with a strong hand during more than forty years.

The banished Emperor Chongtsong, who had been living in retirement for twenty years, was brought back and placed upon the throne. But the change of authority entailed no benefit for the people. Chongtsong gave himself up to his own pleasure, and left his wife as much of the task of government as he could. This negligence caused great discontent among those who had risked so much in opposing the Empress Wou with the intention of restoring the Tangs to their just authority. The new Empress and her favourite Sansu, the governor of the palace, ordered things as they chose, until at length the great officials, disgusted with the tyranny under which they suffered, resolved to rid the country of an Emperor and his minions who entertained so poor an

idea of the responsibilities of their station. While this plot was taking form the Empress herself was intriguing for the elevation of her son, and finding that Chongtsong was an impediment in her path, she sent him a poisoned loaf of a kind to which he was very partial. The death of the Emperor precipitated the crisis. The great nobles rose under Chongtsong's brother Prince Litan, and the Empress and her minions were put to death without distinction of sex or person. Litan was placed on the throne, and the people rejoiced in the final triumph of the Tangs over this second attempt to transfer the supreme power to a different family. These events marked the year A.D. 710.

Litan took the name of Jouï Song, but as he only reigned two years, his career calls for no detailed notice. The principal event of his life was the selection of a successor. His eldest son Lichingki was held to have incontestably the prior claim, but his next brother Lilongki had proved himself to be a good soldier and a capable general. Jouï Song's perplexity was removed by the voluntary abdication of his claims by Lichingki, who said that "in time of peace" the eldest should be allowed to enjoy his rights, but in "a season of great danger" the Empire should fall to the share of the one who was admittedly the abler of the two; so Lilongki was proclaimed heir-apparent, and on his father's abdication in A.D. 712 he became the Emperor Mingti or Hiuentsong.

Mingti began his reign with the best intentions, and a full resolve to hand down his name to history as a second Taitsong. In fact, during his first years of power, he set himself to copy all the acts of that great prince, and never tired of quoting the maxims contained in the Golden Mirror. The reduction which he made in the expenses of the court, and the sumptuary laws which he passed and was the foremost in obeying, were both welcome to a people on whom the hands of the farmers of taxes had recently been heavily laid. He also endeavoured to improve the condition of his army, and by a series of reviews, which combined the character of an inspection with that of a meeting for military games, he encouraged that section of his subjects which contributed most to the maintenance of the Empire. Nor did he neglect the interests

of science. During his reign the study of astronomy, and the observation of natural phenomena, in the earliest ages peculiar to China and Egypt of all countries, were placed on a new and improved basis; while in recognition of his place in literature, quite as much as in his honour as a great religious teacher, Confucius was proclaimed a prince, and also awarded the title, which he would have prized more than the secular dignity, of King of Literature.

Notwithstanding these noble intentions, and the earnest which he gave during his first years of fulfilling them, the long reign of Mingti can only be considered a striking instance of how often acts falsify intentions and protestations. Mingti should have proved a second Taitson; he was, in fact, nothing more than an illustrious failure. He aspired to re-establish the authority of his family on a sound basis, and some have credited him with success. But the writing of history is, in his case, far too clear to support such a view, for the plain truth is that he brought both the Chinese Empire and the Tang dynasty to the verge of ruin. He appears to have been one of those men who raise their own difficulties, and who, when a simple and straightforward solution of a question presents itself, prefer to turn aside to follow a tortuous way of attaining their ends. It will also be seen that he failed to utilize his great power, and his adjustment of ways and means was neither skilful nor happy in its results.

Very early in his reign his attention was attracted to his relations with his neighbours. Both the Turk tribes and the people of Tibet were the cause of annoyance and danger to his subjects. Neither the one nor the other were inclined to forego their immemorial rights of encroaching on the settled districts, and of plundering the wealthy towns within the Chinese frontier whenever the supreme government seemed unable to act vigorously against them. Despite all Mingti's parade, there was not much apprehension at his power among his neighbours. The charm of the good fortune and invincibility of the Tangs was being dispelled, and the course of events threatened to break it altogether.

In the year A.D. 710 another Chinese princess, by name

Chincheng, had been sent to Tibet as wife to the Sanpou of that time ; but it had not brought the good understanding which might have been expected. The Tibetans saw in the weakness of the Chinese garrisons, and the apathy of their commanders a great opportunity, and it is not in human nature to suppose that the highest object of any race, whether it be mere greed of spoil or the promptings of a nobler ambition, can be suppressed by the flimsy considerations produced by a matrimonial alliance. Shortly after the marriage of this princess, the Tibetans obtained the surrender of a large and important district contiguous to the upper waters of the Hoangho, thus touching the Tang dominions on the north as well as on the east. Instead of availing themselves of this new possession for purposes of trade, and for prosecuting friendly relations with the Empire, they made it the base for attacking the Chinese villages and towns in the neighbourhood. Encouraged by success, they ventured to carry out an incursion on a large scale into Chinese territory, and inflicted an immense loss on the unoffending inhabitants of several districts. A Chinese army was promptly raised, succeeded in recovering a great portion of the booty, and drove the Tibetans into their own territory. This was but the beginning of a strife which continued as long as Mingti occupied the throne. The campaign in A.D. 727 was of exceptional bitterness, and varying fortune. The successes obtained in the field by the generals of Mingti were more than compensated for by the quicker movements of the Tibetans, who captured several towns, and generally deprived the Chinese of the reward of victory.

Risings on the part of the Turk tribes, and the pronounced hostility of the Khitan king in the north, further aggravated the situation, and prevented the Chinese devoting all their attention to the chastisement of the Tibetans, as they would have desired. The most fortunate of Mingti's generals was slain in a petty skirmish with a robber clan, and the successors appointed to his place proved deficient in all the qualities required for the situation. But up to the year A.D. 730 the Chinese more than held their own despite the disadvantage of having to attend to other matters, and the treaty concluded

in that year bound the Tibetans not to encroach beyond specified points. A proclamation was sent out on both sides to the effect that "the two nations are at peace, and there must be no plundering or oppression."

Confined on the east, the Tibetans turned towards the west to find a vent for their restless energy. The state of Poulin, or Little Tibet, seemed to offer itself an easy prey to their attack. The King of Poulin appealed to China for assistance, and Mingti forbade the Tibetans to attack him. But this interference was more than they could be expected to brook. Without paying any heed to the summons, the Sanpou invaded Poulin, deposed its king, and annexed the state to his dominions. Mingti was very indignant at the indifference shown to his request, and he was easily persuaded that the opportunity of attacking Tibet, when its garrisons on the eastern frontier had been weakened for the war against Poulin, was too favourable to be neglected. He, therefore, sent a large army to the borders of Szchuen and Shensi, and the Tibetans, surprised and outnumbered, were worsted in several encounters. For a few months Mingti indulged the hope that he had attained his object, but by that time the Tibetans had moved up fresh troops from the western districts, and were in readiness to resume the war. The Chinese commander was defeated with great loss in a pitched battle, when the advantage of a fortified position did not avail to turn the scale against the indignant impetuosity of the Tibetans. So far Mingti, therefore, reaped no solid advantage from his perfidy in breaking the treaty of A.D. 730. The death of the Princess Chincheng intensified the bitterness of the struggle, and Mingti abruptly refused to conclude a fresh peace when an envoy was sent to his court. In A.D. 749 the war reached its climax in the siege of Chepouching, which surrendered to the Chinese after a desperate defence of several weeks. It is admitted that the capture of this place cost the lives of more than thirty thousand men.

Against the Turks, the Khitans, and also in Yunnan, the Chinese arms were still more unfortunate. In A.D. 751 a Chinese army of thirty thousand men was destroyed to a man in the desert of Gobi, and throughout the whole of the reign

the Khitans and other Tartars on the northern frontier carried on a desultory warfare. In Yunnan, the neighbouring state of Nanchao had so long been the victim of the attacks of Chinese subjects that its king resolved to appeal to arms. Success attended his efforts, and the year A.D. 751 was marked by further disasters in this quarter. The local forces were defeated, and thirty-three towns, including Yunnanfoo, surrendered to the invader. Three years later another Chinese army met with a defeat, scarcely less serious, in this same quarter, and it is stated that the losses of the army during this reign alone were nearly two hundred thousand men.

These reverses in the field proved the precursors of domestic troubles. They were a distinct incentive to the ambitious spirits in the country to fight for their own hand. Prominent among these was a soldier named Ganlochan, a man of Khitan race, but one who had distinguished himself in wars against his own people. Being trusted with the government of a province, he at once set himself the task of making himself independent therein; and when Mingti strove to induce him to visit the capital, he received the mandate of his sovereign with indifference and contempt. It was shortly after this that he felt strong enough to throw the mask aside altogether, and to appear as a rebel at the head of an armed force. The people, "unaccustomed by the long peace to the use of arms," surrendered without resistance, and Ganlochan found that his enterprise was succeeding beyond the limit of his hopes. In A.D. 755 he had subdued the greater portion of the northern provinces, and Loyang, a former capital of the Empire, had surrendered to his arms. When the news of the subjection of all the country north of the Hoangho reached Mingti, he exclaimed, "Is it possible?" thus reminding us of another historical character who could only express surprise at the rapid progress of events.

Ganlochan, emboldened by success, was far from resting satisfied with triumphs north of the Hoangho. The very facility with which he had prospered up to this point was one of the strongest inducements to prosecute his undertaking to what might be considered its logical and legitimate conclusion. Ganlochan suffered one severe defeat in the following year;

but it could not arrest his career. He proceeded in person to the place of danger, and, having restored the balance of victory in his favour by the capture of the strong fortress Tunkwan, marched on the capital, which Mingti abandoned to its fate. Singan opened its gates to this would-be arbiter of the country's destiny, and suffered for some weeks from the exactions of a mercenary army, collected at the bidding of an adventurer who was far from being sure even of the objects he had in his own mind. Mingti, during his flight into Szchuen, abdicated the throne in favour of his son, who took the name of Soutsong. Mingti had reigned during a greater number of years than any other member of his House, but history has preserved the remembrance of no more solid achievement than that of the founding of the Hanlin College, which exists at the present day. Fond of flattery, and strongly imbued with a sense of his own ineffable wisdom, Mingti appears to have been a great ruler in the sense that our James I. was a wise prince. Whereas the penalty of James's conceit and obstinacy was paid by his son, Mingti lived long enough to suffer from similar defects in his own person. With that exception their characters seem to have been an exact counterpart.

Soutsong appears to have been a brave prince, and set himself resolutely to the task of restoring the authority of his family. While his father fled for safety to the province of Szchuen, he placed himself at the head of such troops as he could collect, and prepared to dispute his inheritance with the victorious Ganlochan. The rebels were detained several months in front of the town of Yongkiu by the valour of its commandant, and time was thus afforded Soutsong to gather round him all those who wished to uphold the authority of the Tangs. A general named Kwo Tsey stood forward conspicuously at this period as the champion of the reigning House, and very soon Soutsong found himself at the head of an army of fifty thousand men. It is said that auxiliaries came from far distant Bokhara and the fertile valleys of Ferghana to swell the ranks of the Imperial forces. In face of the gathering strength of the Imperialists, Ganlochan thought it prudent to abandon Singan, and to withdraw into

Honan, north of the Hoangho. He plundered the capital, and embellished his city of Loyang with its spoil. The exactions which he sanctioned disgusted the people, and his authority was based on the sword alone. Still it was sufficiently formidable in his own ability, and that of his generals; and China was practically divided at this period into two states hostile to each other. The rulers and states dependent upon China seized the opportunity to recover their independence; and it would have gone much harder with the Chinese at this crisis had not the attention of the Turk and Tartar tribes been called off by the successes of the Arabs in Western Asia.

In A.D. 757, Ganlochan's best lieutenant, Sseseming, laid siege to the fortress of Taiyuen, in Shansi, defended by a small but select garrison under the command of Likwangpi, Kwo Tsey's not unworthy comrade in arms. This siege is among the most celebrated in Chinese annals. Taiyuen is described as being then a place of some strength, surrounded with a wall of considerable thickness, and a good ditch. Likwangpi spared no exertion to improve its defences, and we are led to believe that he constructed another rampart inside the town wall. The most remarkable preparation he made was, however, to construct cannons, or catapults, capable of throwing a twelve-pound stone shot three hundred paces. When Sseseming appeared before the walls, therefore, he was well received; and during the thirty days that he remained in face of them, he failed to make any impression on the place. Likwangpi assumed a vigorous offensive as soon as he found the attack beginning to flag, and by means of his novel engines of war, as well as by constructing mines under the besiegers' positions, he inflicted tremendous losses on the assailants. Sseseming was obliged to beat a hasty retreat, leaving in his trenches sixty thousand men out of an army of one hundred thousand. This decisive success gave greater stability to Soutsong's authority, and restored the courage of all those who were the supporters of the Tangs.

Soutsong then felt strong enough to march on Singan, and he entrusted the command of his army to Kwo Tsey. A desperate battle was fought outside Singan, in which the

rebel forces were signally defeated, and the capital again fell into the possession of the Emperor. His victory on this occasion is attributed to the valour and steadiness of the Turk auxiliaries, who bore the brunt of the engagement. Meanwhile Ganlochan had been murdered at the command of his own son, who was in turn assassinated at a later period by Sseseming. These dissensions had greatly detracted from the strength of the rebellious faction; and a second victory, obtained by the skill of Kwo Tsey, and the valour of the foreign mercenaries, resulted in the surrender of Loyang, which was given over to the soldiers to pillage. In gratitude for the timely help he had afforded, Soutsong gave Chehou, the principal of their leaders, twenty thousand pieces of silk, and promised him a like quantity every year. Much of the fruit of these successes was lost by the impolicy of certain of Soutsong's acts; and Sseseming headed a fresh rising in the last years of his reign. Sseseming was successful in wresting Loyang and a considerable extent of country from the Emperor; but his assassination by his son cut short a career which promised to be both remarkable and successful. Soutsong's death occurred at this moment to give a fresh complexion to the struggle. He died in the early part of A.D. 762, a few months after the death of his father, the preceding Emperor Mingti.

Soutsong's son followed him as the Emperor Taitsong the Second, and the first acts of his reign afforded promise of a brighter era. His first measure was to remove a too-powerful minister, and his next to take all the steps required for the suppression of the insurgents, who still remained defiant under Sse-chao-y, the son and murderer of Sseseming. In fact, that chief was extending the limits of his authority when Taitsong turned his attention to the subject, and Likwangpi, the Imperial general, could barely hold his own against the rebels. In these straits Taitsong made overtures to the Tartar and Turk tribes, who sent a large force to co-operate with his army against the rebel Sse-chao-y. Victory crowned the efforts of the allied forces, and the death of the rebel leader seemed to afford a prospect of peace and tranquillity. The country suffered greatly at the

hands of the foreign mercenaries, who, during their return march, burnt and pillaged in all directions. Nor did the Empire long enjoy the peace which these victories in the internal war seemed to promise. Its neighbours had not been indifferent witnesses of the discord prevailing in the state. The extremities to which the Emperor was reduced afforded them an opportunity for indulging their propensity to rapine, which none of them were slow to seize.

Foremost among them, both by reason of their military strength, and also for the warlike characteristics of the people, were the Tibetans, who, having originally entered into relations with China on the terms of friends, had now become her most inveterate foes. Early in A.D. 763 they began to threaten the border districts and fortresses of the Empire, and, meeting with success above their expectations, they followed up their attack by sending the bulk of their army into China. Having captured the principal fortresses in the west of Shensi, they resolved to march on Singan, which lay exposed to their attack. A panic seized the population, and Taitsong himself became infected with it, and the Court set the bad example to the people of being the first to seek safety in flight. The Tibetans entered the capital without resistance, and remained there fifteen days. Having collected their plunder, they slowly retreated towards their homes.

In this crisis, Kwo Tsey came prominently forward, and with the small force at his disposal manœuvred with such skill that the Tibetans were fain to beat a more hurried retreat. They retained several of the strong places they had captured, and it was not until A.D. 765 that, on the renewal of the war, they were expelled from them with heavy loss by Jihchin, one of Taitsong's lieutenants. Their defeat culminated in the attack made upon them by their allies, the Huiho, who were won over by Kwo Tsey. An attempt was made in A.D. 766 to close the struggle by a treaty of peace, but it proved abortive. The war lingered on, and each year witnessed fresh incursions on the part of the Tibetans. Seven years later they were, however, vanquished in a decisive battle by Kwo Tsey. If the details of these border wars

have left no deep impression upon the record of the age, their consequence is at least written clearly in the plain statement of the census held during this reign. Whereas under Mingti the population had exceeded fifty-two millions, under Taitson, in A.D. 764, it did not reach seventeen millions; and the national prosperity had declined in like proportion. In A.D. 779 Taitson died after a troubled reign of seventeen years, leaving to his son Tetsong the task of completing the pacification of a realm which it did not seem feasible to long hold together.

The first three years of Tetsong's reign were marked by the return of peace and prosperity to the realm, because Taitson had practically left the government in the hands of the aged Kwo Tsey, whose spirit and energy had not been weakened by the weight of years. Under his advice Tetsong administered a grave rebuke to those who were always endeavouring either to cast the horoscope of the Empire, or to flatter the idiosyncrasies of the prince by reporting, or more often inventing out of their own imagination, such abnormal circumstances as might appear susceptible of a hidden interpretation. Against these superstitions, and those who prospered by their propagation, the following proclamation, framed by Kwo Tsey, delivered a shrewd blow. "Peace and the general contentment of the people," so ran this edict, "the abundance of the harvest, skill and wisdom shown in the administration, these are prognostics which I hear of with pleasure; but 'extraordinary clouds,' 'rare animals,' 'plants before unknown,' 'monsters,' and other astonishing productions of nature, what good can any of these do men? I forbid such things to be brought to my notice in the future." This protest against prevailing superstition came opportunely at a time when, because the year happened to be that dedicated to the horse, it was forbidden to travel on that useful animal along the public roads. Well might Tetsong exclaim, "Is it possible that any one can make the lives of men depend on such dreams as these?" The return of prosperity was shown by the census taken in A.D. 780, when the population was found to have risen to nineteen millions. The revenue was placed at thirty-one millions of

taels in money,* and twenty millions of a measure of grain, computed at one hundred pounds in weight.

With the death of Kwo Tsey in A.D. 781, Tetsong lost the mainstay of his Empire. It was said of him that he had risen to the lofty and onerous position of commander-in-chief after passing through no fewer than twenty-four different grades, in each and all of which he distinguished himself by his capacity. But for his great military qualities, and the sterling integrity which he showed in its service, the Tang dynasty would, beyond doubt, have gone the way of its predecessors. There were those who advised Kwo Tsey to cast his allegiance to the winds and to place himself upon the throne, but his steadfast reply was that he was "a general of the Tangs." He remained constant in his trust until his death at the patriarchal age of eighty-five, setting to all an example of virtue and devotion to the public service that in that day found few imitators, and leaving behind him among his own people the same reputation that Belisarius left among the Romans of the later Empire. Kwo Tsey was the more fortunate in that he died as he lived, the object of his sovereign's gratitude and esteem.

The death of Kwo Tsey was the signal for the outbreak of disturbances within the realm. The previous Emperor had promised, at a time when he was hard pressed, some of the great governors that he would renew the ancient practice of making their dignities hereditary, a practice which had led to the origin of the great feudatories and the accumulation of power in their hands, a state of things which had repeatedly broken up the Empire during the earlier dynasties. As it happened, no case of any importance had arisen during the second Taitson's life to show whether he meant to carry out his promises or not. The penalty of the weak act was reserved for his son and successor. Tetsong refused to ratify this arrangement, and when a case arose for his sanction he declined to make any concession, and nominated another official to the vacant post. The governors, greatly disappointed in the hopes they had entertained, leagued together, and determined to seize by force the supreme power

* About ten millions of our present money.

to which they aspired. Their successes at first surpassed their utmost hopes. The forces of the government were driven from the field, the Emperor had to abandon the capital, and seventy princes of the Tang family were executed to show with what object these subjects had appeared in arms. Chutse, the principal of the insurgent chiefs, took all the steps he considered necessary to place himself on the throne, and assumed all the pomp of royalty. But while he was engaged in the pleasant occupation of regulating the affairs of his own palace, the people were rallying to the side of Tetsong. A proclamation, containing at once a confession of faults and a promise of better government in the future, had been issued in his name, and all those who had taken up arms against their sovereign were promised pardon and forgiveness. It was not without a touch of dignity that Tetsong excluded from the royal clemency Chutse, the principal of all his foes, as the man who had murdered so many of his family, and who had desecrated the temples of his ancestors.

The effect of this proclamation was so great that Chutse found himself deserted by the bulk of his supporters, and although he showed valour in the field, he was compelled to seek safety by flight in the direction of Tibet. On the approach of a body of cavalry sent in pursuit, his officers slew him, and sent his head as a peace-offering to the Emperor. Tetsong evinced fresh wisdom in again issuing a general amnesty, and the rebels returned to their homes. Several victories obtained over the Tibetans in A.D. 791-2 added to the returning sense of security, and ten years later this success was repeated against the same foe.

A great many civil wars, and frequent disasters received at the hands of foreign foes, had marked the history of the Tangs for a long period. The benefits originally conferred by its earlier princes were beginning to be lost sight of, and the later rulers seemed to have forgotten the greatness of the mission with which they were entrusted. There could not be much doubt that the continuance of this state of things would be followed by the collapse of the dynasty. Well might the contemporaries of Tetsong declare that the glory of the Tangs

had departed, and that it was only a question of a few years when the unworthy descendants of the great Taitsong should take their departure from the scene of history. Already had the eunuchs appeared in the palace, influencing the hand which guided the bark of state, and flooding the public service with their nominees ; and with their advent to power the days of the existing administration were numbered. Corruption in the service, distrust and rivalry in the cabinet and at the council board, were not less fatal to the well-being of the state than the timidity in action and irresolution in thought which characterized the acts of these beings, who possessed all the greed of power and of wealth without the capacity of turning them to their legitimate and honourable uses. In the year A.D. 800 Tetsong proclaimed that there were no longer any openly declared rebels, and that the country was pacified ; but the canker was eating at the core, for the eunuchs made all state appointments, even to the generals in the field and the governors in the provinces.

Tetsong died in the year A.D. 805, and his son Chuntsong succeeded him. Of this young prince the most favourable prognostications were made, but his ill-health and an incurable disease rendered his tenure of the throne of the shortest duration. He abdicated the same year as that of his accession to power.

CHAPTER XV.

THE DECLINE OF THE TANGS.

IT must not be supposed that, because the decline of the Tangs is dated from the accession of Hientsong, the son and successor of Chuntsong, he was in any degree worse than the princes who had immediately preceded him. The fact is that when he came to the throne the shortcomings of the race were commencing to bear fruit in a general complication of difficulties, and the public mind was beginning to grasp the notion that it might be necessary to replace the Tangs with another line of rulers. The reign of Hientsong offers, therefore, an appropriate starting-point in the description of the rapid decline and fall of the great family which had united China and restored its ancient splendour.

The state of the administration had been reduced to such a low pass by the irregularities of the eunuchs that the new Emperor found himself compelled to adopt a more circumspect line of conduct than was either politic or in accordance with his own wishes. The one element of strength in his government consisted in the attention which his chief general Weikiao paid to the interests of the army. The pay and the pensions to the widows and children of those who had fallen in the service of the country were always forthcoming, no matter to what straits the exchequer might be reduced ; and this prudent conduct ensured a stability to the Emperor's authority far in excess of its actual hold on either the affection or the respect of the people. The very first year of his reign witnessed an opportunity for showing how invaluable still was the possession of the strongest military force in the

country. Lieoupi, a refractory governor in the province of Szchuen, had exceeded the limits of the license necessarily accorded to the viceroys during a period when the Emperor felt very uncertain about the security of his own position. At first Hientsong had striven to keep him within the bounds of good humour by overlooking certain acts in his conduct which he might fairly have condemned, but the condescension of the Emperor only increased the arrogance of the rebellious subject. An army was then sent into Szchuen, and Lieoupi's ambition was summarily cut short. The wisdom of the general sent against him produced a great impression in that province, which again became firmly attached to the Empire.

Several insurrections on a small scale occurred to attract the attention and excite the anxiety of the government; but none of these, with the exception of that of Lissetao, were of sufficient importance to call for comment. This chief set up the standard of revolt in Shantung, where he maintained the semblance of independent authority for some time. Against him in due time an army was sent, and such was its reputation that Lissetao's followers refused to oppose it. Lissetao was taken from his palace to the public square, where he and his two sons were executed as rebels. Successful over the domestic enemy, the Imperialists were not less fortunate against the foreign foes they had to encounter in the Tibetans. The successful defence of the city of Yenchow against a numerous host of those persistent enemies of the Chinese is celebrated in the annals of the period, and their withdrawal, after a relieving force had made a demonstration on their line of retreat, crowned the results of the campaign.

Hientsong may be considered to have been a well-meaning prince of moderate abilities. His partiality for Buddhism was his predominant fault, and in the eunuchs he was too much disposed to see an injured caste. These latter obtained a strong hold over his conduct, and although often warned against these insidious advisers he never profited by the remonstrances frequently addressed to him. On several occasions he even interfered to protect them. Hientsong was also addicted to the superstitious practices then in vogue, and believed in the possibility of extending life to an

exceptional degree by drinking the elixirs prepared by the quack doctors of the age. On one occasion he suffered from having taken an overdose of the "wine of immortality," and in his exasperation he ordered many of the eunuchs to be executed. He spared a sufficient number, however, to leave avengers for their slaughtered comrades, and, persisting in his potations of the elixir, he found the only immortality in the poison which had been introduced into his draught by the eunuch Chin Hongtsi. This event took place in A.D. 820, when Hientsong had occupied the throne during fifteen years.

His son Moutsong succeeded him, but his indifference to the duties of his post was not concealed from the first day of his assumption of power. The neglect which he showed in taking steps for the detection and punishment of his father's murderers augured ill for the character of his reign; and his heedless manner, when remonstrated with, created a still more unfavourable impression. The etiquette of the court ordained that, for a deceased ruler, there should be mourning during three years, a regulation which was no doubt only religiously carried out in the case of some prince who had peculiarly distinguished himself. But within a few weeks of his father's murder Moutsong gave a fête on a large scale—an outrage on the ordinary decencies of life. His subjects could without difficulty infer from this conduct the character of their new ruler, and his later acts did not cause them to change their original opinion.

The only event of any importance of the reign was the conclusion of a "sworn peace" with Tibet in the year A.D. 821. The Sanpou of that day sent a special envoy to Singan to propose that by each country "weapons shall be put by." A treaty of peace was concluded on this basis, and proclaimed with every formality, and although small incursions continued to take place, now on one side, now on the other, for some years afterwards, the long struggle between the Tibetans and the Chinese then virtually reached its close. There was a feeling of respect on both sides; and when the intercourse was resumed at a later period, the government of Tibet remembered only the ties which bound it to China, and not the long and sanguinary wars of these two centuries.

In itself this was an event of sufficient importance to redeem Moutsong's memory from complete forgetfulness.

Moutsong was another believer in the virtues of the elixir of immortality, and in A.D. 824 he also paid the penalty of his credulity with his life.

His son Kingsong, the next Emperor, was the exact counterpart of his father. Equally indifferent and good tempered, he followed his own inclinations, and treated all the remonstrances of his ministers with the lenience of one too well satisfied with himself to be angry. His ministers thought to bring him back to a sense of duty by presenting him with a very handsome screen of six wings, on each of which moral precepts peculiarly applicable to himself were inscribed. He is reported to have examined the gift with great care, to have read the sentences with attention, and to have observed that it was a very pretty ornament. He neither profited by the advice nor expressed any indignation at its being given. He was supremely indifferent to everything. His occupation of the throne was of only two years' duration, and when he absented himself from his council he lost the support of the thoughtful among his ministers. He also incurred the hostility of the eunuchs, who murdered him after a debauch. These attempted to set up a ruler of their own choice, but they failed in their attempt. They had to accept Kingsong's brother, Prince Lihan, who was proclaimed his successor, and began his reign in A.D. 826 under the style of Wentsong.

Wentsong proved himself to be a man of considerable force of character. He owed his elevation to the support of the eunuchs, but he regarded them personally with ill-concealed aversion. It became the object of his life to shake off the authority which they claimed over him, and to drive them from the powerful position which they had quietly appropriated. He carried out several beneficent reforms, and his attention to public business was praiseworthy; but his whole energy was devoted to the struggle with the eunuchs. Not safe in the precincts of his own palace, he had to dissimulate his aversion to them, and his ministers were unfortunately destitute of the resolution required to grapple

with and dispel, once and for all, the danger to the welfare of the state. The officials in the country were more zealous than those in the town, and had less hesitation in naming the national enemies; but then they were remote from the scene, and were spectators rather than actors in the crisis. In A.D. 829 an edict was passed compelling the eunuchs to confine themselves to the palace and its surroundings; but this they viewed with indifference, as it was restricting them to the sphere of their ordinary duties.

Six years after the passing of this regulation, Wentsong entered into a plot with several of the principal of his ministers to get rid of the eunuchs. There were many who wished to have the credit of performing this patriotic work, and there were others glad to do the bidding of their prince. The secret was well kept, and up to the last the eunuchs had no idea of the impending danger. At the critical moment, however, the leaders lost their nerve, and the eunuchs, hastily collecting their followers, made good their position against their assailants. They had lost ten or twelve of their number, but it was now their turn to strike, and their blow went home. Sixteen hundred mandarins and one thousand of their supporters among the people fell in one day before the vengeance of these infuriated persons. Not content with slaughtering their opponents, they executed their relations in order to appease their revengeful instincts. Discouraged by the failure of this scheme, and unable to renew the attempt, Wentsong became a mere puppet in their hands. His later years were rendered miserable by the remembrance of this overthrow, and it was a happy release when, broken down in health, his life closed in A.D. 840, after a reign of fourteen years. He had measured himself against the power of the eunuchs, and he had been ignominiously beaten. After so severe a defeat, morally and physically, he had no alternative but to die.

Wentsong wished that one of his sons should succeed him, and, perhaps for no other reason than that he wished it, the eunuchs would accept neither. They chose Wentsong's brother, who took the name of Voutsong. Voutsong showed no scruple in forcing his way into power, like another

Richard, by the murder of his nephews ; but having made good his position, he evinced qualities that went far towards redeeming his character in the eyes of his people. He protected the frontiers in a manner that had not been seen for some generations, and he granted a tribe from Western Asia sanctuary within his dominions. In the province of Shensi his lieutenants gained several successes over a turbulent tribe named Tanghiang ; and Voutsong must be allowed to have been, on the whole, an able and vigorous ruler. He was a great huntsman, and much given to military exercises. The measures he sanctioned against the Buddhist priests are commendable, not because they were directed against the representatives of a strange religion, but because they aimed a blow at the drones of society. A bonze was an able-bodied man living a life of idleness, and often one also of immorality, on the credulity of his fellow-men, and it required neither peculiar merit in the creed nor any specially persuasive power in the arguments of its ministers to induce thousands of individuals to seek the retirement and the temporal enjoyments of a Buddhist monastery. It was but the inevitable consequence of this abuse that the government should pass edicts against it, and Voutsong, in A.D. 845, ordered the bonzes and the female devotees to quit their religious houses and return to their families.

Voutsong died the year following this remarkable event, leaving behind him the deserved regret that his reign had been of too brief duration.

Again did the eunuchs figure in the character of king-makers. It was their nominee, Suentsong, a grandson of Hientsong, that was proclaimed Emperor, and they selected him because he had always had the reputation of being half-witted. No sooner was he proclaimed than a remarkable change was observed in his character. Far from being a mere tool in the hands of the eunuchs, he showed a hostile disposition towards them, and on this point shared the opinions of his predecessor. His schemes for their punishment fell through, and he, like several of his predecessors, passed his last days in constant apprehension for his personal safety within the walls of his palace. During his reign, the

Kiei Kiasse, the tribe from Central Asia to which he had given shelter, did good service against the Hiuho, and the internal affairs of Tibet were in so distracted a state that the frontiers of Shensi and Szchuen remained undisturbed. The writers of the time record that Suentsong possessed that royal gift, a good memory for faces, which once seen were never forgotten. He also was unfortunately disposed to believe in the possibility of prolonging man's allotted term, and, in A.D. 859, his life was given as another sacrifice on the part of Chinese Emperors to this self-deluding superstition.

To the pride, extravagance, and superstition of the next Emperor, Ytsong, Suentsong's son, must in a great degree be attributed the confusion which fell more heavily upon the realm. In the first year of his reign a rising, headed by a discontented official, broke out in Chekiang. The local garrisons were defeated, and it required a great effort and the despatch of a large army from the capital to repress the insurrection. The rebel was taken prisoner and executed, but even this fate failed to deter others from copying his example. There was a restless spirit abroad that would not be allayed.

Ytsong's success was due as much to the insignificance of his opponent as to the efficacy of his measures. When required to face a more formidable antagonist in the Prince of Nanchao or Yunnan, the result was not in his favour. In A.D. 861 this potentate, who was not only a Chinese vassal, but one at whose court a Chinese officer resided as agent for the Emperor, conceived that a slight had been offered him, and, indignant at the tardy reparation, took up arms and cast off his allegiance. He succeeded beyond the summit of his expectations, plundered Tonquin and most of the surrounding districts, and set up an independent government in Yunnan. Several armies were sent against him, but they were one and all driven back without accomplishing their mission. The barbarians of Yunnan, as they were called, declared themselves free, and the Chinese government, after several abortive attempts to reassert its authority, was too weak to enter upon a protracted struggle with the rebels. At one time it looked as if the Prince of Yunnan would have

succeeded in adding Tonquin to his own state; and such might have proved the case but for the victories won in A.D. 866 by Ytsong's lieutenant, Kaopien, one of the most skilful generals of the age. The severance of Yunnan from the rest of the Empire was, however, complete and not to be disputed.

Ytsong was a fervent believer in Buddhism, in support of which he wrote treatises, and he granted large subsidies to the priests of that religion. In A.D. 872 he sent emissaries to India to obtain a bone of Buddha's body, and when remonstrated with he said he should die happy when he had procured his wish. On the return of the embassy with the object of its quest, he received it, surrounded by his court, on his knees. A general pardon and a week's festivities testified to the sincerity of the Emperor's feelings. Unfortunately they were feelings that should have been repressed, not indulged. Only a few weeks after this event, when he had held the sceptre for fourteen years, Ytsong died suddenly. His extravagance had greatly contributed to the aggravation of the evils from which the people had so long been suffering. His son, a boy of twelve years, succeeded him, taking the name of Hitsong.

It was particularly unfortunate that, at a time when the need both of the country and of the dynasty was the sorest, the governing power should rest in the hands of a boy. Hitsong gave himself up to the amusements of youth, and paid slight heed to the landscape darkening on every hand. His reign of fifteen years proved a succession of revolts, intrigues, and their usual termination in wholesale massacres and executions, over which, in a distracted country, there presided the mockery of a justice which was no longer pure or impartial.

Among the principal revolts was that in the southern portion of the country, headed by Hwang Chao, who won over a party by "his liberalities," and speedily made himself formidable to the Emperor by the capture of the important city of Canton. This success was followed by others. The principal cities of Houkwang and Kiangsi surrendered to him, and Loyan and Singan—the two court residences—

shared the same fate. The Emperor was compelled to seek safety in flight, and all the members of the Imperial family who were captured were executed. Having met with rapid success, Hwang Chao's fortunes as rapidly declined.

In this desperate situation, Hitsong found an unexpected friend and champion in Likeyong, the chief of a Turk tribe. Two years after Hwang Chao had established himself at Singan, and proclaimed a new dynasty, Likeyong, assembling a small but chosen army of his own Chato people, marched to the deliverance of his master. Forty thousand men followed his banner, all dressed in a black uniform, and these troops became known to the rebels as "the black crows." It became a common expression, "Unhappy are those who happen to fall under their talons." With these troops he defeated Hwang Chao, and wrested from him his recent conquests. The rebel fled into Honan, but Likeyong pressed him hard. In A.D. 884 he completely defeated him, and the success of the campaign was finally crowned by the death of Hwang Chao, who was murdered by one of his own followers. Hitsong was restored to his throne to enjoy four more years of nominal authority, but dissensions and strife remained around him on all sides. Likeyong himself had to take up the sword on one occasion against those who pretended to speak in the Emperor's name; but he appears to have been the only man actuated by unselfish motives. Even when in arms he deprecated the insinuation that he was opposing the legitimate authority of his sovereign. In the midst of these scenes of confusion, Hitsong's death occurred (A.D. 888).

The picture drawn of China at this period is a very distressing one. The country desolate, the towns ruined, the capital reduced to ashes. Not a province that had not been visited by the horrors of a civil war, not a fortified place which had not undergone a siege, and which might be esteemed fortunate if it had escaped a sack. With confusion in the administration, and the absence of all public spirit, it was not surprising that each governor should strive to make himself independent, and to fight for his own hand. There was little in such a spectacle as this to awaken joy in the heart of the heir of the Tangs.

Chaotsong, brother of Hitsong, succeeded as the nineteenth Emperor of his family, and he was not wanting in good parts. Indeed, if he had appeared earlier in the struggle, there is no saying but that his energy and courage might have restored the fortune of his House. He had, however, come too late, when no human power could have availed to have turned the bark of state from the course on which it was steadily bent. His accession marked the beginning of the end, and, as Likeyong truly said, "the ruin of the Tangs was not far distant." In view of the widespread disorganization of society, even the crimes of the eunuchs had ceased to attract the old attention. When the nation was split up into numerous hostile camps, it became a point of secondary importance whether an impotent Emperor permitted his proclamations to be dictated by his duly appointed ministers or by a cabal of intriguers within the walls of his palace. It mattered little one way or the other, for the whole proceeding was a farce, destitute of practical importance.

In A.D. 890 Likeyong appeared in arms, and issued a proclamation, announcing his intention to visit the Emperor and throw himself at his feet. His loyalty did not interfere with the measures he adopted against Chaotsong's representatives, whom he defeated with heavy loss when they sought to bar his way to the capital. He had taken up arms, he declared, for the removal of bad advisers. Chaotsong accepted his assurances of friendship, re-appointed him to his former offices, but forbade him to come to the capital. He was one of those friends whom princes prefer to keep at a distance, and as a subject he was too powerful to be an object of affection. Five years later, Likeyong again took the field, this time in support of the Emperor against three rebellious governors. His old success attended his operations. Chaotsong returned to Singan, whence he had fled, and Likeyong proposed a scheme for chastising all rebels throughout the country. But Chaotsong was satisfied with the result attained, and thoroughly distrusted the integrity of the man who had thus for a second time preserved the Empire. Likeyong was created Prince of Tsin, and requested to return to his government.

Chaotsong did not long preserve the decorous attitude which had marked his first days of power. His excesses roused a feeling of hostility towards himself that had hitherto been absent, and these reached their climax when, in an ebullition of temper, he slew several of his guard and of the ladies of the palace. This outrage, although committed by the Emperor, led to the forming of a plot against his person by the eunuchs, who resolved to depose a ruler who was in constant opposition to their views. The plot was carried out with great daring and success. The Emperor, the Empress, and the principal members of their suite, were confined in an inner apartment of the palace, where they were strictly guarded. Chaotsong's infant son was proclaimed in his stead, and the eunuch Lieou Kichou wielded the authority and dispensed the favours of the new government. This act of audacity was more than even the ministers and officers of a decaying dynasty would tolerate, and the eunuchs, afraid to get rid of the Emperor, were very soon in their turn overpowered and compelled to release their prisoner. Chaotsong's return to power was followed by the passing of severe edicts against the eunuchs, who were deprived of all their administrative functions. At the very moment, therefore, when they thought they held final success in their grasp, the eunuchs were nearest their fall. From this point they lost their importance as a factor in the crisis which may be considered to have gone on from the fall of the Tangs until the rise of the great Sung dynasty.

When Likeyong retired into his government in Shensi, he left the field clear for Chuwen, an ambitious general who had played a prominent part in all the disturbances since the rising of Hwang Chao. Originally a lieutenant of that able but unscrupulous leader, he had abandoned him to throw in his fortunes with those of the Emperor Hitsong as soon as he discovered that his success was not likely to prove more than transient. A keen rivalry had existed from the first between this personage and Likeyong, in whom Chuwen saw the principal obstacle to his attaining the supreme power which he coveted. On Likeyong's retreat, after effecting the relief of the Emperor, Chuwen commenced his preparations for the

final step on which he was resolved. Filling all the principal offices with his own creatures, he courted popularity, at the same time that he removed possible rivals by persecuting the eunuchs, whose extermination he ordered and carried out with such severity that "only thirty old men and children" were spared. Soon after this event Chuwen was created Prince of Leang.

In A.D. 904 Chuwen compelled Chaotsong to leave Singan and take up his residence at Loyang, where he felt more secure and better able to attain the objects he had before him. In view of his growing power Likeyong himself lost courage, and feared that his intervention would only provoke a greater catastrophe. Chaotsong entreated his former deliverer and other Chinese governors to come to his assistance ; but none ventured to stir in his behalf. This unhappy prince endeavoured also to free himself from the chains in which his tyrant had placed him, by offering him a poisoned drink, but Chuwen was too wary to be thus entrapped. When Chaotsong reached Loyang his doom was sealed. Treated with the outward form of respect, he was without power, and in the hands of a man who regarded him as an obstacle in the path of his ambition. For a few months he was suffered to live, and then he was brutally murdered by order of Chuwen. The excuse put forward was that some mutinous soldiers committed this act ; but, if Chuwen wished the tale to obtain credence, he took a very bad way—although he executed his own son as the murderer—to effect his object. He invited all the princes of the Tang family that were at Loyang to a grand banquet—held on the borders of a lake—and when he had feasted them, a body of soldiers appeared upon the scene, and threw all the guests into the water. Nor did his barbarity cease with this act. Because "there is no peace for the wicked," he deposed all the officials, and executed many of them, distrusting their fidelity, although they were nearly all of his own creation. He persecuted after a similar fashion the highest officers in the state, and on the advice of a minister, who told him that if any serious danger could come to him from any class it would be from them, he caused them to be condemned and led in chains to the banks of the

Hoangho, where they were drowned. Such acts as these show in the clearest light the probability of Chuwen's guilt in the case of Chaotsong's murder.

Chuwen put Chao Siuenti, one of the youngest sons of the deceased Emperor, on the throne ; but he, seeing that he must prove another victim to his unscrupulous ambition, resigned the hollow office after a nominal reign of two years' duration. During that brief period he was not responsible for the acts committed in his name. Chuwen's sole fear arose from the power of Likeyong, who maintained an observant attitude within his own dominions ; but in A.D. 906 that chief, on the recommendation of his son, placed an army in the field, and wrested the town of Loochow from him. Chuwen, alarmed at this reverse, returned to Loyang, where the closing events in the drama of the fortunes of the Tang family obscure, for the moment, the interest in the struggle between the two great rivals, Chuwen and Likeyong the Turk.

It was after this campaign that Chao Siuenti resigned the insignia of power to Chuwen. The transfer of authority was effected with all necessary ceremony. Chuwen accepted the will of the people, and Chao Siuenti recognized the force of circumstances and the decree of fate. The change came at a critical moment, for there were clouds on the horizon for the new ruler to dispel if he could. In the north-west there were defeats to avenge and retrieve, and in the interior much discontent and little confidence prevailed. Chuwen was accepting a great responsibility, and it was doubtful whether he possessed the strength necessary to meet it. His own attached followers saw no reason to confide in his friendship, and they did not support him with the staunch and implicit trust of those who know that the victory of the leader will be not more in proportion than the triumph of the men who follow and who make his fortune. Chuwen founded a dynasty, and took the great names of Taitsou Hwangti ; but in the very birth of the new power there were perceptible the seeds of an early decay.

Chao Siuenti did not long survive his abdication. It was no part of Chuwen's programme that he should remain a standing danger to his administration, and in the year following

his proclamation he caused him to be assassinated. Thus closed, with the extinction of the race, the career of the illustrious family of the Tangs. It had given twenty Emperors to China during a period of nearly three centuries, and some of these conferred benefits upon the country which endured long beyond the fall of their family. In the great Taitsong* it may boast the greatest ruler, taken all in all, that ever guided the destinies of the Chinese race; and whether we consider the extent of the mission with which it was entrusted, or the manner in which its duties were performed, we can only hesitate before comparing any other reigning House with it. In Chinese history the part played by the Tangs is unique, unless the present reigning dynasty should equal or eclipse it; and, although their fall clearly shows how much the descendants of Kaotsou and Taitsong had forgotten the art of government, the record of their prowess, of their conquests, and of the benefits of their domestic administration yet remains to excite our wonder and admiration. From Cochin China to Tokharistan, from Corea to the Persian frontier, there was not a people or a state which did not regard the Empire of the Tangs as the great military and civilized Power of Asia. India did not escape the influence of the spell, and the impetuous Arabs abstained from insulting the borders of a potentate whom they could not but respect. The tradition of China's power and wealth remained, but the richest legacy left by the early Tangs to those who occupied their seat in after times was that no ruler can be held to be great who is not just, and that, although his first duty is to his own people, his justice is imperfect if it does not also include other peoples and nations besides his own. Taitsong saw and acted upon this truth, thus making it the brightest wreath in the laurels of the Tangs.

* We reluctantly give him precedence over Keen Lung, the fourth of the Manchu rulers, who must, in our opinion, be placed next. Tsin Hwangti, Han Vouti, Kublai Khan, Ming Taitsou or Hongwou, and Kanghi are all worthy of a place immediately following, but close to, these two Emperors.

CHAPTER XVI.

FIVE SMALL DYNASTIES.

The Later Leangs, Tangs, Tsins, Hans, and Chows.

IT very soon became evident that Taitsou had accepted a task for which he did not possess the necessary strength. His authority was not recognized outside a portion of Shantung and the whole of Honan, while his assumption of the Imperial title had made him an object of hatred to the other governors, who regarded him as a person defrauding them of their lawful right. Several went so far as to call themselves Emperors, and to adopt the ceremony held by custom to accompany that high dignity; but the greatest danger was threatened by Likeyong, who did nothing. His policy was to wait upon the course of events, and not to strike until he saw where the blow might be best delivered. The impetuosity of his son Litsun-hiu urged him to break this prudent resolve, and to adopt the advice that it would be better to strike before Taitsou could consolidate his position.

An alliance between Likeyong and Yeliu Apaoki, a powerful Tartar chieftain in Southern Mongolia, who had subdued many tribes and a large tract of country, threatened Taitsou with a danger which might have proved fatal. Fortunately for him, Yeliu Apaoki, although the first to propose it, was not sincere in his engagement with the Prince of Tsin, and made counter proposals to Taitsou. This double-dealing saved the new Emperor from a grave peril, while it enabled the Khitan Apaoki to consolidate his own

power, and some years later to assert his supremacy in the Empire. Encouraged by this diplomatic victory, Taitso came to the conclusion that his best plan would be to declare war upon the Prince of Tsin without giving him the time for forming fresh alliances. He despatched a force, therefore, to lay siege to the town of Loochow, taken from him only a few years before. This place was gallantly and, in the end, successfully defended against him ; but the most interesting event of the year was the death of Likeyong. Litsun-hiu was recognized as his successor, and the struggle for power was resumed with greater vigour and determination than ever.

Litsun-hiu resolved to give lustre to his name by effecting the relief of Loochow, being, as he said, not without a hope that Taitso might relax some of his attention to the war in consequence of Likeyong's death. This belief proved well founded, and Litsun-hiu effected the relief of this city by winning a brilliant victory over the Imperialist army besieging it. On receiving the disastrous news, Taitso exclaimed, "Likeyong is not dead ; he lives again in his son." The war continued during the remaining years of Taitso's life. In A.D. 911 Litsun-hiu won another battle on the banks of the Yeho, when he captured the enemy's camp, and a large quantity of his baggage.

This crushing blow produced an effect upon the mind of Taitso from which he never recovered, and the bitterness of defeat was intensified by the knowledge that he had no one to fight his battles save himself, or to carry on the work which he had barely commenced. On several occasions he showed the old distrust of his most intimate and confidential advisers, few as they were ; and to the end he remained isolated and apart from both the desires of the people and the ambitious objects of his own followers. His death was brought about by other causes than those of war and turmoil. His eldest son, whom he had provoked, slew him in a moment of passion, thus cutting short a career which had throughout its whole length been one of confusion and restlessness. The parricide did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime, for a brother, constituting himself the avenger of his sire, attacked

and slew him in turn. Having accomplished this act of stern justice, he ascended the throne as the Emperor Moti.

Meanwhile Litsun-hiu was pushing his advantages in the north-west. He had turned aside in his career against the Leangs to attack the Prince of Yen, who, after a feeble resistance, was made prisoner, and executed because he had refused to accept the terms previously offered him. Having protected his flank by this movement, Litsun-hiu resumed his operations against the Emperor. Moti put fresh forces in the field, and endeavoured to defend his dominions against the invader. His army was, however, ill able to engage in a serious struggle with the well-trained and hardy troops of the Prince of Tsin; and his general, Liusiun, recognizing this fact, wished to avoid a pitched battle. Moti disapproved of his tactics, and sent him an imperative order to engage the enemy without further delay, anxious, perhaps, that the agony of suspense as to his fate should be speedily removed.

Liusiun's better judgment urged him to continue his Fabian tactics, but his council of war was unanimous in favour of decisive action. The result proved the accuracy of his views, for he was beaten with heavy loss in a pitched battle, by one of Litsun-hiu's lieutenants. This battle was fought in the year A.D. 916, and it would have decided the contest had not Yeliu Apaoki, the Khitan king, entered the dominions of the Prince of Tsin at the head of a large army. He defeated Litsun-hiu's generals in several encounters, and captured some of his strongest cities; but before the close of this campaign the Tartar was compelled to retreat into his own territory. Litsun-hiu, whose attention was momentarily distracted by this incursion, again turned all his strength against Moti.

The winter of the year A.D. 917 was exceptionally severe, and the Hoangho was frozen over in sufficient strength to admit of the passage of an army. The Prince of Tsin crossed it without accident at the head of his infantry and cavalry, and carried by storm the small forts held by the Emperor in this quarter. In the following year he collected the largest army that had yet followed his banner, and proclaimed his intention of seizing the Empire. Moti made

strenuous preparations to defend his throne, and placed a large army in the field. But fortune was against him, and not to be propitiated. On the field of Houlieoupi, where twenty thousand of his best troops were slain, his army was routed mainly by the superior skill of Litsun-hiu, who, losing his best general early in the day, headed his men in person. In a second battle he followed up this success, when the result was not less favourable to his side. Making sure of the passage of the Hoangho by the construction of two forts, he advanced towards Moti's capital, driving the remnants of his beaten army before him, and receiving the surrender and congratulations of those who already saw in him their new ruler. His movements were again delayed for a short space by a fresh incursion on the part of the Khitan ruler; but he did not suffer these diversions to turn him from his main object. In A.D. 923 he laid siege to Moti's capital, and that prince, seeing that his ruin was inevitable, ordered one of his officers to put an end to his existence, thus terminating also the brief reign of the Later Leangs, who had only maintained the position seized by Chuwen for the short space of sixteen years. Some months before this event Litsun-hiu had proclaimed a new dynasty, and he gave it the name of the Tang because he declared it to be his ambition to renew the glories of that family. He took the name of Chwangtsong.

Chwangtsong's reign proved of short duration. After overthrowing the Leangs and setting the seal to their ruin by the desecration of their ancestral tombs the new ruler sent an expedition into Szchuen, which he subdued. He gratified his martial tastes by instituting military games and by resorting to a personal display not in accordance with the condition of the state. At the same time he proved to be avaricious, and parted reluctantly with his money for objects of public utility. Chwangtsong proved himself to be rather a splendid barbarian than a wise ruler. His most congenial element was the battlefield, and the camp of armed men. When engaged on any expedition he slept on the bare ground and shared his soldiers' fare; but in his new capital, surrounded by the unknown luxury and wealth of a southern court, his great qualities degenerated like those of Hannibal at Capua. For

the stern game of war he preferred the spectacle, for the camp the luxury and pleasant ease of the palace.

If their leader was forgetful of his former prowess, the fierce soldiers who followed his banner did not rest satisfied with what had been achieved. They panted for fresh triumphs, and thought the tranquillity of the life of citizens but a poor exchange for the excitement of the soldier's career. When some of his old energy returned to him, his soldiers were disaffected, and several of his rivals were preparing for a fresh outbreak in the struggle for power. It is probable that he would have triumphed over his difficulties even at this late stage, but that a desperate party among his soldiers resolved to precipitate the crisis. It was while he was in his palace at Loyang, whither he had led his army for the purpose of meeting one of his opponents, that the bad feeling among his soldiers broke out in a flame. The news was suddenly brought to him that a party of conspirators was forcing the gates. Buckling on his armour, he placed himself at the head of his immediate attendants, and hastened to defend the entrance, at the same time sending an order for the immediate despatch of his cavalry from outside the town. Its commander refused to obey, and Chwangtsong was left to his fate. No record has been preserved of that stubborn fight at the gate of the palace of Loyang, but we may safely imagine that it was worthy of the earlier reputation of Litsun-hiu. Deserted by his oldest officers he fought on with a mere handful of men, checking the rush of the hundreds of his assailants. The result remained doubtful, until an arrow struck the Emperor in the head, when he was carried into the interior of the palace by a faithful follower. The Empress sent him a cup of sour milk, which was no doubt poisoned, as Chwangtsong died immediately after taking it. Chwangtsong was only thirty-five years of age when this event occurred, and there cannot be a difference of opinion that a remarkable career was thus cut short. His old adversary, Yeliu Apaoki, the Khitan king, expressed great grief at his death. He himself died the same year, and was succeeded by his son.

Troubles broke out in several directions, and might have

assumed grave proportions but that Lisseyuen, Chwangtsong's adopted brother and best general, took steps to remove them. He executed such of the rebels as he could seize, and banished the Empress, who was more than suspected of having poisoned her husband, and who was discovered in the act of plundering the palace. But he refused the dignity of Emperor which they wished to confer upon him, and while the troubles continued he styled himself simply Governor of the realm. Having restored some appearance of order, he retracted his refusal, and mounted the throne under the title of Mingsong (A.D. 926).

During the ten years of his tenure of power Mingsong was continually engaged in wars with either domestic or foreign enemies, but he managed to find time for the promotion of science and the encouragement of men of learning. The great art of printing was first discovered and turned to practical use during his reign, more than five centuries before Caxton and the printing presses of Germany.* His principal successes had been obtained over the Khitans, who were the most troublesome of neighbours, but their losses were so severe that they were fain to accept the terms accorded them. Mingsong showed a desire to propitiate them by releasing several of their officers whom he had made prisoners, although he was warned that the knowledge they had acquired in China would be turned against himself. Mingsong thought the risk on this account preferable to a perpetuation of the hostile feelings between the peoples.

In A.D. 933 he fell dangerously ill, and troubles arose in his own family on the question of the succession. One son absolutely appeared in arms in the palace, and Mingsong was constrained to order summary steps to be taken for his punishment. Distressed at this act, Mingsong's malady assumed an intensified form, and he died very shortly afterwards, leaving behind him the reputation of a wise and peace-loving prince.

* The exact date of the first printing press, in which wooden blocks were used, is uncertain; but it was probably about this period that it was first generally employed. The celebrated publication commonly called the *Pekin Gazette*, was nearly two centuries older, as it certainly existed in the reign of the enlightened Mingti of the Tangs (A.D. 713-756).

His son Mingti succeeded him, but his brief reign of one year was a series of misfortunes. Litsongkou, Prince of Lou, one of Mingtsong's favourite generals, revolted against him, and drove him from the throne. The Empress declared in favour of this pretender, and, when Mingti had been got rid of, Litsongkou became the Emperor Lou Wang. He did not long enjoy the power he had won by the extinction of the family of Likeyong, for within a year he fell a victim to the ambition of a rival general. Seeing that the end was at hand, he retired with his family to a turret in his palace, which he set on fire, thus perishing in the flames. So expired the brief dynasty of the Later Tangs.

Cheking Tang, such was the name of the new ruler, had taken a prominent part in the troubles of this period. Indeed he had been the first to urge Litsongkou to make his attempt upon the throne; but when that ruler was beset with difficulties he did not scruple to turn them to account for his own purposes. On assuming the purple, Cheking Tang changed his name to Kaotsou, and gave his dynasty the title of the Tsin.

As a matter of fact, the power of the new Emperor was little more than a shadow of the despotism of the Khitan king on his northern frontier. That despotism had been steadily growing and extending its limits in the few years that had elapsed since Litsun-hiu had warred with Apaoki; and in A.D. 937 Tekwang, the son of the latter ruler, changed the name from Khitan to Leaou. He openly claimed the Emperor as his vassal, and Kaotsou was sufficiently prudent to recognize that his strength was inadequate to contest the pretension. Kaotsou addressed him as Father Emperor, and sought on all occasions to propitiate a personage of whose superior military power he stood in daily apprehension. Several of the more old-fashioned of the ministers, not approving of these condescensions towards a "barbarian" potentate, remonstrated with Kaotsou; but their sense of the slighted dignity of the Empire was ill-suited to the time, and their inconvenient protests were summarily dismissed or passed over. It was also practically observed by one of the ministers that the Khitans or Leaous were no longer a

barbarous people. They had appropriated, with a large portion of Chinese territory in Leaoutung, and Pechihli, the civilization and refinement of Chinese life, at the same time that they retained the hardy characteristics of their Tartar ancestors. A war between this warlike and united people, and the enfeebled strength of the Empire could have but one result. Tekwang felt sure of his superior power. It would have been strange if he had refrained from exercising it.

So long as Kaotsou lived, his tact availed to avert an overthrow, and the Khitan king rested content with the profuse profession of goodwill and subservience sent him at frequent intervals by the occupant of the Dragon Throne. Kaotsou had, however, to pay a still heavier price to prevent the invasion of his dominions by this northern people in the surrender of several of his border cities, and the grant of an annual subsidy. He accepted the inevitable with the calmness of a philosopher. His death after a reign of seven years altered the position of affairs, by affording those who had throughout exclaimed against the indignity to the Empire an opportunity of carrying their opinions into acts.

The new ruler was Tsi Wang, Kaotsou's nephew, but during his four years' reign he left no distinct impression on the history of the times. He fell into the hands of ministers who were inclined to dispute the claims of the Khitan king, and their arguments, based on the personal disgrace to the Emperor, proved palatable to the mind of a new ruler. It was certainly not hard to show the shame of a Chinese monarch being the feudatory of a northern king; but they excluded from their calculations stern necessity which is generally clothed in a garb without symmetry to the eye or pleasure to the imagination. Tsi Wang paid his court, with less judgment than his uncle, to Tekwang, who in retaliation resolved to depose the Chinese ruler. His resolve was intensified by a severe defeat inflicted upon his army by one of Tsi Wang's generals, and in order to make the blow the more crushing, he collected all his strength for a supreme effort. Before the rising tempest Tsi Wang would have yielded, but it was too late. He sought an ally in the King of Corea, who had suffered from the aggressiveness of the Khitans; but his envoy returned with

the depressing judgment that their alliance would be valueless as they possessed no arms, and were destitute of all knowledge of war. Tsi Wang had to rely solely upon his own resources. The two armies came face to face on the banks of the River Touho, and they remained so for some months, neither caring to strike the decisive blow without long deliberation. In the skirmishes which took place, the Tartars were generally the more fortunate, and at length Tekwang by a skilful manœuvre succeeded in shutting the Imperial army up in its camp, when want of provisions compelled its speedy surrender. The surrender of his army involved for Tsi Wang the loss of his crown. Before he could make any fresh preparations for defence, his capital was in the possession of the Khitans, and his abdication and retirement into private life followed an abortive attempt to commit suicide. With this act the dynasty of the Later Tsins reached its consummation. Tekwang held for a short time possession of the capital, and then retired to his own dominions. He wished to place a puppet prince upon the throne as master of the Empire, but his own death arrested the plans which he had formed. Lieouchi Yuen, a trusted companion of the first Emperor of this dynasty, was placed on the throne by the public voice, and took the name of Kaotsou of the later Han dynasty.

This new family only enjoyed the possession of its high titular rank for the short space of four years. Lieouchi Yuen, who gave some proof of the possession of great qualities, died less than two years after he snatched the state out of the grasp of the Khitans, and his son Ynti succeeded him. The Khitans of Leaoutung seized what they thought a favourable opportunity to renew their enterprise; but Kwo Wei, who had been left by Lieouchi Yuen as the chief adviser of his son, baffled their attempt by winning several victories over them. Ynti turned his increasing security to reckless account by indulging his passion for idle pleasures. The season for such conduct was singularly inopportune, as the Empire had barely escaped a great danger, which might at any moment recur. On Kwo Wei's return from his victorious campaign in the north he was received with such acclamations by the

people that he determined to no longer defer the design he had for some time secretly cherished of placing himself upon the throne. Ynti, anticipating the popular verdict, fled from his capital, but was murdered in a neighbouring village by some of Kwo Wei's soldiers, who, it is asserted, did not recognize him. His son occupied the throne for a few days, but was deposed. Within four years of the departure of Tekwang, the Tartar king, another dynasty had run its transient course, and rapidly reached its point of collapse.

Kwo Wei became the founder of the fifth and last of these insignificant dynasties. His career was cut short when he had only governed the country for three years. He had many difficulties to contend against, but he seemed in a fair way to overcoming them when his death removed him from the scene. It is said that it was during his reign that the Mahomedans, who had been both conquering and colonizing most of the countries west of China during the last three centuries, first established themselves in China. There had no doubt been other immigrants of the same creed before this, but their progress first began to attract attention in this reign. Of Chitsong, his adopted son and successor, there is little to be said. He possessed many virtues, and endeavoured to restore the Empire from its fallen state; but his life was too short to admit of much more than the formation of plans which were never destined to be carried out. In the six years of his reign he obtained several successes in the south, and established his power more vigorously on the banks of the Great River. He even drew up a scheme for the expulsion of the Tartars, but at the very point when he formed the most ambitious of all his plans his career terminated with his sudden death. His son Kongti only reigned for a few months after him, and he was then deposed by his minister Chow Kwang Yn, the founder of the great dynasty of the Sung.

The close of these five dynasties, which occupied the throne for less than sixty years in all, marks the end also of the petty rulers of China. In the future there will, at intervals, be the repetition of the old weakness, and the decline of the Empire will be sometimes marked in face of the greater but

more transient reputation of a neighbouring and foreign people; but there will at least be in its misfortunes an absence of any pettiness similar to that under these princes. China has often since stood apparently on the verge of ruin, but even when she has done so her triumphant enemies have presented a scarcely less interesting theme for description than the even tenour of her own history. These petty dynasties served no doubt their momentary purposes, but with their disappearance, nearly a thousand years ago,* the starting-point of China's Imperial history on a sound and durable basis may be considered to have been reached in the founding of the dynasty of the Sung.

* In the nine hundred and forty years that have since elapsed, China has been governed by only four dynasties, the Sung, the Yuen, the Ming, and the Manchu still reigning—a fact unparalleled in the history of any other people or Empire.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SUNG DYNASTY.

The Reunion of the Empire.

CHOW KWANG YN* took up the task which the death of Chitsong had left half finished and incomplete; and it was his good fortune to complete it. The country prayed for peace, and was anxious to give all the support it could to a man acting for its interests. Public spirit had become extinct during the years when the Empire had been the lottery of soldiers, and when ruler succeeded ruler with a rapidity which was in itself the strongest inducement to the ambitious to advance their claims. Chow Kwang Yn had therefore in the first place to raise the public spirit, and to show incontestably that he had other ends in view than the mere attainment of power. In short he was a patriot. It was the independence of the Chinese Empire for which he fought, and, although some of the credit is due to Chitsong as having paved the way to success, it was by his own unaided abilities that the Sung ruler attained the great object of his life.

The people hailed his advent to power with acclamations

* Chow Kwang Yn, unlike most of the soldiers who had risen to power during these years, was a Chinese by birth. He had distinguished himself greatly in the wars carried on by Chitsong for the restoration of the Empire. On one occasion it may even be said that his presence of mind saved the day in the battle at Kaoping. He was born in a village near the modern Peking, of which place, then a small town called Yeoutou, several of his relations had been governors. His father had succeeded to an office which had almost become hereditary in his family. Chow Kwang Yn served his earlier years in the guards, and is represented as having been of majestic appearance.

of joy. Signs were seen in the heavens proclaiming that it was the will of God that he should rule over the Empire, while his devoted soldiers adopted a more trenchant argument when they pointed to their swords. "The Empire is without a master," they said, "and we wish to give it one. Who is more worthy of it than our general?" The first acts of the new Emperor proclaimed the man. A general pardon was granted to all, and a proclamation was issued to the whole Empire, and sent into provinces defiant towards the Imperial authority, ordering the observance of the laws, and the preservation of domestic peace. At the same time Chow Kwang Yn gave his dynasty the name of the Sung, declared red to be the Imperial colour, and himself assumed the style of Taitso.

He then restored to the lettered classes the privileges of which they had been deprived during the previous troubles, and, although not a learned man himself, encouraged learning by all the means in his power. He took these steps not for the advantage of any particular section, but for the general welfare of his people, believing that knowledge must be good, and its extension beneficial to the best interests of the nation. He made the happiness of the greatest number the chief object of his policy, and boasted that the meanest of his subjects might approach him at all times and at any hour. For this purpose he had the doors and gates of his own palace left open both during the day and at night, wishing to show that his house resembled his heart, "which was open to all his subjects." To the reform of his military organization he devoted not less attention than he did to domestic affairs. He drew up a system of examination for entrance into the army and for promotion in its ranks, which was practical and well adapted to the end in view. From officers it required some unequivocal proof that they were physically capable of performing their duties, and that they possessed some acquaintance with military subjects. Taitso showed not less attention to the interests of the soldier, with whose privations he had all the sympathy of an old campaigner.

By the confidence of success perceptible in everything that he undertook, the founder of the Sung had disarmed

many of his adversaries, who dreaded an overthrow that appeared inevitable. Several governors sent in their formal submission, while others who had entertained the idea of rebellion banished it from their minds. The area included within the provinces of such governors as these was far from representing the full extent of the Empire, and it was both for the conquest of the districts held by foreign tribes and rulers as well as for the complete pacification of those within his immediate sphere that Taitsou drew his military strength together, and added to its efficiency by every means in his power.

The first and the most serious danger arose from the aggressions of a potentate in the north, named the Prince of Han, who had entered into an alliance with the Leaous or Khitans. A war was on the point of commencing with these allies when Chow Kwang Yn's attention was called away by Chitsong's death; but he had hardly settled the most pressing matters when it threatened to break out afresh. The Prince of Han refused to recognize the new regime, and drew closer the bonds of friendship with the Tartar prince of Leaoutung. He won over to his side the governor of the important border city of Loochow, thus precipitating the conflict, for Taitsou saw that it behoved him to strike at this confederacy before it should assume larger and more dangerous proportions. He accordingly sent several bodies of troops in the direction of Loochow, and, in A.D. 960, he took the field in person, at the head of a large army. Having inflicted a severe defeat on the rebel's army in the field, near the village of Tsechow, where several of the Han officers were slain, Taitsou had the satisfaction a few days later of entering Loochow itself, which had been seized by one of his lieutenants. The governor in despair saved his honour by perishing in the flames of his own residence. The Emperor returned to his capital after this success, remarkable alike for its rapidity and completeness; but he had hardly done so when his attention was called away to a rising within his own dominions.

Li Chongsin had shared with the Sung Emperor in earlier days his military career, and when the change was effected in the dynasty he was confirmed in his governorship by his

former comrade. But Li Chongsin cherished dreams of a higher ambition, and he thought he saw in this formidable northern rising a favourable opportunity for asserting his own position as an independent prince. Taitso's rapid success undeceived him as to the feasibility of his enterprise, but yet it was not sufficiently rapid to prevent his revealing the design he had entertained. Taitso's measures in face of this new danger were prompt and adequate. Taking the field in person with a small but select body of troops, Taitso advanced by forced marches on Kwangling, where he arrived when Li Chongsin least expected him. Li Chongsin, seeing that resistance would be futile, also set fire to his palace and perished in the flames. Having thus satisfactorily disposed of two difficult questions, and checked the pretensions of two rivals, Taitso obtained more leisure to carefully survey his position, which was one still calling for much tact, courage, and fertility of resource.

About this time the Niutchin Tartars, a tribe in Western China, came to Taitso's court with presents of horses and pledges of good service. He received them favourably, and granted them the island of Chamen, probably Hainan, as a place of residence, where they should be exempt from liability for service on public works. In this voluntary surrender, imitated by several of the western tribes and peoples, may be seen a formal acknowledgment of the progress the Sung ruler was making towards accomplishing the reunion of the Empire.

The most important act of this period of his reign was undoubtedly the decree taking from the provincial governors the power of life and death which they had hitherto possessed. Henceforth it was ordered that no criminal should be executed without the Emperor's express sanction, and that a statement of every case should be sent to him for consideration; for, said he, "as life is the dearest thing men possess, should it be placed at the disposal of an official, often unjust or wicked?" The effect of this act was not only beneficial to the people, but it was followed by consequences tending to strengthen the position of the Emperor. Not merely was it a change in favour of the personal liberty of the subject, but

it had the effect of promoting the influence of the ruler by restricting the power of his viceroys. It became the chief object of Taitso's policy to undermine the power of the semi-independent princes who remained, and to turn them into governors holding office at his command. The whole purpose of his life was to sweep away these states within the state, and to again place on a firm foundation the central authority of the Emperor. There was also involved in this the old disputed point whether the succession to vacant governorships rested with the ruler, or whether it was to be hereditary in the family of the occupant. On the way in which this principle was settled depended more than upon any other circumstance the tranquillity of the Empire. Taitso had not to wait long before the occasion offered of carrying his new resolution into execution.

The condition of these principalities represented in miniature the state of the Empire under recent dynasties. The prince or governor had in his conduct to his liege lord set an example which his own subordinates were not backward in imitating. The chief of a small district, especially if it contained a fortified town, aspired to independence, which in his eyes meant the possession of a standing army, and the right to wring as much money as he could out of the pockets of those placed under him. The conflict of rival pretensions was unceasing, and led to a strife between those who had and those others who wished to have, which was apparently endless. Taitso remained a vigilant observer of these quarrels, prepared to intervene whenever the opportunity offered of reasserting the claims of the state. In Honan and Kiangnan there had been a contest of authority, and while in the former it had gone hard with the governor, who had been reduced to extremities by one of his vassals, in the latter the viceroy had successfully maintained his position, and was fairly on the way to establish an irresponsible and independent government of his own. It was against these that Taitso resolved to act without further delay. His measures were taken with such secrecy and promptitude that he attained his ends without encountering any resistance. The army he placed in the field was of

overwhelming strength, for Taitsou had learnt, and wished to practise, the true humanity of war; and the campaign was fought and won without the shedding of a drop of blood. Two fertile provinces in the heart of the country, with a population of at least ten millions, were thus added to the dominions of the Sung Emperor.

In the north the Han prince and the kingdom of Leaou-tung were still not only hostile, but defiant. The Emperor wished to wage war against them, but his prudent minister Chowpou dissuaded him from the attempt. The task would necessarily be a difficult and a dangerous one, and success would depend on a variety of circumstances over which it would be impossible to exercise any certain control. It would be wiser, he insisted, to leave the settlement of this question until the last; and Taitsou adopted his opinion.

In the south there was another question, scarcely less pressing than that in the north, awaiting solution, and one, moreover, which was attended with less danger. In Szchuen the old kingdom of Chow had been revived, and had maintained its own independence and tranquillity during the stormy century through which China had been passing. Incited by the representations of the Prince of Han, and encouraged by promises of support from various quarters, the ruler of this state came to the rash conclusion that he could cope with and destroy the new power of the Sung. He accordingly declared war, and made preparations for the invasion of Honan. He had miscalculated his strength, but he had still more grievously mistaken his adversary. As soon as Taitsou learnt the hostile intentions of his neighbour he took prompt steps to anticipate the invasion of his dominions, by ordering sixty thousand troops to enter Szchuen from the side of Shensi. The success of his generals must have surpassed his most sanguine expectations. In less than two months the whole province was in his hands, and the ruling family prisoners at his court. A fertile province, commanding the navigation of the Great River, and twenty-six millions of new subjects were added at a stroke to the dominions of the new Emperor. Taitsou did not accompany this expedition in person, but in his palace his

thoughts were ever with his brave army. A heavy fall of snow reminded him of their privations, and, taking off his own furred coat, he sent it to the general in command with the wish that he had as many more coats as might provide each of his soldiers with one. This thoughtful act excited the enthusiasm of the army, which had already accomplished such remarkable and gallant actions.

Some years of peace followed these decisive successes, and in A.D. 969 Taitso had made all his preparations for the prosecution of the war which had been threatening since the beginning of his reign with his northern neighbours, the Prince of Han, and the King of Leaoutung. Nor had his opponents been backward in preparations on their side, and when one of Taitso's generals advanced from the frontier he found himself in face of an army numerically so much his superior that he was compelled to beat a hasty retreat. The Tartar troops pursued him, harassed his rear, and committed depredations within the frontier. At this Taitso was greatly irritated, and blamed his lieutenant not for declining an unequal battle, but for a precipitate retreat which exposed many unprotected towns and villages to the insults and attacks of the enemy. Taitso was far too practical to waste precious time in recriminations. Even while he censured his commander, he moved up reinforcements in large numbers, at the head of which he placed himself. The enemy in turn gave way, taking refuge in the Han capital, Taiyuen, to which Taitso laid close siege.

Taitso drew up his lines in front of this celebrated place, and surrounded it with a wall. He also endeavoured to flood the town by diverting two neighbouring rivers from their courses. In short, he employed every means known to the engineers of that time to render the place untenable; but the defenders gallantly held out, meeting every attack with resolution, and each device with some counter-device. In the meanwhile a Tartar army was advancing from Leaoutung to the relief of the garrison; but Taitso went out to meet it, and won a signal victory. The King of Leaoutung resolved to make another attempt sooner than leave his army in jeopardy, and he collected the whole military force of the

state, and despatched it to the relief of the gallant garrison still holding out at Taiyuen. In face of this great host, and also on account of the inclemency of the season, Taitsou adopted the prudent course of retreating from before the walls of Taiyuen. The disappointment was no doubt great, but the result showed the wisdom of the previous advice of his minister Chowpou. The campaign may be regarded as having closed without any decisive result to either side, but Taitsou undoubtedly returned baffled in his main object to his capital.

A fresh question awaited his consideration in the south. A prince of the Nan, or Southern Hans, held possession of Kwantung and a portion of Kwangsi, and was found to be implicated in several of the schemes formed for the overthrow of the Sung power.

It was resolved to take advantage of the lull in the contest in the north to reduce this potentate to a better sense of his own position, and of his obligations to the Emperor. Taitsou entrusted the task to his general, Panmei, and he had the satisfaction of finding another of the great Chinese provinces speedily reduced and subjected to his authority. This conquest was particularly grateful to the Emperor because it gave him increased means of asserting his claims with regard to the peoples of the south, although it only added, according to the official statement, less than one million subjects to the Empire.

There now only remained, among the independent governors of the previous dynasty, to be brought to a sense of order the Prince of Tang, whose territory embraced the modern provinces of Kiangnan. Warned by the fate of others, the Prince of Tang was very circumspect in his conduct, and strove to deprive the Emperor of all excuse for attacking him. But Taitsou was as wily in artifice as he was brave in action. He detained the envoys sent by the Tang prince, and when he asked for an explanation he was informed that he should come in person to pay his respects to the Emperor. This the Tang prince refused to do, because Taitsou declined to send him a patent for his states as a prince of the first order. Taitsou at once ordered the invasion

of Kiangnan, and entrusted the task of its subjection to Tsowpin, his favourite general. The troops of the Prince of Tang fought well, but they were badly led, and had little affection for the cause in which they bled. Driven from the field, they took shelter in the few fortresses in the country, but these were captured one after the other by Tsowpin or his lieutenants. Within a year of the crossing of the frontier Kiangnan had been reduced to the condition of a province of the Sung. There must in consequence have been a large addition to the population, but the exact number has not been preserved. This brilliant feat completed the task which Taitsou himself was destined to attain, and made his authority unquestioned in most of the provinces south of the Hoangho.

Taitsou completed the effect of these military successes by concluding a peace with the people of Leaoutung, thus depriving the prince of the northern Han of his chief allies. Having by this diplomatic success turned the rear of his adversary, he concentrated a large army, and marched on Taiyuen from which he had, some years before, been compelled to beat a hasty retreat. He now renewed the attempt with increased force, and such better hope of success, that he gave out that he intended conquering the dominions of the Pehan in the course of one campaign. But the progress of the war depended on a higher decision than his. The first skirmishes had been fought and won, and the operations for the capture of Taiyuen were in train, when the announcement of the Emperor's serious illness caused active measures to be suspended. The troops which had been in the course of performing several important movements retraced their steps, and were collected in the camp round the expiring Emperor.

Taitsou was at the end mindful of the advice of his dying mother. He left the Empire to his brother, Chow Kwang Y, Prince of Tsin, and his last words to him were, "Bear yourself as becomes a brave prince, and govern well." Taitsou had only occupied the throne for seventeen years, but in that short time he had done much towards effecting the reunion of the country. He had abased the pretensions of the ambitious and tyrannical governors who ruled only for their own pleasure and profit, and the peoples of China owed to his

generous sense of humanity a government which made the happiness and welfare of the nation its main object. Taitso's reign was a succession of wars, decided, however, by the display of skill, and with as little carnage as possible. They were fought also for the most laudable of objects—the unity of the state, and the government of a great people by a sovereign of its own race. The founder of the Sungs received the Imperial dignity when it represented little more than an empty pretence, but in his hands it acquired such substance and reality that he left it to his successor as a possession of the greatest value.

The new ruler, on his accession to the throne, took the name of Taitsong, and his first acts showed that he was fully determined not only to keep what his brother had won, but also to complete the task which he had carried so far towards a successful conclusion. Of China Proper there only remained to be subdued a small portion of Kwantung and Fuhkien, besides the northern states of Han and Leaoutung. In preparation for the struggle with the latter, Taitsong caused the frontiers touching these independent states to be placed in a better state of defence, and entrusted the commands of the border posts to the most skilful of his lieutenants. The result of these prudent arrangements was clearly demonstrated in the hesitation shown by his neighbours to come into collision with him, although they might reasonably have expected that after Taitso's death there would have been a decline in the vigour of the Emperor's authority.

The war with the northern Han, which Taitso's death had interrupted, was not resumed until Taitsong had occupied the throne for three years. There were some opposed to its resumption on public grounds, holding that enough had been done towards the vindication of the national dignity ; but the opinion of the Emperor himself, and of a majority in his council, was distinctly in favour of the view that the security of what had been accomplished was not assured so long as this hostile and military power held possession of the northern gates of the Empire. So it was resolved to renew the enterprise that had once resulted in failure, and that had a second time been abandoned ; and forthwith the Imperial legions

were directed to march on the maiden fortress of Taiyuen, which still flaunted the defiant banner of the Hans in the face of the Sung power. While the main army sat down in front of the Han capital, a strong body of troops was despatched to take up a position to the north-east of the city at Cheling Koan, where it would be able to intercept any relieving force that the Tartars of Leaoutung might attempt to send. The king of that people despatched an embassy to ask the Emperor for what reasons he was waging war with his friend, the Prince of Han ; but Taitsong was not in the humour to give a very satisfactory response. He replied with the haughtiness of a great monarch : " That the country of the Hans was one of the provinces of the Empire, and that, its prince having refused to obey his orders, he was determined to punish him. If your prince stands aside and does not meddle in this quarrel, I am willing to continue to live at peace with him ; if he does not care to do this, we will fight him." The Leaou King, enraged at this reply, declared war, and sent a large army to the relief of Taiyuen. It was, however, checked by the corps despatched for that purpose, and compelled to halt before it reached the scene of action.

Taitsong pressed the siege of Taiyuen in person, and with unexampled vigour. He was prudent enough, however, to leave his opponent a golden bridge for retreat, and before delivering the final assault he offered him terms that were not only honourable but generous. Lieouki Yuen, Prince of Han, had the good sense to accept the propositions of the Emperor, and, recognizing that further resistance to the Sung would be futile, he presented himself at the head of his officers in the Emperor's camp. Lieouki Yuen became one of the minor princes attached to the Court, and the subjection of his dominions removed the last of the great feudatories who had asserted their independence of the central authority. The conquest of this northern province brought the Empire face to face with the Tartar kingdom of Leaoutung, which had interfered in the affairs of the Empire on so many occasions during the preceding century, and which was now in its turn to feel the reviving power of the Chinese sovereign.

Taitsong anticipated being able to bring his war with the King of Leaoutung to a conclusion in a single campaign ; but in this sanguine expectation he showed too little consideration for the proverbial uncertainty of war. The first successes were his. Several cities opened their gates, and some of the Tartar officials, thinking that the evening of their master's fortunes had arrived, hastened to welcome the day-star of Sung power. Taitsong, anxious to return to his capital, acted with a degree of precipitation which was highly imprudent when it is remembered that the Tartar army of Leaoutung had won a reputation for military prowess during a long career of unvaried success. Taitsong went out to meet the gathering strength of the Tartars in the hope that he would be able to strike a final blow before it could be concentrated ; but although he fell upon one corps and defeated it, he was in turn attacked by the main body. The battle was fought with great stubbornness on the banks of the Kaoleang river, and the Tartars vindicated their claims to be considered good soldiers by inflicting a severe defeat on the Chinese army. More than ten thousand of the Emperor's best troops fell on the field, and he himself had the greatest difficulty in effecting his escape, although he left all his baggage in the hands of the victorious Tartars. This defeat was a rude shock to Taitsong's dreams of speedy success, and it might have been followed by fresh troubles in the recently conquered province of Pehan, but that he himself and his generals strove, by the display of greater energy, to repair the disaster. The fighting for some time after this great encounter partook of a desultory character, the success going now to one side, now to the other ; but the measures taken by Taitsong were so far effectual that his authority in the newly won province of Pehan remained undisputed and indisputable. In fact, the people and soldiers of the whilom Prince of Han became the chief supporters of the Sung ruler in his war with the Tartars of Leaoutung. Yangyeh, the hero of this border war, had been the faithful general of the Hans to the last, and the most prominent of the defenders of the fortress-city of Taiyuen.

There can be no doubt that the Tartars were indebted for

their successes to the skill and martial qualities of their general, Yeliu Hiuco. It was the division under his command which had turned the fate of the day at Kaoleang, and in all the later contests he carried off the palm on both sides for tactical knowledge as well as for the personal characteristics essential to a great commander. For nearly twenty years he remained the chief prop and supporter of the Khitan or Leaou state, which, but for him, would have failed to maintain itself against the determined onslaughts of the Chinese. After the campaign of which the defeat at Kaoleang was the salient feature, peace endured for several years, although Taitson's thoughts were constantly turning on the theme of how he might overthrow the power which had baffled him.

In A.D. 985 an opportunity of realizing this object seemed to offer itself when the Coreans sent an embassy to his court complaining of the conduct of the Tartars, and asking for assistance against them. Taitson listened to their complaints with sympathy, and proposed an offensive and defensive alliance against the common enemy. At the same time he ordered several armies under his best generals to take the field, and to invade Leaoutung. The Tartars were probably taken by surprise, for the first battles were won by the Chinese, and the Tartars were forced to retire on several sides. The Emperor was congratulating himself on the success of his plans, and on the victories reported daily by messengers from his army, when the appearance of Yeliu Hiuco in the field changed the fortune of the war, and checked his felicitations. A defeat, scarcely less disastrous than that on the Kaoleang, to his principal army near the fortress of Kikieou Koan, north of the modern Pekin, was hardly announced when the news came that Hiuco had followed up his success with remarkable energy, and driven the remnants of the beaten army into the river Chaho. The loss was so great on that day that we are told that the corpses of the slain arrested the course of the river. Other defeats followed this first decisive turn in the tide of war against the Emperor. His general, Panmei, was beaten with hardly less loss at Feihou, and all the fruits of previous success were nullified. The Tartars were left virtual masters of the field.

During the remaining years of Taitson's reign the Tartars carried on incessant hostilities with the Chinese, inflicting immense loss upon the peaceable inhabitants of the border districts. They turned also upon the Coreans, who had made some show of combining with the Emperor, but who now averted the penalty by making an abject surrender to their formidable neighbours. The ill success of this foreign war was, no doubt, a strong inducement to many within the realm to put forward their complaints, and to air grievances which were more imaginary than real. "A man of the people" came forward in Szchuen as the redresser of public wrongs, and gave the authorities considerable trouble for many years. Taitson was compelled to largely increase the garrison, and to carry on regular warfare in the mountainous districts of that province before the strong arm of the law was fully reasserted. Having clearly shown that violence and the breach of civil rights are not the way to obtain fresh privileges, Taitson took steps to provide a remedy for the small grievance of which an ambitious and self-seeking agitator had sought to avail himself for the advancement of his own interests.

No glimmer of success in the war with the Tartars lit up the last years of the reign of Taitson. They were still victorious and defiant, when his last illness seized this able ruler, who had governed China during twenty-two years with wisdom and moderation. The failure of his wars with the Tartars must, we think, be attributed to the exceptional ability of the Tartar Yeliu Hiuco, who vanquished every opponent he was called upon to meet. But Taitson's reverses in the wars with the Tartars cannot blot out his success in Pehan, and the skill he showed in maintaining peace within the limits of his wide-stretching dominions. Like the modern strategist, he sought to direct the movements of a campaign from his palace, and on several occasions it would appear that his arms suffered a reverse because his generals had not adhered to his instructions. It is, however, as a wise administrator, and as a prince anxious to promote the best interests of his people, that he most deserves to be remembered.

Chintsong, Taitson's third son, succeeded him; and the surrender of a rebel who had availed himself of Hiuco's victories to revive the pretensions of the Hans, afforded a favourable promise of a peaceful and satisfactory reign. But certainly a more important event was the death of Hiuco, to whom the Chinese historians ungrudgingly allow the foremost place among the generals of the age. When the long-standing quarrel between the two neighbours again came to the arbitrament of arms, the loss of this wise commander was regretted, and felt as much by his people as it was rejoiced in by the Chinese. The Tartars were the first to resume hostilities, but when they did so it was with such little skill that they were repulsed without difficulty by one of the border governors. Chintsong proceeded in person to the frontier with a large army, and on his approach the Tartars thought it prudent to retire.

His attention was then called away to Szchuen, where the late insurrection had broken out afresh, principally through the mistakes made by the officials left in charge of the province by Taitson. This disturbance entailed further bloodshed, and the inhabitants had suffered much from the horrors of civil war before Chintsong succeeded in re-establishing order in this vast dependency. Having restored internal tranquillity, all Chintsong's thoughts turned on peace, and he set himself the task of reforming the administration in which great changes had been rendered necessary by the indiscriminate appointment of incompetent individuals to the ranks of the mandarins, or salaried officials. In one day he is said to have either suspended or removed from their posts one hundred and ninety-six thousand of these servants of the State!

But the Tartars of Leaoutung were not disposed to leave undisturbed so easy a prey as they had found the Chinese border provinces to be, and their incursions became daily more daring and more successful. So discouraged were the Chinese generals by their long ill fortune that they feared to encounter their opponents in the field, and their panic infected the court. In the year A.D. 1004 the Chinese ministers were so far discouraged by the failure of the war with Leaoutung

that they brought forward in council a proposition for the withdrawal of the court from Pienchow or Kaifong, to either Chentu or Kinling. The chief minister, Kaochun, firmly opposed this view, saying that those who originated it were worthy of death, and that the proper place for the Emperor was at the head of his army in the field. Chintsong, who appears to have been of a mild and vacillating character, was won over to the bolder course by the arguments of this minister, but his own timidity represented a permanent obstacle to the carrying-out of a resolute policy. The arguments of Kaochun were always at hand, and in the end carried the day in the struggle going on in Chintsong's mind. The Chinese army crossed the Hoangho in force, with Chintsong at its head. Although the two forces, between whom there was so long a list of previous encounters to decide in favour of one or the other, were now face to face, no action took place. Both sides were disposed to grant a peace without appealing to a conclusive judgment. The Tartars surrendered several towns which they had captured, and the Chinese promised them an annual allowance in silk and money as an indemnity for the expense they had been put to in invading their dominions.

Chintsong had now occupied the throne for seven years, and they had been years of war ; but during the remaining eighteen years of his life the Empire enjoyed a profound peace, when the wealth and prosperity of the nation developed at a rapid rate. But if the consequences of his love of peace were beneficial in many ways, there was little estimable in the change which came over the character of Chintsong after his return from this expedition. One of his first acts was to disgrace the minister Kaochun, who had done such good service in that war, and to deprive him of his high offices, because it was represented to him by one of that minister's enemies that he had committed a breach of etiquette in concluding a treaty of peace under the walls of a town. In deference to a silly superstition, the Emperor banished from his court the only man capable of giving him prudent and disinterested advice. After this Chintsong's downward course was rapid. He gave himself over to the most childish

practices, and became the slave of those persons who flourish on the credulity of mankind. The last fifteen years of his reign afforded the melancholy spectacle of the man who decides the most important events of his life by appealing to a chance of which we cannot possess the key, and by referring to accidents and other fortuitous circumstances which can have nothing whatever to do with the everyday duties and difficulties of life. Chintsong became the bond-slave of the spiritualist and fanatic of his time, and some of the Chinese commentators have given his reign a special significance by making it the starting-point in the decline of the original worship of Changti, or the great God of Heaven.

Little need be said of the sottish practices by which Chintsong placed himself on a level with the least respectable of his subjects. He left the council-hall of the noble and the wise to have intercourse with the adventurer and the charlatan, and in the magician's chamber he found greater pleasure than in the fulfilment of the duties of his position as ruler of a great people. This falling-off in his manner of living was accompanied by an inevitable decline in his moral character. When he neglected and turned his back on his duties he took the first downward step in his career, and when he sought to make up for the deficiencies of his conduct by appeals to prodigies and other miraculous tokens as evidence of the manner in which he was fulfilling his public task, he completed the retrogression he had made in the opinion of all honourable men. His death, in A.D. 1022, closed his reign, which in the commencement had given promise of exceptional brilliance; and in a spirit which we may take either as the height of satire or as the expression of affection, they buried with him the books which were said to have fallen from heaven, and which had been the primal cause of the deterioration in his character, and of the consequent stultification of his reign.

The reigns of these three Emperors, Taitso, Taitson, and Chintsong, covering a period of rather more than sixty years, or one longer in duration than the tenure of power by the five preceding dynasties, are remarkable in themselves

as witnessing the revival of the Emperor's authority, and also what may be called the reunion of the Empire. The wars with the Tartars of Leaoutung were not as successful as they should have been, and the danger from that quarter continued until it assumed larger and graver proportions in the hands of the Kins. With that exception the Sung were successful on all sides, and they conferred many benefits on the people of China, which they again raised to the rank of a great Power. The surest test of the progress made by the nation in material well-being is afforded in the official census already more than once mentioned. In the year A.D. 1013 Chintsong ascertained that there were among his subjects nearly twenty-two millions of men occupied in agriculture alone, and when it is remembered that these included neither women nor children, nor those employed in other pursuits, it appears to be a moderate estimate to say that the population of the Sung dominions exceeded one hundred millions. This unimpeachable fact is the strongest evidence in favour of the excellence of the administration of the first three Emperors of the Sung family. When Taitso came to the front he found the reputation of the Empire sunk to the ground, and only the name of China's greatness remained. By restoring its unity he did much towards repairing the folly of previous rulers, and if it was not destined that the Sung should raise the country to as high a point as it had attained under the great Tsins, Hans, and Tangs, they may certainly claim to have restored to it the blessings—long unknown—of internal peace and good government.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SUNG DYNASTY—*continued.**Jintsong to the change in the Capital.*

JINTSONG, the sixth son of the late ruler, was only thirteen years of age when his father died, and the reins of authority were placed in the hands of his mother. Being a woman not less capable than ambitious, she retained the chief authority until her death, which took place eleven years later, and thus for one-fourth of his long reign Jintsong enjoyed nothing more than the name of power.

The first acts of the Empress-mother were marked by a wisdom and an appreciation of the national wants which never left her government. The unpopular taxes on tea and salt—which the expenses of a prolonged war had rendered it necessary to continue—were repealed, and a board was appointed with authority to supervise the taxation so that the people might not be oppressed. Having thus provided for the interests of the masses, the Empress determined to proceed with vigour against the magicians, spiritualists, and other impostors, who, encouraged by the late ruler, were prospering on the credulity of the nation. To such a pass had the machinations of these personages come that in several provinces they had compelled the doctors to give up their profession by inducing the people to consult them instead in all cases of sickness. An order was issued for the destruction of their meeting-houses, and of their laboratories where they either concocted their noxious drugs or performed their weird ceremonies, and it was carried into execution with all the energy of a body of men who felt that their own interests had

been endangered by the foibles of the Emperor Chintsong. In truth, the danger to public morality and national interests had reached such a pass that extreme measures were necessary to again place the condition of public affairs on a satisfactory and durable foundation.

During the ten years' rule of the Empress-mother there was peace in the land, and her conduct appears to have been throughout most exemplary, although in the last year of her life, whether through a freak of vanity, or with some ulterior design, she usurped certain functions which were considered the prerogative of an Emperor. Her death took place in A.D. 1033, when Jintsong became the responsible ruler of China, and his first act was to pay exceptional honours to the memory of the great minister, Kaochun, who had been disgraced by his father.

During the peace, which had now endured for more than ten years, the rebel who first appeared in the previous reign had consolidated his power, and dying, left a large tract of country to his son. The Tartars of Leaoutung had seen the growth of this new state with some feeling of dismay, and had sought to compass its destruction by the conquest of the territory of the Hiuho in western Kansuh. In this they failed; and Chao Yuen, the grandson of the founder of this state, became the stronger and the more confident. The Emperor sent him the patent of Prince of Hia; but this young ruler, seeing how easy a prey were his northern provinces, thought rather of attacking him than of living with his neighbour on terms of peace and friendship. Meantime he drilled his soldiers every day after the fashion of the Chinese manual, collected arms and munitions of war, and, out of his just appreciation of the decline in the efficiency of the Chinese army through a long peace, originated a policy inimical to the Emperor, and favourable to the Tartars, who had recently striven to bring about the ruin of his state. In A.D. 1034 he turned his arms for the first time against the Chinese, and he employed them with success. He could plead as an excuse that a border governor had given him some justification for commencing hostilities by invading a portion of his territory. He lost some of the fruits of this campaign the

following year in a campaign with the Tibetans, when one of his lieutenants was defeated and taken prisoner. Nothing dispirited, he renewed the war with fresh troops, and placed one hundred and fifty thousand well-trained soldiers in the field. The Tibetans, who then held possession of all the country touching China on the west, could not hold their own against this overwhelming force, and were compelled to give ground before their adversary.

Encouraged by his success, Chao Yuen resolved to assume a higher style than that of Prince of Hia, and "because he came of a family several of whose members had in times past borne the Imperial dignity," he took the title of Emperor. Peaceful as Jintsong's disposition was, he resented the assumption by a neighbour of a dignity equal to his own, and instead of taking measures to improve his relations with this ruler he spared no effort to form a league against him. Having met with some degree of success in these plans, he issued a proclamation forbidding his subjects to hold any intercourse with the people of Hia, and placed a price on the head of their king. Chao Yuen, enraged at this slight to his honour, answered threat with threat, and returned Jintsong the letters-patent which had on various occasions been sent him by Chinese rulers. The war thus provoked proved long, and disastrous for the arms of the Empire.

Well trained in its duties, and skilfully led by its great chief, the Hia army was able to take the field several weeks before the slower moving and less efficient forces of the Chinese ruler. The advantage of this celerity was shown by the capture of several towns, and by the moral strength which attaches to those who strike the first successful blow. Before Jintsong's troops had reached the frontier, Chao Yuen had advanced to a considerable distance within the Chinese territory. The armies encountered for the first time near the town of Sanchuen, when, after a stubborn fight of three days' duration, the advantage remained with the Hias. They came together again close to the town of Yang Mouloung, and as both armies were in great force and equally confident of victory, this may be considered the decisive battle of the war. Each felt it to be so, and the commanders on either side

resorted to various schemes to obtain some slight advantage of position over their opponent. In these preliminary manœuvres, Chao Yuen, who commanded in person, showed greater skill than Jintsong's lieutenants, and his plan of action was so ably conceived that he succeeded in surrounding the Chinese army, and in taking it at a great disadvantage. The Chinese fought with desperation, but the result was never in doubt. One after another their generals fell fighting bravely in the thick of the combat, and when night closed the flower of Jintsong's army encumbered the plain. Jinfou, the commanding-officer, was wounded in several places, and entreated by one of his soldiers to quit the field, but he exclaimed, "I withdraw! the general of this army. The battle is indeed lost, but I can and ought to die." His body was afterwards found amid the thickest of the slain.

From this rude shock the Chinese did not easily recover. The consequences of so signal a defeat were made less serious than might have been anticipated by the prudence and good judgment shown by other commanders on the same frontier; but the success of the Hia king remained undimmed by any reverse. Jintsong was threatened by a fresh danger at this crisis. The Tartars of Leaoutung, seeing in this defeat a fresh chance for renewing their incursions, attacked the border towns, and acquired possession of no fewer than ten cities. These they restored under the terms of a treaty in A.D. 1042; but the bad days, when the Empire trusted for peace and for the preservation of its rights to the skill of diplomatists rather than to the strong arm of a great government, were again threatening to return. The Tartars had obtained an ample recompense for their expedition in the plunder of several rich districts; but over and above this the weakness of the Emperor consented to give them an increased allowance of silk and money in addition to the annual present granted by Chintsong.

In the same year negotiations were opened with Chao Yuen, the victorious king of Hia, and, although technical difficulties were raised in the path of the conclusion of a peace, Jintsong taking the matter into his own hands soon brought it to a speedy and successful issue. Seeing that

Chao Yuen was restored to all his dignities, and that the Emperor agreed to pay him each year one hundred thousand pieces of silk and thirty thousand pounds of tea, there was little in this treaty for the Chinese to feel proud of, although at the time it arrested what appeared to be a grave danger from a successful soldier. In the following year the concessions were further augmented by the right conceded to Chao Yuen to construct fortified places on his frontier; but, although thus endeavouring to conclude and maintain a solid peace, there was distrust on both sides.

Jintsong was able, after these treaties, and especially after the death of his principal opponent, to devote himself with greater assiduity to his natural inclination for peace. Among the most notable of his acts were the re-establishment of the colleges on their ancient footing as under the Tangs, and some other measures which he sanctioned for the advancement of national education. On the recommendation of his minister Fang Chung Yen, he caused a college to be built in every town, and appointed lecturers and professors to hold examinations and to direct the studies of the collegians. Jintsong was especially interested in the raising of the standard of public speaking, and gave prizes for excellence in recitation. On the occasion of a visit to the chief college in the capital, dedicated to Confucius, Jintsong, wishing to show his respect for the man and the cause he represented, paid his memory the peculiar honour of prostrating himself before the door of the college.

Some years later, when his reign was approaching its close (A.D. 1060), he took steps for the publication of the great history of the Tangs as described in the official records of the Empire. The chief historians of the day were entrusted with its preparation, and as these included, among others of scarcely less note, the celebrated Ssemakwang, there is no doubt that this work, which filled two hundred and twenty-five volumes, is one of the most remarkable in the literature of China. The writings of Ssemakwang, Ginyang Sieou, Lieouju, and others, redeem Jintsong's reign from the character of mediocrity which might otherwise attach to it, if they do not absolutely stamp it as the golden age of literature

under the Sung. To the same period also belongs the introduction of the influence of the learned into the practical work of the administration. The historians named, and others, including the minister Fang Chung Yen, combined together to carry their views into execution, and as they were united among themselves, their influence was very great, and made itself felt on all important questions. Complaints were made by the courtiers to the Emperor against this body of critics, whose pencils were always ready to denounce measures not approved of by them, and to point out the shortcomings of ministers. At one time Jintsong seemed disposed to discourage, if not to repress, the activity of this body, because "men in the public service should not form a party amongst themselves." Ginyang Sieou, one of the most elegant of Chinese writers, replied to this covert censure in a treatise which has been preserved. The line of argument which he adopted was ingenious, pointing out that the results of their association were good and beneficial for the nation, and that it was not to be confounded "with dangerous cabals formed for an unworthy object." The peace enjoyed during the last twenty years of Jintsong's reign cannot be held to have been turned to an unworthy purpose when we find that the arts and literature were held in such repute, and produced so many illustrious men.

In A.D. 1063, Jintsong died, having occupied the throne during more than thirty years. His virtues were greater and more transparent than his abilities; but, if he failed to perform any striking achievement, or to leave any deep impression in history, he succeeded in the not easy task of gaining the affection of his subjects, and the esteem of those who served under him.

The short reign of his nephew Yntsong, his successor, requires but brief description. Ill-health compelled him at first to resign the reins of government into the hands of the Empress-mother, who proved herself well able to administer public affairs, and when he resumed the discharge of his duties he devoted his time rather to the relaxation of study than to the cares of his office. His principal object was to provide Ssemakwang and other writers with appropriate tasks

for their talents, and to profit by discussion with them. Had he lived he might have shown that he had turned their counsels to good account, but his death in A.D. 1067, after a reign of four years, cut short his career, and left only the promise of what might have been.

Yntsong's son, Chintsong the Second, succeeded him, and soon showed that in many ways he was disposed to depart from the peaceful policy of his two predecessors. The necessities of the country, which had been long suffering from a scarcity produced by the want of rain, imposed fetters on his inclination, and the advice of his mother further influenced him in adopting the prudent course of running as little risk as possible in foreign expeditions. Meanwhile the army was losing its efficiency through the long period of inaction that had followed the last war, and the country did not possess the services of a general capable of leading a large force in the field. The peaceful inclinations of these rulers produced beneficial results for the time being ; but they were in the end to entail dire consequences, and great national misfortunes.

The young monarch became the tool of a clique which endeavoured to compass the disgrace of Hanki, the chief minister of the two preceding rulers, and they succeeded so far in their designs that he felt compelled to resign his office. On the occasion of his retirement, he was asked whether one of his rivals was a proper person to succeed him. He replied, with candour, that he might possibly be of service in the Hanlin College, but that he had not had the necessary experience for the highest office of all. When Hanki was warned of the danger his candour entailed, he made the following noble reply, "A faithful subject ought ever to serve his prince with all the zeal of which he is capable. Good or bad fortune depends on Heaven, and, when we have done what we ought, should fear prevent us from continuing in the path of well-doing?" None the less for the excellent advice of the retiring sage, Chintsong gave the chief post in the ministry to this untried official, whose enactments excited so much discontent among the people, and such opposition in the palace, that they had to be withdrawn. The ascendancy which he obtained over the mind of the young monarch was

so great that, although banished from court on several occasions, he was always recalled and entrusted with some fresh office. Wanganchi—such was the name of this clever and unscrupulous minister or charlatan—was one of the most remarkable men who have figured in the history of his country. Although denounced as an impostor, he might, if he had met with better success in his plans, have been handed down to posterity as one of the great Chinese reformers and national benefactors.

Wanganchi is described as a man of great attainments and much original power of thought. He compiled a cyclopædia, and wrote commentaries on the classical writers; and he did not scruple to imitate the practice of many who came before and after him, and pervert the sense or strain the words of his author to extract a hidden meaning for adding some corroborative evidence in favour of his own views. Like all reformers, he drew a picture in sanguine colours of the consequences that would ensue from his proposals, and his enthusiasm at times carried the whole force of public opinion round to his side. But his schemes were Utopian. "The State," he declared, "should take the entire management of commerce, industry, and agriculture, into its own hands, with the view of succouring the working classes and preventing their being ground to the dust by the rich." During his term of office, these views were carried into execution. The poor were to be exempt from taxation, land was allotted to them, and the seed-corn provided. Every one was to have a sufficiency; there were to be no poor, no over-rich. The masses expected that their chosen minister would confer on them the greatest benefits, and the least discomfort entailed by human existence. China was to rejoice in an ideal happiness, because the people were to possess the main advantages of life which were stated to be plenty and pleasure.

These dreams were rudely dispelled by the reality. Although tribunals were appointed to direct and supervise the operations of the peasant proprietors, and although theoretically—man being assumed to be a perfect machine, unbiassed by passion or sordid motives—the scheme should have proved successful, and should have conferred great

benefits on the people, it as a matter of fact produced none of these results, and was an unqualified failure. In Shensi, where it was most extensively put into practice, the cultivated land became greatly reduced in area and impoverished in quality, not merely through the unskilful treatment of the small holder, but also on account of the dislike inherent in man to protracted labour for which he does not see an immediate return. The statesman-historian, Ssemakwang, showed sounder judgment and a more accurate estimate of human nature than his rival when he denounced these views as chimerical. But as men are swayed by their hopes, and as the statesman, whose argument is based on what the future—painted in his own brilliant colours—may bring forth, must always have the advantage over, and attract more sympathy than, those who dwell on the merits of the past and oppose change, Wanganchi triumphed over the sage Ssemakwang, and long had the great majority of his countrymen at his back. It was only when it could no longer be denied that his schemes had proved abortive, and that his regulations were mischievous, that he lost the sympathy of the public which had sustained him in his contest with the learned classes headed by Ssemakwang. The royal favour supported him for a short time longer, and then came his fall. He survived his disgrace ten years, dying in the year A.D. 1086, when a new ruler had succeeded his patron Chintsong. He protested to the end that his scheme was sound, and admitted of practical application; but he does not appear to have been wronged in being styled the Chinese Socialist or visionary and speculative minister of the eleventh century. His fortunes proved scarcely less fluctuating after his death than they had been during his life. In the year following his decease the Empress Regent prohibited, under penalty of dismissal from the public service, the use of his commentaries, which had been in vogue. Twenty years later his name was placed in the Hall of Confucius, on the ground that since Mencius there had been no one to compare with Wanganchi—a privilege of which the Emperor Kintsong deprived his memory in A.D. 1126, when Wanganchi's name finally disappeared from the public records.

Chintsong's last acts were to divide his dominions into twenty-three provinces, and to receive from the hands of the great historians the works upon which they had laboured for nearly twenty years. His death occurred in A.D. 1085, when he left peaceable possession of his dominions to his son Chetsong. Chintsong had studiously followed the example of his predecessors, and, whatever his original inclination for war may have been, he had repressed his martial instincts and given China eighteen more years of undisturbed peace. The Tartars of Leaoutung had made a further advance, and seized the cities which Chitsong of the later Chow dynasty had wrested from them. This accession of territory was far from being unimportant, and instead of solving the frontier question, added rather to the growing gravity of the situation.

As Chetsong was only ten years of age, the Empress-mother assumed the functions of government as Regent, and during her life the country rejoiced in a tranquillity which was the direct consequence of her wise administration. Her virtues were those which commended themselves most to her countrymen, who in their gratitude compared her reign to the semi-mythical period of perfection when Chun and Yao were the patriarchal rulers of a contented people. But even she dared not provoke a war with the Tartars. In A.D. 1090 they restored a few officers and soldiers taken prisoners during previous expeditions, but in turn insisted, under the threat of hostilities in the event of refusal, on the surrender of four fortified towns in the province of Shensi. The threat sufficed, and the towns were handed over to these insatiable opponents. The same year witnessed floods on a tremendous scale in the provinces of Chekiang and Kiangnan, when it is computed that nearly one million persons perished. The Regent's death, two years after this calamity, left Chetsong alone to cope with the dangers of his situation on his own resources. There were great questions to be dealt with at home, and the periodical visitations, now of drought and again of floods, were a constant source of anxiety to the ruler and of loss to the people, while on the northern frontier the war-cloud caused by Tartar ambition and military vigour was steadily assuming larger proportions.

His first acts were ill calculated to enlist public confidence. The eunuchs were recalled to the power from which they had been so long banished, and they set themselves to the task of undoing as much as they could of the work the late Empress had accomplished. Under their influence, Chetsong divorced his Empress—a step of the greatest gravity in Chinese eyes, and one not to be taken by even an Emperor save when morally justified—and when remonstrated with he replied with indifference that “he was only imitating several of his predecessors.” “You would do better,” retorted the public censor, “to imitate their virtues and not their faults.” He was not to be turned from his purpose, and having deposed one Empress he exalted another of his wives to her place. This domestic change did not prove auspicious. The infant son of the new Empress, on whom Chetsong’s hopes had centred, died soon after her elevation, and Chetsong himself expired of grief at his loss the same year * (A.D. 1100).

His reign of fifteen years had on the whole been peaceful. The incursions of the Hias had been checked, and two victories in the field added an unknown lustre to the Chinese arms; but it is probable that the importance of these successes is exaggerated in the Court chronicles. However, they signify at least that the border governors were strong enough to maintain peace on the western frontier.

When Chetsong died he had not named an heir after the loss of his son, because, it is naively recorded, “he did not expect to die so soon.” The troubles that might have ensued through a disputed succession were averted by the firmness of his widow, who pronounced herself in favour of Chetsong’s brother Chaoki, Prince of Twan. Chaoki took the name of Hoetsong, and during his reign the troubles, of which the premonitory symptoms had been so long apparent, broke out.

* A sage presented Chetsong with a small book containing ten precepts as essential for the guidance of a ruler’s conduct. They were : 1. Fear Heaven. 2. Love the people. 3. Work to make yourself perfect. 4. Apply yourself to the sciences. 5. Raise wise men to the public service. 6. Listen to the advice which is offered you. 7. Diminish taxation. 8. Moderate the rigour of the law. 9. Avoid pomp. 10. Fly from debauchery.—Pauthier, p. 345.

Hoeitsong at first followed in the wake of the policy marked out for him by the Empress Mongchi, and the wise minister Hanchong Yen. But he soon wearied of following a set course, for he preferred to indulge his own inclinations. Open to flattery, he was unable to see through the snares of those of his courtiers who praised every trifle that he performed; while his superstition and credulous disposition made him a tool in the hands of the astute personages who were intriguing for the possession of power. With the ingratitude of weak minds, he turned upon his benefactress Mongchi, whom he deposed from her proper rank, and he also banished from his Court all the ministers whom he had accepted during the first year of his reign. He gave himself over to the superstitious practices, and to the study of magic, which were condemned in the case of the first Chintsong, and wished that his people should call him by a title signifying "the Emperor who is the master of the law and the prince of doctrine." To this testimony of his infallibility the nation refused to subscribe, and the attempt to force it on his people is only remembered as the extravagance of a weak ruler.

Hoeitsong's vanity was in no sense inferior to his incapacity to appreciate the exact character of his position. Surrounded by flatterers who echoed his opinions, he never saw the reality of the dangers which menaced him. He conceived that he had but to command for his orders to be obeyed and carried into execution; and he treated all his neighbours as petty potentates who would never dare to dispute the proposals which he might condescend to make to them. There was no friend at his elbow, no capable minister, to warn him that his views were erroneous. The enterprise which he desired to undertake was a great and a perilous one, but he entered upon it "with a light heart." It required brave soldiers, skilful generals, and wise ministers to bring it to a happy conclusion. He had none of these; but he trusted to the magic of his name, and inferred from the prognostics of the augurs a speedy and a happy result. It was in obedience not to the promptings of a great ambition, but to the dictates of a petty vanity, that Hoeitsong rushed blindly on his fate.

The Niuche or Chorchá Tartars, who more than a century before had come to settle in China, had steadily multiplied and gathered to themselves a considerable power. Their seven hordes represented a military force of considerable proportions, which had become subservient to the Leaoutung administration in the time of the great Apaoki. But a large number of them, sooner than surrender their privileges, had withdrawn beyond the reach of the Khitan power into the country which is now Manchuria. Early in the twelfth century, however, this people had come together again, and the remembrance of their common origin caused them to form a fresh alliance, and one having moreover its foundation in a mutual antipathy to the Khitans of Leaoutung. Among these there appeared a great warrior, Akouta, who first distinguished himself in battle in the year A.D. 1114 against his Khitan neighbours and the oppressors of his race. Inspired by his first success, he led his army from victory to victory, taking many towns and subjecting a large extent of territory. The rapidity of his conquest induced him to proclaim himself Emperor, when he assembled his army in order that it should witness the proclamation of the new government, and the announcement of the name by which he intended it to be known.

Akouta began his address by informing his soldiers that the Khitans had in the earlier days of their success taken the name of Pintiei, meaning the iron of Pinchow, but he went on to say, "Although the iron of Pinchow may be excellent, it is liable to rust, and can be eaten away. There is nothing save gold which is unchangeable, and which does not destroy itself. Moreover, the family of Wangyen, with which I am connected through the chief Hanpou, had always a great fancy for glittering colours such as that of gold, and I am now resolved to take this name as that of my Imperial family. I therefore give it the name of Kin, which signifies gold." In this proclamation (A.D. 1115) is to be found the origin of the Kin dynasty, the rival of the Sung.

After this ceremony, the Tartar king of Leaoutung realized that he would have to fight for the preservation of his kingdom, if not of his independence. The danger which had so

suddenly arisen on his frontier had imperceptibly assumed serious proportions, and threatened his very existence almost before he was aware of the approach of the struggle that was at hand. He then placed a larger army than before in the field—its numbers were computed at nearly three hundred thousand men, of whom the greater portion were cavalry. The Kin army was greatly inferior both in numbers and in the pomp of war, but Akouta knew that this show of strength was far from being real, and felt confident of victory. The result justified his anticipations. The immense army raised out of all the provinces from Shensi to Corea was scattered to the winds, and the baggage of the camp became the spoil of the victor. The results of a second victory in the same year were still more striking, and the defeated Khitans fled before the invaders, just as a century later the Kins themselves were to flee before the Mongols of Genghis.

It was not until two years after these events that Hoeitsong received tidings of the disasters which had been inflicted on the Khitan ruler. His first thought was to turn them to his own advantage, and in the ambitious schemes which he formed he never entertained the possibility of the Kins proving worse neighbours than the Khitans. He thought the former would be well disposed to play his game, and return to their own solitudes on payment of so many bundles of silk and pounds of silver, leaving him the undisputed possessor of long-lost provinces. On this point he was to be speedily undeceived. The King of Corea sent an envoy to warn him against the Kins, who were represented to be "worse than wolves and tigers;" but Hoeitsong was not to be turned from the path which he had chosen even by the representations of his best friends.

Akouta received the Chinese Embassy, sent to propose a joint alliance against the Khitans, with all the ceremony due to the Emperor and to the mission with which his representative came charged. Some turn in the war with the Khitans, of which no details have been preserved, induced Akouta to conclude a truce with his enemy, when the advantage of an alliance with the Chinese ruler became less obvious to him. He pretended to take offence at the style

of Hoeitsong's letter, and the negotiations were abruptly broken off. The truce between the Kins and the Khitans proved short-lived, and the abortive alliance between the Chinese and Kins on a perfect level of equality was again broached and concluded. Hoeitsong consented to call Akouta the Great Emperor of the Kins, and Akouta agreed for his part to assist the Chinese in obtaining possession of the Yen province, which formed the southern portion of the dominions of the Khitans. Each of the allies was to place a large army in the field, and the Khitans were to be finally crushed as if "between the upper and the nether millstone."

The alliance proved of a nature not conducive to its permanence. The Chinese army was slow to take the field, and when it crossed over into Yen, the Khitans met and defeated it in several encounters. The Tartars who had first won Empire under the great Apaoki might have to confess a superior in the hardier kinsmen who, under the name of Kins, were issuing from beyond their northern frontier, but they were still incontestably the superiors, as warriors, of the Chinese, whom a long peace had rendered effeminate and deprived of generals. When Hoeitsong's commanders sought to retrieve their bad fortune in the following year, they were treated still more roughly by Sioua, the Khitan general, and their army was ignominiously expelled from the district they hoped to conquer. The peasants of Yen made jokes and composed ballads about the inexperience of Hoeitsong's lieutenants, and the rude reception they had met with in their country.

Akouta's plans fared better. The Khitan army feared to encounter his, and their king fled before him to the desert of Shamo. A body of fresh troops, sent to his assistance by the Prince of Hia, was intercepted on the march, and severely defeated. The greatness of his own success, and the failure of Hoeitsong's attempt on Yen, led Akouta to place less value on the Chinese alliance, and to indulge hopes of extending his dominion beyond the dominions of the Khitan ruler. Hoeitsong's anxiety to acquire fresh territory was so great that he ignored the sentiment passing through the mind of his Kin ally, and, wishing to obtain as large a share as possible

of the spoil, sent an embassy to propose that to the province of Yen, which his armies had failed to conquer, there should be added several neighbouring cities as well. Akouta had no difficulty in exposing the unreasonable nature of this demand, and compelled Hœitsong to make large concessions in other matters to obtain his consent to an arrangement which he was fully resolved to break at the first favourable opportunity. For the sake of maintaining an appearance of unity in face of the yet unsubdued Khitans, the old oaths were re-sworn, and the formalities of a defensive and offensive alliance performed over again.

Akouta then turned with all his energy to the task of finally vanquishing the Khitan king on the one hand, and that prince's victorious general Sioua on the other. The latter enterprise appeared the more difficult, and was the first essayed. Meantime the fragments of the two defeated Chinese armies had been collected and placed under the command of a fresh general, while Akouta detached a large body of his troops to attack the Prince of Yen on the north. Akouta's force was completely successful, while the Chinese troops remained passive spectators of the fray. Sioua and the Regent Princess, lately rejoicing at the repulse of Hœitsong's armies, saw their hopes shattered like a house of cards at the first contact with the Kins, and were compelled to flee for safety. The province of Yen was thus at last subdued ; but it had been conquered by the valour of the Kins, not by that of the Chinese, and Akouta had no intention of resigning his hold over it.

In the meanwhile Akouta was prosecuting in person the campaign against the unfortunate Khitan king, the descendant of the great Apaoki. With the few troops left at his disposal, the latter strove to check the victorious career of his opponent, but bad fortune attended all his measures. The strategy by which he sought to replace the want of numbers and of confidence was foiled, and the loss of his eldest son in battle further disheartened this last scion of a royal race. Despairing of success, he resolved to abstain from further effort, and to take refuge within the dominions of the Prince of Hia ; but even there he found no certain shelter from his enemies, and

was fain to retire into the desert. During two years he led there a wandering existence, when he had often to go without proper nourishment, and was constantly in fear of his pursuers. In the year A.D. 1125 a detachment of the Kin army took him prisoner, and he died shortly afterwards of an illness brought on by physical suffering and grief at his misfortunes. With his death, the illustrious dynasty of the Khitans or Leaous reached its termination. It had held power from a period fifty years* before the accession of the Sung to this date, when the hand of destiny was already beckoning to those Chinese rulers, although half their course had not yet been run.

The great chief Akouta had not lived to behold the final triumph of his arms. Seized with a violent illness he had died suddenly in A.D. 1123, leaving his Empire to his brother Oukimai. The Chinese themselves praise his extraordinary aptitude for war, and in a not less degree that rare gift, the capacity of judging one's fellows and knowing how best to employ their talents, which carried him to the height of fortune, and rendered it true to say of him that he succeeded with everything which he undertook. In his character may be seen the germ of the great qualities which enabled the Manchus to complete, five hundred years later, the task almost accomplished by their ancestors the Kins.

Meanwhile the much-disputed province of Yen had been placed under the nominal authority of the Emperor by the treachery of one of the Kin governors, but Hoeitsong did not long rejoice in the possession of a province which he had so much coveted. He was obliged to send Oukimai the head of the rebellious governor, and to acquiesce in the re-establishment of Kin authority. Numerous signs were seen in the air predicting a coming change, and the public mind was much

* A.D. 907-1125. "Even in their ashes lived their wonted fires." A Khitan prince, at the head of the relics of his army and his race, like an Asiatic Æneas, crossed the Gobi Desert, and penetrated into Central Asia, where, after conquering several Mahomedan states, he founded the kingdom of the Kara Khitay (in which name its origin is proclaimed), and assumed the title of Gurkhan. This dynasty endured for 77 years (A.D. 1124-1201), when it was extinguished by Koshluk, the King of the Naimans. The Gurkhan is one of the potentates identified with Prester John.

exercised by the doubts and dangers which beset the Sung ruler. The Kins, full of the exultation of victory, demanded the surrender of all the country north of the Hoangho, and their ambassadors warned the Chinese ministers in no uncertain language that they would be conferring a real benefit on the Sung House by complying without delay or useless opposition. There is a wisdom of the highest character in timely concessions, but few distressed potentates have ever recognized it. The Kin troops proceeded to carry out the plan proposed by their ruler, and Hoeitsong bent before the approaching storm. He resigned his place to his son Kintsong, who was to bear the whole brunt of the danger; but even by a cowardly abdication Hoeitsong could not escape all the penalty of the acts of weakness and irresolution which had reduced the state to this helpless condition in the face of a powerful foe.

Kintsong endeavoured by a proffer of friendship to arrest the further advance of the Kin army, but his offers were treated with scorn.

The Chinese troops were defeated in several engagements, and failed to defend the crossing of the Hoangho, where a small body of determined troops could have successfully arrested the advance of a host. The Kin general exclaimed, when he found his men marshalled on the southern bank without having encountered any opposition, that "there could not be a man left in China, for if two thousand men had defended the passage of this river, we should never have succeeded in crossing it." The invaders then continued their march on the capital, from which Hoeitsong fled for safety to Nankin, leaving his son to make the best stand he could against the invader. The Kin general Walipou carried everything before him, and menaced the capital Kaifong; but the Kins had not yet determined how far they should prosecute their enterprise against the Sung. There were many among them who considered that the Hoangho marked the proper limit of their sway. Fresh negotiations ensued, and a treaty was concluded, on the strength of which Hoeitsong returned to Kaifong.

But Walipou himself desired above all things to humble

the Sung by the occupation of their capital, and he refused to abide by the terms of the treaty. Although compelled once to beat a retreat, Walipou returned in greater force, when the armies which the next Emperor Kintsong, encouraged by his previous withdrawal, sent out to meet him were beaten with heavy loss. The Kins then laid close siege to the capital, Kaifong. The garrison, mustering in all seventy thousand men, prepared to defend itself to the last extremity, while fresh troops were ordered from the south. Thirty thousand men arrived from Kwantung, and took up a position near the Tartar camp before Kaifong. There was even some reason for hope that the want of supplies might oblige Walipou to retreat before many months if only the place could hold out for a short period. Such was the view of Prince Kang Wang and of the braver spirits among the Chinese; but his brother Kintsong was altogether in favour of a peaceful settlement and for buying off the national enemy. A successful assault, when the ramparts and gates were captured by the Kins, seemed to justify Kintsong's view, and Kaifong would then have fallen into the hands of the Tartars but that Walipou refused to waste valuable lives in the street fighting for which the Sung generals had made elaborate preparations. Kintsong thereupon proceeded to the Kin camp to arrange the terms of the peace which had become inevitable.

The Tartars, true to their nature, demanded, in the first place, a large sum of money, which Kintsong was weak enough to promise, although he knew well that he could not procure it. When Walipou's followers discovered that there was not much likelihood of their obtaining the spoil, which they had probably in their greed already apportioned, there was so loud an outcry that Kintsong was detained a prisoner and prevented returning to his capital. The late ruler Hoeitsong, and all the members of the Royal House resident at Kaifong, were induced to seek the shelter of the Tartar camp. They were then conveyed into Tartary, where both Hoeitsong and Kintsong died at long intervals. The later triumphs of the Kins are undoubtedly to be attributed to the inadequate measures taken by these two Emperors for the defence of their dominions.

Walipou was not satisfied with the plunder of the capital and the carrying off of almost all the members of the reigning House. He aspired to give China a new dynasty. A creature of the Court was proclaimed Emperor, and enjoyed nominal power while the Kin army was close at hand ; but as soon as Walipou retreated he was set aside. The Sung dynasty was restored in the person of Kang Wang, who took the name of Kaotsong, and the condition of the realm reverted to its former footing, with the exception that the Kin state or Empire, as it was justly called, represented a larger and more powerful autocracy than that of the Khitans had been. Henceforth, until their conquest by the Mongols, these two Empires ruled concurrently over China. The Sung retain in history the exclusive right to the dynastic title, but the Kins continued to represent a more vigorous community, a stronger government, and a greater military power. They would, probably, in course of time have succeeded in extending their authority over the southern as well as the northern provinces which had fallen so rapidly into their grasp, but for the sudden growth of the Mongol power under the brilliant leadership of Genghis Khan and his successors.

The causes of the decadence of the Sung and of the inability of these later Emperors to oppose the Tartar hordes and armies are sufficiently clear, if they do not absolutely lie on the surface. "For nearly two hundred years," wrote the Empress to Kang Wang, "the nation appears to have forgotten the art of war," and although the virtuous Sung strove to promote the best interests of the people, they forgot that self-preservation is the first law not only of individuals, but of communities. Ruler succeeded ruler, who made it his chief object to maintain peace, and the state-policy consisted in paying the necessary price to buy off the danger threatened by the neighbouring tribes. Sometimes a young ruler, new to the practices of the court, and desirous of witnessing the parade of war, would depart from precedent and resolve to subdue turbulent races, or to wrest lost provinces from an alien ruler ; but in every case he repented of his freak when brought face to face with the grim reality. He repented the more quickly, indeed, because he speedily found that war is

not a game that admits of castle-building with impunity. The long peace had deprived the government of an army; there were no skilful captains; and the magazines were empty. The Sung Empire was a sham in so far that the sword with which its authority could be alone sustained was brittle, and wielded by a nerveless arm.

It is permissible to detect in the peaceful policy of the Sung the high state of civilization which they had attained. Had their neighbours been persons of equally pacific dispositions, it is quite possible that the system of buying off inconvenient claims might have continued for an indefinite period; but against Tartar and Turk tribes, lawless marauders and desperate chiefs, it could have but the one result of inflaming instead of satisfying their greed. The Sung matched their well-known desire for peace, and their skill in that diplomacy of the artful and inferior kind that sometimes has its origin in weakness, and that ever fails to attain durable success, against the ambition, avarice, and consciousness of inherent strength of the northern states; and the result was necessarily a failure. To Akouta and Oukimai, or their general Walipou, the subterfuges of the Sung appeared in the same light that the arguments of the Roman citizens appeared to Brennus the Gaul.

The absence of that military power which, as a matter of fact, the Sung never possessed in any large degree, but which is the only solid foundation for the maintenance of independence by any government, left Hoeitsong and Kintsong, during his brief reign of one year, defenceless in the face of a determined foe. Large armies of men were placed in the field, but throughout these later campaigns not one deed reflecting any credit on the arms of China was performed. The incompetence of the eunuchs entrusted with command was rivalled, if not surpassed, by the cowardice and aversion to battle of the men. With such an army, a campaign was really lost before it had begun.

The truth is made more emphatic by the events of this period, that no government can expect to endure which persistently closes its eyes to the first duty it has to perform—the defence of the country or the Empire against an

external enemy. It must be prepared to pursue a strong policy, and it must also possess the means to carry it out. It should strive to anticipate and to turn aside or roll back coming dangers, for the first step in retreat when the storm is raging marks the knell of empires. The Sung failed to see the plain truth, and they fell.

Kang Wang's first act was to order the withdrawal of the capital from Kienfong to Nankin, and, although his qualities were of a higher order than those of most of his predecessors, this retrograde step could only prove, as it did, the beginning of the end of the Sung dynasty.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SUNGS AND THE KINS.

KAOTSONG began his reign at a moment of supreme difficulty. The wave of Tartar invasion had indeed retired beyond the frontier, leaving in its track a devastated region, but at any moment it might return. The Chinese power had never been reduced to a lower point than at this epoch, and the Kins, with two Emperors in their possession, might endeavour to attain the climax of their triumph by capturing the third. The crisis required a great mind to grapple with it, and it was doubtful how far Kaotsong would prove equal to the occasion. The bold spirit of the Empress Mongchi alone rose to the gravity of the situation, and her stirring words cannot but have inspired with fresh courage the young prince on whose capacity and conduct the whole future of Southern China depended. The messages sent from their place of imprisonment by his captive father and wife served also to restore his courage depressed by recent defeat. They exhorted him not to forget that they were held captive in a foreign land, and that they had only him to look to for aid. The greatness of the task entrusted to him should have made Kaotsong equal to the part he had to play; but, as it turned out, the burden proved greater than he could support.

Having proclaimed the general amnesty usual on the occasion of the advent to power of a new ruler, and having removed, as already stated, the capital from Kaifong to Nankin, Kaotsong authorized his minister Likang to take the steps necessary for the raising of a larger army, and for

the reform of prevailing abuses. Great attention was to be paid to the disciplining of the cavalry, and to the formation of a special corps of charioteers; but these reforms never advanced beyond an incipient stage. Likang's tenure of office was of very brief duration. Two months after his elevation he was disgraced, and with him disappeared the reforms which had not been more than fairly commenced. Once Kaotsong made this false step his downward course was rapid. He placed the guidance of affairs in the hands of a few inexperienced courtiers, and resigned himself to their influence. The first use to which they turned their power was to secure the disgrace of Likang, and the next to induce Kaotsong to again change his capital from Nankin to Yangchow, because the latter was "nearer the sea." Already Kaotsong was more anxious for the preservation of his life than for the overthrow of the national enemy.

The Kin general Niyamoho, who had succeeded to all, and more than all, the influence of Walipou, saw in these changes too favourable an opportunity to be neglected for renewing the enterprise against the Chinese of the south. His armies accordingly took the field in several directions, and had it not been for the skill and fortitude shown by Tsongtse, the governor of Kaifong, they would undoubtedly have succeeded in again snatching that great city from the Sung. In every other direction they were successful, and before the campaign closed, having suffered only one reverse in the field, Niyamoho had the satisfaction of gaining a decided victory over Tsongtse in person. The battle was more stubbornly contested than any recent encounter had been, and it was evident that the Chinese were recovering their martial qualities, while in Tsongtse they possessed a skilful captain. Niyamoho, recognizing the valour of his antagonist, withdrew his forces on this occasion, content with having sustained the lustre of his arms, and with having acquired possession of a vast amount of booty, and of some important cities.

Encouraged by the state of the Empire, and by the weak conduct of Kaotsong, several rebels appeared in arms, and disturbed large tracts of territory with their presence. The

Tartars withdrawn, Tsongtse turned all his attention to the pacification of these troubled districts, and to the restoration of internal peace. The tact and judgment he evinced in this task were not less remarkable than the skill and valour he had shown in war. He had the wisdom to abstain from the rigorous measures usually put in force against rebels, and he won them back to their allegiance by gentle treatment. On one occasion he excited general admiration by riding with a single attendant into the camp of a rebel, who was so struck by the gallant conduct of the Chinese governor that he then and there gave in his surrender, and promised to serve with his followers against the Tartars. Tsongtse's reputation was greatly increased by these moral triumphs, and when he petitioned the Emperor to return to Kaifong the voice of the nation was unanimous in favour of his request. There was a reasonable chance even at this late period that the Sung power might be revived, as the Kins were regarded with aversion by the peoples whom they had recently subdued. But Kaotsong refused to comply, although Tsongtse sent twenty formal applications to him. He preferred the feeling of safety afforded by the prospect of the junks on the Yangtse from his retreat at Yangchow. His weakness carried its own penalty, but its immediate consequence was to cause the death of Tsongtse from an illness aggravated, if not produced, by chagrin.

The death of Tsongtse removed the only obstacle the Tartars recognized to the renewal of their incursions south of the Hoangho. Niyamoho and Olito, the son of the great chief Akouta, took the field with fresh forces and vigour when they heard of the death of the man who had alone rendered doubtful the result of the previous year's campaign. A rapid succession of victories, and the capture of several important places showed that the Emperor had lost in Tsongtse the true guardian of his frontier, and that his troops fought with indifferent courage and success when they had no confidence in their commanders. So quickly did the Tartar Kins advance that Kaotsong felt himself insecure in his palace at Yangchow, and fled across the Yangtse for greater safety. Yangchow fell into the possession of

Niyamoho, who fired the palace, and then withdrew to carry on his depredations in another quarter.

Kaotsong's flight from his capital had saved him from his external enemies only to leave him face to face with the domestic opponents who had long complained of the weakness of his conduct. A mutinous army and discontented officials were scarcely less objects of dread to him than the hordes of the Kins. Personally they were his bitterer foes, for when they had brought about the disgrace and execution of the chief of the eunuchs they refused to rest satisfied with anything short of the abdication of Kaotsong himself. Kaotsong, deserted by the army, was constrained to submit to the commands of the mutineers, and to retire in favour of his son, an infant only three years old. Within a month of his fall he was, however, restored to power by a revulsion of opinion among the soldiers in his favour.

The first question with which Kaotsong had then to deal was the conclusion of a peace with the Kins, who were again on the point of invading the country. On the first occasion the haughtiness of his ambassador irritated Niyamoho so much that he caused him to be sent into captivity in Tartary, and on the second, when Kaotsong wrote a humble letter imploring peace, the Kin general did not deign to reply. The straits to which Kaotsong was reduced were indeed deplorable, but to narrate them to an enemy could only result in exciting his contempt. Kaotsong recognized in this latter document the supreme power of the Kins, and expressed his willingness to concede everything that was demanded of him.

The Kins continued their advance, compelling the inhabitants of the conquered districts to shave their heads in token of their subjection—a practice renewed five centuries later by their descendants the Manchus. On their approach Kaotsong fled to the sea-coast, where he embarked for one of the southern ports of China. Even then the Kins continued their pursuit, and a small force took boat to follow Kaotsong to his last retreat. This detachment was compelled, however, to return, and Kaotsong's personal safety was again assured. While the Sung Emperor was thus fleeing before the Tartars,

some of his lieutenants were making a brave resistance in other parts of the realm, and had even succeeded in checking their advance. But the balance of victory remained greatly in favour of the northern Power, although one Kin army was nearly compelled to surrender while attempting to cross the Yangtse.

Oukimai, the ruler of the Kins, now again endeavoured to force a fresh ruler and dynasty on the Chinese, and a new Emperor, pledged to depend on the Kins for support, was proclaimed. But a doubtful campaign in Shensi, where the Tartars, although victorious, obtained no tangible results and were obliged to withdraw, interfered with the development of this plan. Kaotsong returned to Yueichow in Chekiang, where he was in a position to either advance further or to retire to his former place of safety. The reviving confidence of his soldiers constituted a firmer basis for his authority than he had yet possessed, and when some aspiring rebels appeared in Kiangsi, his lieutenants restored order without difficulty. The nominee of the Kins was proclaimed guilty of high treason, and a price was placed upon his head; but so long as that puppet-ruler possessed the Kin army at his back he represented a formidable danger for the Sung.

The indictment of their nominee, and the measures instituted for his capture induced the Kins to place larger armies than before in the field, and this was the more necessary as the Chinese troops showed that they were recovering from their long-standing panic, and as capable commanders had revealed themselves during these later campaigns. Prominent among these were Oukiai and Changtsiun, of whom the former, although of subordinate rank, attained the greater fame. Long descriptions might be given of the numerous encounters which he fought and brought to a successful issue with the national enemy, of the artifices to which he had recourse for the making-up of deficiency in numbers, of his rapid marches over vast distances, and of the valour he showed on the field of battle. It was to Oukiai, in short, that the change in the tide of war that now set in was mainly due. The old military superiority of the Kins was no longer undisputed, and Oukimai's lieutenants were met by generals who

in tactical knowledge might fairly be considered to hold their own with the best of them.

The campaigns between the years A.D. 1131 and 1134 were of a different character from those preceding them. The Chinese were in the main successful, and the Kin invasion was finally checked. The death of their great chief Oukimai in the latter year was also a serious blow to their power. While his generals, Walipou, Niyamoho, and Liuche, were winning battles he was engaged not less sedulously in the reform of the internal administration. He was steadily assimilating the customs of his Tartar people to the civilization of the Chinese, and figured as a patron of literature and art. His reign marks the pinnacle of the Kin power. After his death it began slowly but surely to decline. His successor was his cousin Hola, whose reign witnessed the first appearance and gradual growth of the Mongols; and the encroachments of these northern tribes proved another inducement to the Kins to abstain from unnecessary wars in the south.

Negotiations for the conclusion of a peace were begun on several occasions, but only to be broken off. At one moment Hola offered to restore Honan and Shansi; at the next he announced his intention of conquering Shensi. A treaty was concluded by which Honan was to be restored to the Empire, but the Kin generals refused to evacuate it. The Chinese were successful in the encounters that took place for the purpose of enforcing a settlement of the question, and on one occasion they slew eighty thousand men; but either through the weakness of Kaotsong or the incapacity of his ministers, they obtained none of the fruits of success. Honan remained an appendage of the Kins. The character of the Emperor and the temper of the age may be inferred from the fact that at this crisis of his reign Kaotsong sanctioned the imprisonment, which of course ended in murder, of the general who had contributed most to the restoration of his authority. An ignominious peace with the Kins, in the year A.D. 1141, followed, and was a fit conclusion for a period marked by victories that were rendered barren of result and by crimes wrought on the persons of deserving public men. By its

terms not only did Kaotsong resign all claim to a vast extent of territory undoubtedly his by right, but he consented to pay annually a large subsidy in silk and money to the Kin ruler. Kaotsong completed the disgrace of this treaty by accepting the rest of his states as a gift at the hands of the Tartar ruler. The restoration of the body of the dead Emperor Hoeitsong was but a sorry equivalent for so ample a surrender of territory and so grave a loss of dignity.

A few years after this treaty, which was followed by a peace of some duration, the King Hola was murdered by a grandson of Akouta, named Ticounai, who also seized the governing power. He began his reign with a number of diabolical crimes, and when he had satisfied his passion and lust of blood, he thought it would be a great deed to break the treaty with the Sung and renew the war with them. He drew up a plan of campaign for the conquest of China in the first place, and of Hia and Corea after that had been accomplished. Two or three years would, he said, suffice for this great enterprise. He forgot how long his predecessors had taken in securing what was nothing more than a partial, if considerable, success. In all his measures he showed equal indifference to the teaching of the past, and not less overconfidence in his own abilities.

Kaotsong's power had been steadily increasing during the long peace which Ticounai was now bent on breaking, and the lessons learnt during a protracted war had been taken to heart and enforced. Ticounai could not conceal his extensive preparations for war, and Kaotsong, while desiring the continuance of peace, felt bound to sanction counter precautions. Both sides continued, therefore, their active exertions, and Ticounai boasted that he would place half a million of armed men in the field. But more than half this number was required to actually guard the frontier against the Mongols, the Hias, and the Coreans. Kaotsong wished to the last to preserve peace and avoid further strife; but Ticounai was resolved that there should be war, and, as he himself protested, he was only seeking a plausible pretext for declaring it.

His attention was in some degree distracted from his relations with the Sung by a rising within his territory.

caused by his own acts of tyranny. The chief of one of the clans of those Khitans, who had remained in the country after the fall of their dynasty, had found cause for complaint against this ruler, and his grievance not receiving the redress which he required, he broke out into revolt. Ticounai treated this occurrence as a matter of slight importance, but the defeat of one of his generals soon compelled him to see it in a different light. An end was put to his anxiety, however, by the murder of the Khitan chief by his own followers, who were discontented because he had begun his march to join their kinsmen in the west—the Kara Khitay of the kingdom of the Gurkhan. Ticounai did not suffer this episode to turn him from his main purpose, which was war with the Sung. In A.D. 1161 he accordingly gave orders to his generals to cross the frontier, and the long-expected contest began, after a peace which had endured for twenty years.

The war does not appear to have been very popular with Ticounai's subjects, as many desertions are stated to have taken place before actual fighting commenced. It was no doubt felt to be an unjustifiable war, one commenced without any reasonable provocation, and having no legitimate object in view. If ever a war was criminal, that which Ticounai began in so reckless a manner with the Sung ruler must be held to have been so. The wrongful action of the Kin ruler was so palpable that even in that day there were men resolved to mark by some great sacrifice their disapproval of it. Wang Yeouchi, a private individual of Shantung, expended his fortune in fitting out a small corps which rendered valuable and opportune service early in the war; and the great force of public opinion in all the border provinces was strongly in favour of Kaotsong and against the false and aggressive conduct of the Kin prince.

Ticounai was not to be checked in his design by moral compunctions, and he placed himself at the head of his troops. At first Kaotsong thought of retiring to a place of safety, but a wise minister dissuaded him from this suicidal act. Instead of showing his subjects an example of pusillanimity he then threw aside further hesitation and repaired to the camp of his army. The news of a great sea-fight off the coast, in

which his fleet had been completely successful—destroying a large number of the Tartar vessels—produced great rejoicings in his army, full of confidence at the sight of the king in their midst. To Ticounai there came at the same time one piece of bad news after another. His fleet driven from the sea removed an auxiliary in which he had reposed great faith ; but this was insignificant in comparison with the intelligence he received from his own state. His iniquities had resulted in an inevitable uprising of the people, and his half-brother, Oulo, had been proclaimed in his place, by the mass of his subjects and a portion of his army, Emperor of the Kins. Still Ticounai would not turn aside from the task he had in hand, and thought to crush all his enemies by winning some decisive success over the Chinese army.

Ticounai advanced to the banks of the Great river, driving the Chinese detachments across it. It then became a question of how he and his troops were to effect the passage. He sacrificed a black horse to Heaven, and he cast a sheep and a cock to the mercy of the waters ; but his religion, or credulity, brought him no good fortune. The Sung fleet stood in the path to dispute the passage, and when his war junks sought to engage them, they were repulsed with the loss of half their number. In a further engagement they were, practically speaking, annihilated. Ticounai persisted in his resolution to continue the war, although he was in reality helpless on the northern bank of the Yangtse. His army began to murmur in face of the impossible, and numerous petitions were presented to Ticounai by his officers, some suggesting a retreat, others that more time should be allotted to the preliminary preparations. These covert remonstrances excited Ticounai's ire, and roused all the savage in his nature. Executions and bastinadoings became of frequent occurrence in his camp ; the soldiers were discontented, and the officers embittered against a tyrant whose reckless and indiscriminating temper constituted a danger to all who approached him. A plot was formed against him among his own guards, and his death removed one of those monsters of iniquity whose crimes blacken the age and country in which they happen to have lived.

Having thus summarily solved the difficulty of the passage of the Yangtse, the Kin army concluded a convention with the Chinese and returned northwards to its own country, well content to have escaped from so dangerous a predicament with little loss, and also to be freed from the tyranny of an unjust ruler. Prince Oulo was generally recognized after Ticounai's death, and proclaimed Emperor of the Kins. His first act was to come to an amicable understanding with Kaotsong, thus terminating the ambitious enterprise of his predecessor in an arrangement which seemed to promise better times for these neighbouring states.

The signing of this new peace was the last act of Kaotsong's reign, for he abdicated the throne the same year in favour of his adopted heir Hiaotsong, a young prince, who was descended from Taitso, the founder of the dynasty. During the long period of thirty-six years Kaotsong had been the nominal ruler of southern China, but his acts had not fulfilled the promise of his youth, when he was the foremost to press brave counsels on his father and elder brother. His natural timidity proved excessive, leaving him an easy tool in the hands of those who worked upon his fears. His reign was marked by many disasters, although it also witnessed a revival of Chinese military efficiency, and concluded with a peace which was more honourable in its terms than any concluded with the Kins. Kaotsong lived on for a quarter of a century after his abdication, dying in A.D. 1187 at the patriarchal age of eighty-four.

The Kin ruler Oulo did not obtain undisputed possession of his throne. Ticounai's army joined him to a man, but there was a fresh outbreak on the part of the Khitan tribes under the leadership of Ylawoua, a general of that race in the service of the Kins. Oulo had entrusted to him the task of keeping his own people in order, but Ylawoua became so intoxicated with his success, and the favourable reception accorded him by the Khitans, that he resolved to make himself independent, and caused himself to be proclaimed by the old title of Emperor of the Leaous. Oulo was compelled to send a considerable army against this rebel force before he could rest free from anxiety on its account. Ylawoua's

capture and execution relieved Oulo's mind from further apprehension on the score of his Khitan subjects.

Although both Oulo and Hiaotsong desired to maintain the peace so lately concluded, there were those among the Kins who regarded with disfavour the inactivity to which they stood pledged. Shortly after the suppression of the rising under Ylawoua, a powerful faction, including the principal generals, had been formed within the dominions of Oulo for the purpose of provoking a renewal of the war with the Sung. Their king was emphatically in favour of the preservation of peace, but they trusted to the irrepressible antipathies of two hostile peoples to goad him into war; and with this object in view they concentrated the garrisons of the frontier provinces, marched the troops victorious over the Khitans into the border districts, and spread abroad the rumour of a coming war. The Chinese on their side were not slow to meet this display of force with counter demonstrations.

The very year that was to have inaugurated an era of peace, beheld therefore the outbreak of a fresh war, in which justice was again on the side of the Chinese. The same generals who had led Kaotsong's armies to victory against Ticounai, again assumed the command, when Oulo's lieutenants threatened a renewal of hostilities, and their old fortune attended their efforts. In one of the battles the Kins were driven in confusion from the field, leaving eight thousand prisoners in the hands of the Chinese. Hiaotsong wrote with his own hand to Changtsiun, his victorious general, that "there had not been so complete a victory during the last ten years," and the whole nation was loud in its praises of the successful champion. The successful defence of Souchow, by a small corps under the command of an officer named Li Hien Chong against the main army of the Kins, was not less glorious as a feat of arms than the victory just recorded. These successes did not ensure all the results that might have been expected. Negotiations followed, but the interests of the government appear to have been sacrificed by a diplomatist who either did not understand the question or misinterpreted his instructions.

A fresh ambassador was sent to apprise the Tartars that no further territory would be surrendered, and no more presents sent in the form of subsidy by the Sung Emperor. Unfortunately Hiaotsong was not wholly convinced of the wisdom of this firm resolve, and losing the moral support of the veteran general, Changtsiu, he drifted back to the vacillations of previous years when, for the sake of peace, the Chinese ruler would promise to waive all his pretensions, and surrender his most cherished rights. The Tartars were not slow to perceive the irresolution of their opponent, and to turn it to their own advantage. They resumed their advance southwards in A.D. 1161, and, receiving valuable information from one of Hiaotsong's ministers, whom they had taken into their pay, succeeded in overwhelming a Chinese army. This rude blow made peace an absolute necessity; and Hiaotsong, bowing to the force of events, instructed his ministers to arrange terms without prevarication or delay. As Oulo was an honourable antagonist, and desired peace himself, the terms were more favourable to the Chinese than might have been supposed after their great defeat. It was more remarkable that they proved durable, and that the years following, until the close of Hiaotsong's reign, were peaceful. The minister Weiki, who concluded this treaty, became as much an object of popular applause as his unfortunate predecessor, Lou Chong Hien, had been of public disapprobation. The necessities which beset both the Kins and the Sung were conducive to the prolongation of this pacific understanding, and after the long wars and the desperate struggle for supremacy which had resulted in a divided control, the people had peace and were at rest.

The remaining years of Hiaotsong's reign were marked by no event of any importance. He showed in his conduct the possession of the virtues which men appreciate and commend, and, freed from the anxiety of war, led an ideal kind of existence in the midst of his courtiers and sages, delivering maxims that were noble in their conception, and endeavouring by example and by deed to remove some of the abuses which had revealed themselves during that long period of confusion and uncertainty when no one felt sure what the day might

bring forth. When he had been on the throne for twenty-six years, Hiaotsong resolved to abdicate in favour of his third son. He was led to this act partly by his own inclination and partly because the death of the Kin ruler Oulo seemed to threaten fresh complications with the northern Power. Hiaotsong abdicated in the year A.D. 1189, and died five years afterwards. Of all the Sung Emperors after the change in the capital, Hiaotsong was probably the best and the most worthy of respect.

The last years of the Kin Emperor Oulo were scarcely more eventful than those of his contemporary. In A.D. 1170 his vassal, the King of Hia or Tangut, had been virtually set aside by an ambitious minister named Gintekin, who, aspiring to the supreme place, had concluded an agreement with his sovereign for the division of his states. It was necessary, however, to obtain Oulo's consent to this arrangement, and when the facts were placed before him he had the sagacity to see through the specious representations of Gintekin, and refused to ratify the convention, because "it must have been forced on the King of Hia." Not content with this, Oulo addressed a powerful remonstrance to the king on the character of his duty to his people, and his arguments opened that personage's eyes so clearly to the guile of Gintekin that he caused him to be arrested and executed.

He gave still more striking proof of the possession of great qualities by the manner in which he received the overtures of a Corean rebel who had repudiated the authority of his prince. This individual, having wrested the western districts of that kingdom from his liege lord, offered to become the vassal of the Kins ; but Oulo replied in the following dignified terms, which were creditable both to his judgment and disposition. "You and your master," he said to the envoy, "deceive yourselves if you believe me to be capable of approving an act of treason, whatever the personal advantage it might procure me. I love all peoples of whatever nation they may be, and I wish to see them at peace with one another. How have you imagined me capable of so mean an act as that you propose to me?" The remaining

acts of his reign were connected with the domestic legislation of his people, and with the translation into the Kin tongue of the Chinese classics. His death in A.D. 1189 was a serious loss to his people, who unanimously accorded him the next place after Akouta among the great men of their race. He was the first who showed himself to be something more than a mere soldier, and to perceive the truth of the aphorism that war is only a justifiable necessity as a means to a worthy end. He was succeeded as Emperor of the Kins by his grandson Madacou, who preserved during his brief reign the salient features of Oulo's policy.

Hiaotsong's son and successor took the name of Kwangtsong. During his short reign of five years he was Emperor in little more than in name. His wife, the imperious Lichi, asserted her influence over him, and exercised more practical authority than he did. The course of events during this reign was of an uninteresting character, and the attention of the public was monopolized by petty squabbles in the palace and between men of letters. Whether from ill-health or natural timidity and sluggishness is not exactly known, but Kwangtsong soon satisfied his inclination for playing the part of king. In A.D. 1194 he abdicated in favour of his son, and retired into private life, without apparently a single regret at the change in his position. During this short reign the Kins also enjoyed peace under the rule of their sovereign Madacou.

The new Sung ruler took the name of Ningsong, and his first task was to restore the administration, so far as he could, to the position it occupied before Kwangtsong's unfortunate reign. It was not until Ningsong had reigned nearly ten years that he found time to look abroad and see how his neighbours were faring. The spectacle he beheld was encouraging, and seemed to warrant a belief that the Sung might now recover everything they had lost during long and disastrous wars. The Kin power was shaken to its base, and tottering towards its fall. The great Mongol Genghis Khan had already struck shrewd blows against its reputation and its strength. Its military vigour was fast becoming a tradition. The army was discontented and ill-paid, and the people retained no affection for an alien government the

instant it lost the strength to make itself respected. Something of this untoward result must no doubt be attributed to the shortcomings of Madacou, but it was mainly due to the natural progress of decay in an institution that had attained a height far in excess of its innate strength.

Ningsong would have been more than human if he had paid no heed to the tales brought him concerning the decadence of the Kins. Having suffered them to obtain a hold on his imagination, he allowed himself to drift into a war with his neighbour. Contrary to all expectations, the Kins were the victors, and Ningsong was glad to conclude a peace by the ratification of existing treaties, and by the execution of the minister on whose advice he had declared war. Madacou died shortly after this event, leaving the throne to his cousin Chonghei, a descendant of the great Oukimai. This campaign was fought in the year A.D. 1208, and the last triumph to be obtained over the Sung cast a parting gleam of glory round the name of the Kin or golden dynasty.

At this point the old rivalry of the Kins and Sung sinks into insignificance before the advent of the new power of the Mongols. The main feature in Chinese history now becomes the steady growth of the confederacy of the great Genghis, and the petty events of the Sung capital assume an appearance of triviality in face of the great occurrences and startling changes beyond the northern borders. The Kins, by reason of their position, were the first to feel the effect of the martial vigour of the Mongol tribes; but the Sung had eventually to succumb to the same force. Ningsong's reign had little more than commenced when this new element asserted itself in the affairs of China.

CHAPTER XX.

THE MONGOLS.

THE Mongols were originally only one small clan among the numerous tribes bordering on the Chinese Empire. They had little to distinguish them from their neighbours in the vast region between the provinces of Pechihli, Shansi, Shensi, and Kansuh on the one side, and the great river Amour or Saghalien on the other. They were all alike—shepherds, hunters, and robbers, varying their pursuits with their needs or their whims, and with the season of the year. But for Genghis Khan, it is probable that they would never have been anything more than one of the pests of the settled populations within their reach, and even the supreme ability and good fortune of that conqueror failed to make them the dominant power in China. It was reserved for his grandson Kublai to crown the Mongol triumph by the most brilliant of all their successes ; but the extraordinary rise of this race to power is not to be lightly dismissed, more especially as it forms a subject of exceptionally varied and striking interest.

In the strip of territory lying between the Onon and the Kerulon rivers, both affluents of the Amour, may be found the cradle of the Mongol race. This retreat, almost impenetrable to outside attack, and containing within itself all the necessaries for a frugal people, was no unfit abode for the ancestors of a race destined to exercise a world-wide sway. When they first issued from their own valleys in the ninth century as a portion of the great horde of the Shiwei, they attracted notice by their more than common courage and physical strength, earning either then, or perhaps in some

earlier raid against their neighbours, the title of Mongol, or "the brave." They were included by the Chinese with the rest of the tribute-paying clans beyond the northern confines, and from the ninth to the eleventh century their history presents no point of special interest. Doubtless they were not unrepresented in the ranks of those hordes which troubled the border officials of the Emperor, and which in time produced the various dynasties whose careers have already been described. At some remoter period it is possible that the Mongols were merely a section of the Hiongnou, and Genghis claimed descent from the Royal House of that celebrated people. It is not at all improbable therefore that Attila and Genghis, the two great conquerors specially known as the Scourges of God, came of the same stock, and represented one of those races which had been cast out by the civilization and millions of China.

Budan-tsar, in the tenth century, was the immediate progenitor of the House of Genghis. He it was who first conquered the district between the Onon and the Kerulon, and who laid the seed of Mongol power. Vested by popular fancy with an abnormal origin, Budan-tsar consolidated his power by the human means of decision of mind and energy in action, and in the first proclamation he issued to his followers there is perceptible a confidence in himself that augured well for the success of the undertaking he began. "What," said he, "is the use of embarrassing ourselves with wealth? Is not the fate of men decreed by Heaven?" The object he desired to accomplish was not so much the accumulation of riches, by the plunder of cities and the devastation of provinces, as it was the founding of a free and vigorous community. He succeeded in his design, and Budan-tsar struck the first blow for Mongol greatness, and laid the foundation of its future power deep into the ground.

In the twelfth century Budan-tsar's descendant Kabul Khan was the recognized chief of the Mongol tribe. It had been foretold to him that his descendants were to exercise Imperial authority, and his attitude towards the Emperor of Northern China was apparently dictated by such pretensions. In the year A.D. 1135 we know that he had begun to molest

the Kin frontier, and the Emperor Hola had in consequence been compelled to send an army against him. Kabul had in the reign of the wise Oukimai, visited the Kin capital, where he showed an independence of demeanour that would have led to his condign punishment, but for the forbearance of that ruler. After his return from this visit he showed an increased feeling of bitterness towards the Kins, and Hola had to send his general, Hushahu, to bring him into subjection. The Kin general is supposed to have set out on his expedition in A.D. 1135, but his progress was slow. He suffered much from scarcity of provisions, and was at length compelled to retreat, when the Mongols not only pressed him hard, but inflicted a crushing defeat on his army in the neighbourhood of Hailing. In A.D. 1139 a stronger army was sent against Kabul, but eight years later the war remained undecided. The result had been favourable to the Mongols, who were fast making themselves the heirs of the Kins. They had been joined by several of the neighbouring tribes, and Kabul Khan had refused to accept a lower style at the hands of the Kin authorities than that of Great Emperor of the Mongols. The surrender of twenty-seven fortified places was a still more expressive testimony to his growing power.

The task commenced by Kabul was worthily continued by his son Kutula or Kublai. This warrior was long a popular hero among his people, who delighted in the recital of his marvellous deeds. He too won several battles over the Kins, with whom the bitterness of the struggle had been intensified by the capture and execution of some of the members of the Mongol ruling family. His nephew Yissugei may be regarded as his successor; and in his youth Yissugei had learnt the meaning of defeat, when his father and a detachment of the clan had been overwhelmed by a neighbouring and rival people. On this occasion Yissugei had proved himself a good soldier, fighting bravely in the face of superior odds. The war with the Kins went on without cessation during these years, although only scant notice of it has been preserved. It is significant of the character of this new power to find it stated in the Kin history that the Mongols were being joined by many Khitans and Chinese.

The Mongol confederacy was always rather a military brotherhood than a national league.

Yissugei warred more with his neighbours than with the Kins; but he is the first Mongol who is recognized by the Chinese as having been wholly independent of either of their rulers. His great successes over the Tartar tribes surrounding him were crowned by the capture of Temujin, one of their principal chiefs. The exact date of this event is in dispute, and it is rendered the more important as having been that also of the birth of Genghis. On Yissugei's return from battle he learnt that his wife was about to give birth to a son, to whom he gave the name of Temujin, after that of his captive. The little that is known of Yissugei shows that he worthily sustained the reputation of his House, but unquestionably he has no greater title to fame than that of being the father of Genghis Khan, who was probably born in A.D. 1162.

Genghis's birth-place is still known by the same name as when he first saw the light there, Dilun Boldak on the banks of the Onon. The authority to which he was the heir was of a limited character. Forty thousand families obeyed the commands of Yissugei, and when he died in A.D. 1175, the young Temujin succeeded to a divided inheritance. The tribesmen, despising the youth of Temujin, cast off in many cases their allegiance to him, and when he implored them with tears in his eyes to remain true to him, they refused and made a contemptuous reply. At this crisis his mother, the heroic Ogelen Eke, came boldly forward, and raising the national standard or cow-tailed banner of the Tartars, brought back to their allegiance many of those who were on the point of departing to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Her energy averted the disintegration of the tribe, but Temujin's authority was only recognized by about half the number of warriors who had owned Yissugei as their chief. It became Temujin's first task to retrieve the loss thus inflicted.

His principal enemy at this early stage of his career was Chamuka, the leader of the Juriats, a neighbouring tribe, and this chief was joined by the Taijuts, who were then ill-disposed towards the Mongols. Chamuka, not content with

the assistance of one tribe, appealed to several others to combine for the purpose of crushing Temujin. The young chief was unable to maintain his position against his numerous enemies, and one day he was made prisoner by the Taijuts, who subjected him to several indignities, even, it is affirmed, to that of the "cangue." He soon effected his escape, and many of his old comrades and relations again rallied round him. His astuteness enabled him to baffle the wiles of his enemy, who sought to recapture him by an invitation to a feast; but his good fortune carried him safely through the danger. Chamuka thereupon appears to have resolved to bring the struggle to an end by attacking Temujin in his own country; but Temujin wisely stood on the defensive, and when the allied army attacked him he drove it back with great loss. This decisive victory raised Temujin's military fame to a high point, and brought numerous allies to his banner. Temujin's private virtues were exalted in the same breath with his military capacity. "Temujin alone is generous and worthy of ruling a great people," became the general opinion throughout the camping-places over the Mongolian steppes.

Already Temujin was aspiring to greater triumphs than any that could be won in his own country. By marriages, and by alliances based on identity of interests, he was bringing his neighbours into communion with himself, in order that he might extend his conquests. In A.D. 1194 he assisted the Kin ruler, Madacou, in an expedition against one of the Taijut clans, and for his good service he received a title of honour and rich presents. The latter excited the cupidity both of Temujin and of his followers, who had never seen such costly articles, and may in the end have contributed to the fall of the government which sent them. Temujin reaped additional profit from this campaign by the plunder of the Taijut tents, and this expedition in conjunction with the lieutenants of the Kins may be considered as the first of his greater and more successful undertakings. Temujin was in the thirty-third year of his age, when for the first time the perception came home to him of the weakness of the greatest of his neighbours.

The chief of the Keraites, a powerful tribe whose territory extended to the Hoangho, had also assisted the Kin Emperor

against the troublesome Taijuts, and had received at the hands of the Chinese the title of Wang or King. His subjects had subsequently risen against him, and Wang Khan had found shelter and safety with Temujin. In a few years Wang Khan was reinstated in his authority over the Kerait, through the generous assistance of the Mongol chieftain, and Temujin no doubt flattered himself that he had secured a staunch ally for his further schemes; but human ingratitude is proverbial, and Wang Khan was no exception to the rule.

In A.D. 1199 Temujin and Wang Khan declared war upon the Naimans, a great people holding the larger portion of Jungaria; but, before the campaign had fairly commenced, the alliance between the Mongol and the Kerait had been weakened by the insidious practices of Chamuka. Wang Khan then drew off his troops, and Temujin was constrained to retreat. The Kerait chief fared as badly as his treachery deserved, for the Naimans pursued him with vigour, and inflicted great losses upon his force. Indeed it was only Temujin's timely aid that saved him from complete destruction. On several occasions an attempt was made to cement anew this alliance, but Wang Khan, either jealous of the greater fame of his neighbour, or apprehensive of future danger from his ambition, was always half-hearted in his promises of friendship, and not indisposed to array his troops against Temujin whenever it suited his purpose. In A.D. 1202 he took a more decided step, and formed a confederacy amongst all the tribes friendly to himself for the purpose of arresting the career of the Mongols. The mask of hollow friendship was at last thrown aside, and the features of bitter hatred clearly revealed. The issue was simply whether Temujin or Wang Khan was to be supreme on the great Mongolian steppe.

The first encounter was disastrous to the arms of Temujin. The hostile armies came into contact at a place near the modern Ourga, where the mounds over the slain that day are still shown as the record of one of the most famous battles in Mongol history. The impetuosity of the charge of the Mongol horsemen broke the line of Wang Khan's army, and his best troops wavered before the shock. But the odds were

all in favour of the Kerait, and Temujin's wearied followers were at last compelled to retreat. After this disaster Temujin was reduced to the lowest straits, and it seemed as if the fruits of many years of wise government, and boldness in the field, were to be lost in a single day. Temujin himself never despaired of the result, and with a chosen band of followers, small in numbers, but formidable in their fidelity to their chief, and by reason of their discipline, he continued what seemed an unequal, if not a hopeless struggle. In A.D. 1203 he surprised Wang Khan in his camp, and compelled him to take refuge among the Naimans, by whom, in defiance of the laws of hospitality, and of the forbearance due to the unfortunate, he was put to death. The consequences of this event were important, as the Kerait people then became tributary to Temujin, whose authority was thus extended from the Amour to the Kin frontier. To the west there remained the powerful confederacy of the Naimans hostile and unsubdued.

Temujin's next task was to settle his future relations with these western neighbours. The Naiman chief was fully resolved to come to conclusions with the Mongols, and Temujin found in him a more formidable antagonist than Wang Khan had been. Both sides were eager for the fray, and the two forces encountered each other on one of the wide plains north of the Tian Shan in the heart of Jungaria. The battle was long and stubbornly contested. The Naimans fought with the utmost resolution, resisting their opponents long after the result of the battle had been virtually decided, and after their chief had been carried, covered with wounds, out of the press of the combat. The Naimans, and the tribes in alliance with them, were thus subjected, and Temujin's triumph was rendered the more complete by the capture of his old enemy Chamuka.

It was on his return from this great expedition, when he had accomplished some of the chief objects of his life, that Temujin resolved to express to the surrounding nations, by some higher title than he had yet assumed, the military power he had formed and consolidated. On his way back from the country of the Naimans he turned southwards into

the kingdom of Hia, which divided with the Kins and Sung the sovereignty of the Chinese Empire, and with his usual success defeated the army sent to oppose him. His stay in Hia was on this occasion brief, and having garrisoned two fortified places within its frontier, he returned to his great camping-place near the Onon to celebrate the completion of the first portion of the task he had resolved to accomplish.

All the Mongol chiefs were summoned from far and near* to the Grand Council or Kuriltai of their nation, a banner of nine white yak-tails was placed in the centre of the camp, and on the appointed day the warriors of this race of conquerors assembled round the national ensign to hear the decision of their great leader. It was then proclaimed that Temujin would no longer be content with the minor title of Gur Khan, which had fallen in dignity by the overthrow of so many of the name; but that he would take the style of Genghis† Khan. If we consider the significance of this proclamation by the light of the great events which followed it, and of which it may be considered the direct precursor, it would be difficult to assign greater importance to any other event of a similar kind in the world's history. The assemblage which gathered that day, in the year A.D. 1206, on the spot near which their great chief was born, was called upon to witness the consummation of one great triumph, and the inauguration of a still more brilliant period of military conquest and success. The subjection of the Keraits and Naimans was a very creditable exploit; but it sank into insignificance in comparison with the conquest of China, and of the states of Western and Central Asia.

Genghis was too versed in the ways of men to reserve all the honours for himself. Having assumed a title which overshadowed every other, he showered dignities on his followers.

* This custom was adhered to for several generations—in fact, until the gradual dissolution of the Mongol confederacy. It often resulted in the loss of half-won kingdoms, and sometimes afforded a respite to nations on the verge of extinction.

† Genghis, or any of the numerous other spellings employed by different writers, means "Very Mighty Khan." The Chinese translation, "Chingsze," is rendered by Douglas "perfect warrior." Mailla says that it is the reputed sound of the bird of heaven.

Muhule and Porshu, tried friends in many a dire emergency, the companions of his misfortunes and of his hour of triumph, the skilful leaders of armies, were exalted to a position next to himself. The one was made prince on his right side, the other on his left, for, he said, "It is to you that I owe my Empire. You are and have been to me as the shafts of a carriage, or the arms to a man's body." All the subordinate officers, and those who had in any way contributed to his greatness, were rewarded in proportion, and Genghis, on the advice of his Oighur minister Tatakun, instituted the custom of giving to each of the officials a seal of office. These insignia were for the first time distributed on this auspicious occasion. The meeting of all the Mongol clans promoted among the race increased confidence in their own strength, and the chosen chiefs departed to their various posts with a more accurate knowledge of the plans of their great leader. It was clearly foreseen that Genghis had no intention of remaining inactive because all his nomad neighbours had been subdued. He had in his mind a richer and an easier prey than any furnished by the shepherd-warriors of the extensive regions of Mongolia and Jungaria.

In A.D. 1207 he led a fresh expedition into the dominions of the King of Hia, who, in a vague way, acknowledged himself the vassal of the Kin Emperor, and captured Wuhlahai, one of that ruler's strong places. The fame of this victory brought him the tribute of one section of the Kirghiz tribe, and the repression of a revolt among the Naimans added further to his reputation. In the following year his lieutenants obtained several successes over other tribes along the western portions of the Altai, and Genghis renewed in person his enterprise against Hia. In A.D. 1209 he devoted all his strength to the complete conquest of that state. The Mongol troops, augmented by almost all the desert tribes, flocked from every side towards the Hia frontier. The king of that country placed all his forces in the field, but the prowess of his opponent had unnerved both himself and his people.

In the first battle of this final campaign the eldest son of the king was defeated, and his best general taken prisoner. The Mongols pressed on to the Hoangho, bearing down all

opposition. An attempt to flood the country failed, and the King of Hia, in order to avert a complete overthrow, offered to conclude a peace and friendly alliance. Genghis accepted his proposition, and married the king's daughter, thus adding to his own the great military power of this north-western kingdom. By this achievement he not only deprived the Kin Emperor of a powerful ally, but he threatened his country from the west, as well as from the north, through the land of the Keraites. There was no further obstacle in the way of the collision, long expected, between the rising vigour of the Mongols and the waning power of the Kins; and in A.D. 1210, the year after the final humbling of Hia, the war broke out which was to decide the question of supremacy in Northern China.

The Mongols owed their remarkable success to their admirable discipline, and to their close study of the art of war. Their military supremacy arose from their superiority in all essentials as a fighting power to their neighbours. Much of their knowledge was borrowed from China, where the art of disciplining a large army, and manœuvring it in the field, had been brought to a high state of perfection many centuries before the time of Genghis. But the Mongols carried the teaching of the past to a further point than any of the former or contemporary Chinese commanders, indeed, than any in the whole world had done; and the revolution which they effected in tactics was not less remarkable in itself, and did not leave a smaller impression upon the age, than the improvements made in military science by Frederick the Great and Napoleon did in their day. The Mongol played in a large way in Asia the part which the Normans on a smaller scale played in Europe. Although the landmarks of their triumph have now almost wholly vanished, they were for two centuries the dominant caste in most of the states of Asia.*

* Much might be said about the military knowledge, the armour, engines of war, etc., of this extraordinary people. The reader curious in these matters will find the details in Sir H. Howorth's "History of the Mongols." But we may be excused for pointing out that no writer has given, in words with anything approaching the same effect, a picture of the great "out-pouring" of the Mongols, and of the military triumphs of Genghis, so graphic, brilliant, and impressive, as that contained in Gibbon's immortal "Decline and Fall."

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FALL OF THE KINS.

ENCOURAGED by a long succession of victories, Genghis turned his arms against the Kins, whose struggle with the Sung for undivided empire in China had reached a lull through the mutual exhaustion of the combatants. Some years before, when Madacou occupied the northern throne, a Kin ambassador had been received by Genghis with scant courtesy. This act is attributed to his contempt for the individual, but it probably arose from more complex sentiments. The ambassador returned to the capital, breathing vengeance against the Mongol, and besought his master to resent the slight cast upon his honour by the outrage thus offered to his representative ; but Madacou had sufficient wisdom to refrain from attacking where he saw that he would, probably, be only courting defeat. In a few years Madacou died, and it so happened that his successor Chonghei was the very ambassador whom Genghis had received in this unceremonious fashion.

When the envoy arrived at Genghis's quarters to inform him that there was a new Kin Emperor, the great Khan turned to him and asked the name of the new ruler. On learning who it was, Genghis expressed his contempt in the strongest manner, by turning towards the south, and spitting on the ground, saying, " I thought that your sovereigns were of the race of the gods ; but do you suppose that I am going to do homage to such an imbecile as that ? " Chonghei brooded over this second affront, and allowed his personal pique to so far influence his policy that, when an occasion

offered, he did not hesitate to assume the offensive against the Mongols. Genghis would have attacked him with or without an excuse ; Chonghei simply went out of his way to supply one. In A.D. 1210, when the Mongol campaign against Hia had been brought to a termination, Chonghei's troops attacked, and, from the account, apparently defeated a small detachment of Genghis's army. This added fuel to the flame, and war forthwith commenced along the whole frontier.

Genghis did not undertake this great enterprise without due deliberation. Information had been brought him from several quarters of the decline of the Kin power, and the abortive result of the later campaigns against the Sung had done much towards giving fresh courage to the numerous internal enemies of this alien dynasty. The Khitans were again breaking out into rebellion, and their chief, Yeliu Liuko, concluded a convention for joint action with the Mongol leader. Genghis issued a proclamation to all the tribes of the desert, reminding them of the wrongs they had suffered at the hands of the Kins, and that if they desired vengeance they had only to follow him. The appeal was generally responded to, and Genghis found himself at the head of an army vastly superior in numbers to any that had yet gathered round his banner. It was at this conjuncture that Chonghei's rash act removed whatever chance there may have been of the preservation of peace.

In March, A.D. 1211, Genghis broke up his camp on the banks of the Kerulon, and, leaving a small force of trusty troops to maintain order in his rear, advanced to the Great Wall. That barrier had often before failed to keep out the lawless tribes of the north, and there is little surprising in its having proved unable to arrest the career of Genghis's great host. At the point where Genghis attacked it, the custody of this line of fortification had been entrusted to a local tribe, whose chief, far from attempting to defend his charge, surrendered the passage to the Mongols for a sum of money. The outer defence of the Kins was thus pierced through without the necessity arising for striking a blow. The Mongol army, under the command of Genghis, four of his sons and his general, Chepe Noyan, afterwards celebrated above all

others in the wars in Western Asia, poured through the opening thus made, and proceeded to lay waste the province of Shansi. The Kin army was some time assembling, and Genghis and his generals were permitted to carry everything before them almost up to the gates of the capital. When the Kin army did take the field, its fortune was only indifferent. Several minor engagements were fought, but no decisive battle took place. The Mongols overran the northern districts of Pechihli, Shansi, and Shensi, and no doubt secured an immense amount of plunder; but the overthrow of a settled government, even when unpopular, is a much more difficult task than the subjugation of nomad tribes. During nearly two years Genghis remained encamped on Kin territory, but in August, A.D. 1212, having received a wound before the walls of Taitong or Siking, which resisted all his efforts, he collected his troops and retreated into Mongolia. The success he had met with had been very considerable, but the Kin Emperor was still resolved to defend his independence. It required twenty more years of constant fighting to crush this semi-Chinese potentate. If we contrast the resistance offered by him to the "irresistible" Mongols with that shown by all the western countries from Khwarezm to Hungary and Poland, we shall arrive at a fair idea of the stability and innate strength of a Chinese ruler at this period, although China was then almost as a house divided against itself. He had wealth, numbers, and reputation at his back; and although slow to adopt new ideas, or to sanction necessary changes, he was, even when at his weakest, a formidable opponent for the greatest of conquerors, with inferior resources.

The Khitan insurgent Yeliu Liuko had been equally fortunate. He had defeated the Kin general Houcha sent against him, and, with the aid of a small force lent by Genghis, captured the chief city in Leaoutung. Liuko was then proclaimed King of Leaou, in the capacity of a Mongol vassal. He chose Hienping as his capital, and rendered opportune service to Genghis two years later by winning a decided victory over the Kin army. We shall see later on that Genghis did not forget, when the occasion offered, to reciprocate these timely services rendered against his great enemy.

In A.D. 1213 Genghis returned with the full intention of completing his design ; but the Kins were better prepared, and fought with greater confidence. Under the guidance of a skilful general named Hushahu, they even defeated the Mongols, at the passage of one of the principal canals in Pechihli, near the modern Peking ; but the Mongols succeeded in retrieving this check a few days afterwards, when Hushahu had departed to superintend matters elsewhere. The defeated general, in order to save himself from the death which he knew he had merited, attacked and murdered Hushahu, thus depriving his country of the services of a man who had given some promise of being able to defend it. This year had also witnessed the deposition and murder of the Kin Emperor Chonghei, and the elevation of his brother Utubu to his place, mainly through the influence of Hushahu. When Utubu was informed of the murder of his great general he evinced no regret, and appointed his murderer, the defeated officer Kaoki, to be his successor as commander-in-chief.

As if the danger from the Mongols was not in itself sufficient, the people of Hia, at this moment of anxiety, crossed the frontier, desirous, apparently, of obtaining some share in the spoil of the Kin cities. Genghis also placed fresh troops in the field, and among these were many native Chinese who regarded both Kin, Khitan, and Mongol, with equal dislike and hostility. Utubu was unable to offer any protracted resistance to the invaders, who marched almost to the gates of the capital, when Genghis announced that he was willing to retreat on certain conditions. The letter in which the conqueror addressed the Kin prince, was couched in the following naive terms, and would seem to show that he possessed a humorous appreciation of the situation. He wrote, "Seeing your wretched condition and my exalted fortune, what may your opinion be now of the will of Heaven with regard to myself? At this moment I am desirous to return to Tartary ; but could you allow my soldiers to take their departure without appeasing their anger with presents." Utubu was only too glad to secure the withdrawal of his troublesome guest to raise difficulties about the terms. A royal princess was given to Genghis as a wife ; five hundred

youths, the same number of girls, three thousand horses, and a vast quantity of precious articles were also handed over to the victor. But Genghis did not appreciate these presents, for on his march homewards he stained the reputation his previous successes had obtained for him by the senseless massacre of his prisoners. During this same campaign Genghis had furnished further proof that many of his instincts were only those of the barbarian, by causing the old men, women, and children, whom he had made captives, to be placed in the front rank of battle. It is just to mention these unfavourable incidents in Genghis's career lest too favourable a view should be taken of his character. His military virtues were incontestable, but the orgy of continuous victory deprived him of the desire to practise moderation, or to cultivate the generous instincts which at an earlier stage in his career he had often showed that he possessed.

Utubu's first act after the departure of the enemy was to remove his capital from Tungking to Kaifong, where he hoped the greater distance from the frontier would bring him increased security; but he had mistaken his opponent. Genghis made this step a point of grievance against him, as he said it showed distrust of his intentions. Utubu had not long taken up his residence in his new capital when the Mongols again crossed the frontier, and renewed their depredations. They were joined by Kanta, one of the Kin generals, at the head of a large army; and his example was followed by many of his colleagues, disgusted by Utubu's pusillanimity in retiring south of the Hoangho. In fact, from this time there were constant defections from the ranks of the Kins to those of the conquering Mongols, and as a rule the deserters were welcomed and given employment in the Mongol service.

The first act of this new campaign was the siege of Yenking (Pekin), where the prince imperial had been left by his father. Again Utubu's thoughts were of personal matters, rather than of the affairs of the state. He wished to save his son before the Mongols had completed their investment of the place, and in comparison with this object the relief of the garrison, or the preservation of the city, appeared of small importance. He rejected the advice of those who pointed

out what a bad effect the flight of the prince from Yenking would have on public opinion, and ordered his son to leave Yenking and repair to a place of safety. It was another edition of the old tale of the decay of a dynasty and the decline in national spirit. In face of a national danger the monarch thought only of the preservation of his life and of fleeting pleasures; and the people put aside resignation and fortitude as useless virtues, and strove to maintain the privileges of their class by a timely recognition of the power that promised to be triumphant.

Notwithstanding the great discouragement produced by these events, the garrison of Yenking defended itself with marked bravery against the Mongols, and had it been promptly succoured it is not improbable that Genghis's army would have failed to capture it. Finding that the defence could no longer be sustained, the governor retired to the ancestral hall of the Kins, where he drank the poisoned wine, and his last act was to indite a petition to Utubu for the dismissal of Kaoki, the murderer of Hushahu, and the worst of the state advisers.

The Mongols entered Yenking a few days after the suicide of the governor, when they put the garrison to the sword, plundered the town, and set fire to the palace. An enormous spoil was captured and sent to Genghis, who distributed it among his followers. With much of it he made preparations for fresh wars, and the quantity of arms and military engines seized in its arsenals proved most valuable in his subsequent expeditions. Genghis gave all the credit of this great success to his general, Mingan, but the victory was chiefly due to the indifference of the Kin ruler.

Genghis resolved to follow up this blow by a forward movement on all sides, and sent Samuka, one of his most trusted lieutenants, to force a way into Honan. The celebrated Tunkwan pass connects Shensi and Honan, and Samuka was instructed to capture it if possible. The Kins had not neglected its defences, however, and when Samuka saw the strength of this natural fortification, and the number of the garrison, he declined to attack it. Samuka therefore made a detour to avoid so formidable an obstacle, and after

a march under incredible difficulties reached the neighbourhood of Kaifong, where Utubu thought he was in perfect safety. Samuka was nearly paying the price of his temerity. The force under his command had not at the outset been very large, and it had suffered heavy losses during its arduous march. The Kin troops were hastening from all sides for the protection of the capital, and it was only by the rapidity of his movements that Samuka succeeded in regaining the northern side of the Hoangho with the relics of his army. It is doubtful if he would have succeeded in accomplishing this much had it not been that the Hoangho fortunately happened to be frozen that winter. Utubu's pursuit was not of the most vigorous, although this was the first success that had smiled upon his arms since Genghis retired discomfited from before Taitong in the first year of the war.

This victory was not, however, wholly without result, as it so far encouraged Utubu that he sent an army for the recovery of Leaoutung, where Yeliu Liuko had erected a kingdom of his own. For once the Kins were successful, and Liuko was obliged to seek safety in flight. When Genghis heard the news, he at once acted with his usual promptitude, and with the generosity he always showed towards a distressed ally. He sent a large army under the command of Muhule, the most famous of all his lieutenants, to drive out the Kins and to restore the Khitan chief who had done something towards promoting the Mongol success in China. Muhule carried everything before him, and recovered possession of the capital by a stratagem not unique in Mongol annals. One of his scouts took prisoner an officer sent by Utubu to encourage and give information to the commander of the garrison, when Muhule at once substituted a Mongol for the Kin, and threw the garrison off its guard by the favourable news he brought of the state of affairs generally throughout the country. Muhule delivered his attack while the garrison remained wrapped in a false sense of security, and concluded the war by driving the Kin troops out of the whole of Leaoutung. One of the consequences of this campaign was the surrender of the King of Corea, who acknowledged himself a vassal of the Mongols.

In recognition of this brilliant success, Genghis conferred fresh honours on Muhule, to whom was entrusted by patent the principal charge of the war in China. Muhule showed his worthiness for these honours by the brilliant campaign of A.D. 1218-19, when, having the whole conduct of the war, he invaded Honan, captured numerous cities, and defeated the principal Kin general Changju. For the first time during the struggle, the conquests made by the Mongols were permanently retained. The authority of the Kin ruler waned daily more and more.

Utubu's difficulties were further complicated by the action of Ningtsong, the Sung Emperor. Advantage had been taken of the misfortunes of the Kins to repudiate the treaty by which tribute was paid to the northern ruler; but Utubu had not acquiesced in this repudiation with good grace. Availing himself of a lull in the war with the Mongols, Utubu sent an army across the Sung frontier. He had no better success in this war of offence than he had in that for the defence of his dominions. The Sung general, Mongchin, inflicted several defeats upon his army, and the Kins had definitively to waive their old pretensions to superiority. The rapid progress made by Muhule in the north, and the ill success of the campaign with the Sung, induced Utubu to propose a suspension of hostilities to the Mongol general; but it was too late. The Mongols had resolved on his complete overthrow. The only terms which Muhule would grant were that the Emperor should resign all his possessions and content himself with the principality of Honan. The Kin Emperor had fallen very low, but he declined to be his own executioner.

In A.D. 1220-21 Muhule continued his measures for the complete subjection of the provinces north of the Hoangho; but his death in the following year nipped his final plans in the bud. For forty years, as he himself said, he had fought the battles of his master against the Kins and the northern tribes. His only regret was that he had to leave to others the task of finally reducing them. In him Genghis lost his right-hand man, the one general to whom he could entrust the direction of a war. Like Napoleon, Genghis had many

faithful and able lieutenants capable of fighting and winning battles ; but Muhule was his best if not his only general, in the highest sense of the word.

The Kins were reduced to such a state of weakness that they were unable to reap any advantage from Muhule's death ; and Genghis, in consequence of the death of Muhule, returned in A.D. 1223 from Western Asia, where he had for four years been engaged in humbling the pride of the great Mahomedan states from Kashgar to Armenia, and from the Jaxartes to the Indus, and in obtaining those brilliant military successes which are still among the marvels of all history. Genghis then assumed the personal direction of the war with the Kins. Utubu's death occurred in the same year as that of Muhule and of the King of Hia. The next Kin ruler was named Ninkiassu, and his first acts were to endeavour to conclude an alliance with the new sovereign of Hia, and to arrange his difficulties with the Sung.

Although the late king of Hia had long been on good terms with Genghis, and although his troops had on several occasions fought in the same ranks with the Mongols, causes of difference were not wanting between such ill-assorted allies. The Hias thought that in many ways the Mongols had derived greater advantage from their aid either than was politic for them to afford, or than they had received any adequate equivalent for. Moreover, the resources of this kingdom were very great, and its military strength far from insignificant. The young ruler of this state declined, therefore, to continue those offices of civility towards the Mongol in which his father had been prudent enough to acquiesce ; and, trusting perhaps too much to the consequences of Muhule's death and to the absence of Genghis, proclaimed his hostility in the clearest manner. Genghis's speedy return spoiled his plans, but he had gone too far to retrace his steps. The year A.D. 1224 was one of inaction on all sides, rendered eventful alone by the death of the Sung Ningtsong. During these twelve months Genghis was busily engaged in preparations for an enterprise which he knew would be of more than ordinary moment and danger. In A.D. 1225 he had assembled the largest army he had ever employed in his Chinese wars,

and took the field in person when the appearance of spring announced that the season available for active operations had arrived.

Powerful as the Hia state must have been, and confident as its king was in the half million of soldiers which he boasted he could place in the field, the success of the Mongols was rapid and unqualified. The principal cities, the rich centres of trade, the strong fortresses, fell into the hands of the invader; and the young king, who had broken the alliance with Genghis and rushed into this war, died of the grief caused by his numerous misfortunes. In a tremendous battle, fought over the frozen waters of the Hoangho, the army of Hia was almost exterminated; and this terrible day bears, in many of its features, including its main incident, a striking resemblance to the scene when Napoleon's artillery swept the frozen lake at Austerlitz. In A.D. 1227 the conquest of Hia was nearly complete; its king then gave in his formal submission, and recognized the triumph of Genghis.

The conquest of Hia was the last military feat in the life of Genghis Khan. He was not destined to behold the consummation of his long wars with the Kins, although he and his general Muhule had shattered their military power, and laid it level with the ground. It is recorded that his last public act was to refuse peace to the supplications of Nink-assu, who had begun his reign with an abortive effort to form a league against the Mongols, and whose protestations of friendship Genghis had every reason to distrust. With his latest breath he bequeathed to his successor the task of completing what he was not himself destined to accomplish.

There had been some symptoms that the life of the great conqueror was drawing towards its close. He had himself felt for some time that the end was not far distant; and in reckoning up the account of his life he detected the one blot in his system—the excessive, and too often wanton, cruelty with which it had been administered. His death-bed injunction to his successors and his people to refrain from the sanguinary sacrifices which he had exacted from enemies was faithfully obeyed, and henceforth the Mongol mode of warfare became not more terrible or vindictive than that of other

nations. This last decree is not less important as throwing some light on the character of the man who held the whole of the Asiatic continent in awe by the magnitude of his exploits.

Several stories have been handed down of the circumstances attending the death of the Mongol hero, but the most probable version is that he died a natural death in his camp on the Shansi frontier, on the 27th of August, A.D. 1227. He was therefore about sixty-five years of age, and during more than fifty of these he had been engaged in conducting wars which partook originally of the character of marauding expeditions, but in the end assumed all the proportions of vast conquests. The area of the undertakings conducted under his eye was more vast, and included a greater number of countries than in the case of any other conqueror. Not a country from the Euxine to the China Sea escaped the tramp of the Mongol horsemen, and, if we include the achievements of his immediate successors, the conquest of Russia, Poland, and Hungary, the plundering of Bulgaria, Roumania and Bosnia, the final subjection of China and its southern tributaries must be added to complete the tale of Mongol triumph. The sphere of Mongol influence extended beyond this large portion of the earth's surface, just as the consequences of an explosion cannot be restricted to the immediate scene of the disaster. If we may include the remarkable achievements of his descendant Baber, and of that prince's grandson Akbar, in India three centuries later, not a country in Asia enjoyed immunity from the effect of their successes. Perhaps the most important result of their great outpouring into Western Asia, which certainly was the arrest of the Mahomedan career in Central Asia, and the diversion of the current of the fanatical propagators of the Prophet's creed against Europe, is not yet as fully recognized as it should be.

The doubt has been already expressed whether the Mongols would ever have risen to higher rank than that of a nomad tribe but for the appearance of Genghis. Leaving that supposition in the category of other interesting but problematical conjectures, it may be asserted that Genghis represented in their highest forms all the qualities which

entitled his race to exercise governing authority. He was, moreover, a military genius of the very first order, and it may be questioned whether either Cæsar or Napoleon can, as commanders, be placed on a par with him. The manner in which he moved large bodies of men over vast distances without an apparent effort, the judgment he showed in the conduct of several wars in countries far apart from each other, his strategy in unknown regions, always on the alert yet never allowing hesitation or over-caution to interfere with his enterprise, the sieges which he brought to a successful termination, his brilliant victories, a succession of "suns of Austerlitz"—all combined, make up the picture of a career to which Europe can offer nothing that will surpass, if indeed she has anything to bear comparison with it.

After the lapse of centuries, and in spite of the indifference with which the great figures of Asiatic history have been treated, the name of Genghis preserves its magic spell. It is still a name to conjure with, when recording the great revolutions of a period which beheld the death of the old system in China, and the advent in that country of a newer and more vigorous government, which, slowly acquiring shape in the hands of Kublai, and a more national form under the Mings, attained the pinnacle of its utility and its strength under the greater Emperors of the Manchu dynasty. But great as is the reputation Genghis has acquired, it is probably short of his merits. He is remembered as a relentless and irresistible conqueror, a human scourge; but he was much more. He was one of the greatest instruments of destiny, one of the most remarkable moulders of the fate of nations to be met with in the history of the world. His name still overshadows Asia with its fame, and the tribute of our admiration cannot be denied.

The death of Genghis did not interfere with the progress of the war against the Kins. With his dying breath he gave instructions for turning the fortress of Tunkwan, which still effectually guarded the approaches to the province of Honan where the Kins had concentrated their strength for a final effort. His successor Ogotai resolved to prosecute the war with the greatest energy, but a brief period of inaction

necessarily ensued, and the Kins availed themselves of it to assume the offensive. In a battle which took place between two small detachments the Kins were victorious, and as this was the first success they had obtained in the field for twenty years, its details were greatly exaggerated. Its importance was very trivial, and it had nothing more than a local effect. In A.D. 1229, when the ceremony attending the proclamation of a new khan was finished, Ogotai announced his intention of concluding the long war by the final overthrow of the Kins; and he showed the decision of his character by dividing the territory already conquered from them into ten departments.

In A.D. 1230, therefore, the Mongols returned in great force, under the command of the brothers Ogotai and Tuli, and their generals Yeliu Chutsai and Antchar; but whether it was that they were not led with the same skill as before, or that the Kins after their late victory fought with better heart, their old success apparently deserted them. In several encounters the Kins were successful, and a Mongol envoy who came to offer onerous terms of peace was roughly handled, and sent back with a message of defiance. In A.D. 1230, and again in 1231, the Mongols laid close siege to the town of Fongsian, but the garrison defended the place with resolution. The principal conduct of the siege operations was entrusted to Antchar, but the Kins continued to hold out, even after the repulse of an attempt to relieve the town. Antchar was compelled to change his tactics, and to leave a portion of his army to starve the defenders into submission while he overran the surrounding districts. On his return from this expedition he had the satisfaction of receiving the surrender of Fongsian, to the brave garrison of which he granted honourable terms. At the most the success of this campaign had been doubtful; but it had been conducted in a humane manner. The next was to be more decisive, but marked by the recurrence of some of the sanguinary incidents which had attended the previous undertakings of the Mongols.

In A.D. 1232, both Ogotai and Tuli took the active conduct of the war into their own hands. The former attacked Honan—the last of the possessions of the Kins—from the

north by way of Hochung, while the latter, at the head of an army composed mainly of cavalry, marched through the difficult Han country of Southern Shensi and Northern Szchuen for the purpose of invading Honan from the west. Having overcome almost incredible difficulties, although by the violation of Sung territory, Tuli burst on the Kin garrisons with a fury resembling that of the mountain torrents of the inaccessible region through which he had forced his way ; but the Kins recovering from their panic saw that they were only opposed by a handful of men exhausted by a long march under arduous circumstances. A desperate battle ensued near the Yu Mountain, when the Mongols were obliged to retreat from the field. Their destruction would have been inevitable but that the Kins fancied they had completed their work, and did not follow up this advantage with any vigour. It may have been that the rapid successes of Ogotai on the Hoangho compelled the recall of this army from the south-west for the defence of the capital. When Tuli found that he was not pressed he resumed his march through Honan. The annals of the period are full of the deeds of ferocity he committed—of the thousands he slaughtered among the garrisons he captured and the armies he defeated.

The two armies of Ogotai and Tuli at last joined each other in the neighbourhood of the capital, and the Kin forces were confined to this town and the few other fortresses that remained in their possession. An attempt to flood the country was foiled, and ten thousand labourers sent to break the dykes were massacred to the last man by the infuriated Mongols. In a great battle at Ynchow the Kin army suffered a crushing defeat, losing three of the most trusted of its generals. No further obstacle remained to prevent the siege of the capital. Before Kaifong was completely beleaguered, Ninkiasu, the Kin Emperor, fled with a portion of the garrison to Kouete on the borders of Kiangsu, but his flight only precipitated his fall. The garrison of Kaifong, although disheartened by the desertion of its leader, continued to offer a brave resistance. The Mongol commander Subutai pressed it hard with the fire of numerous catapults, from which were hurled stones of considerable size, and he also employed

his prisoners in filling up the ditches of this city-fortress. The Kins were fighting for their lives, and in their desperation they succeeded for a long time in baffling the superior skill and persistency of the Mongol attack. At one stage in the siege operations Subutai was compelled to withdraw from before the town, but he speedily returned with renewed courage and force. After a siege, which lasted more than twelve months, the garrison of Kaifong reached the limit of its powers of resistance, and was fain to surrender almost at discretion. The spoil obtained by the victors was immense, and it is said that the inhabitants, and those who had taken refuge within its walls, reached the enormous number of fourteen hundred thousand families, or, at least, seven million persons. Subutai, true to the traditions of Genghis and Tuli, wished to put them all to the sword; but Yeliu Chutsai, who had already befriended the Chinese on several occasions, interceded with Ogotai, and obtained the rejection of his barbarous proposal.

The surrender of the capital did not deprive the Kins of all their means of defence; and the war continued in a desultory manner until the following year. It might even have gone on for a longer period but for the active intervention of the Sung, who, in a fatuous spirit of indifference to the dangers that threatened them, assisted with all their power in making the triumph of the Mongols more complete. Ninkiassu in his supreme hour of distress had almost discovered a capable commander in Usien, when the Sung general Mongkong crossed the frontier and drove him into the mountains of Mateng. After this the result was no longer in doubt. On one side pressed by the Mongols, and on the other by the Sung, Ninkiassu and the last of his army retired to Tsaichau, where they were soon closely beleaguered. The siege of this place was rendered famous by the valour shown by the last defenders of fallen royalty. Never did the abilities of the great Mongkong, in after years the mainstay of the Sung, shine more conspicuously; never was the impetuosity of the Mongols more strikingly evinced than on this occasion. But, at the least, the Kins proved themselves worthy of their steel. In the end Ninkiassu, finding all hope in vain, wished

to abdicate in favour of a younger kinsman, who might hope to escape the storm then imminent, and renew the struggle under more favourable auspices; but even whilst in the act of performing the ceremony of abdication he was interrupted by the tidings that the Mongol stormers were in the heart of the city.

There was no longer any room for hope that the contest could be renewed. It was only left to the last of the Tartar Kins to die with such honour as human instincts truly divine to be praiseworthy. Ninkiassu had fought an up-hill battle, and he had lost it. He fell before an accumulation of dangers and difficulties that were well-nigh irresistible. Unfortunate in his life, and not showing in the face of peril the resolution and firmness that might have been expected from him, he encountered his fate at the last with fortitude. The enemy was at his gate, and a stronger and more daring monarch laid claim to his throne. His army was dispersed, his treasury bankrupt, his people discouraged and in despair. There was no longer any hope of better times, of the revival which sometimes comes when fortune is at its lowest ebb. Ninkiassu had but the choice of two courses, to grace the triumph of his conqueror with his presence and draw out his days in hopeless imprisonment, or to meet death without fear or misgiving. He chose the latter. When the flames of his palace lit up with a lurid flame the horizon, the enemy was already master of his last city. Ninkiassu killed himself with his own sword, and his example was followed by several of his generals and many of his soldiers. In one sense, the Mongols were left little more than a barren triumph.

With Ninkiassu expired, in the year A.D. 1234, the dynasty of the Kins, who had given Northern China nine princes in the course of one hundred and eighteen years. Formidable as the Mongols were as soldiers, brilliant as was the military capacity of their chiefs, and valuable as the aid of the Sung proved to be, it took them more than a whole generation to conquer the northern provinces of China, and to sweep out of existence an alien dynasty which never secured the sympathy of its subjects. By as much as we regard the Mongols as a

formidable people and as a race of born conquerors, by not less should their victims the Kins be respected, because they fought better in defence of their rights than did either the great Mahomedan states of Western Asia, or the principalities of Eastern Europe, when assailed by the same foe.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE SUNGS AND THE MONGOLS.

THE Sung had been induced to ally themselves with the Mongols by the desire to recover some of their lost possessions from the Kins. The intensity of their hatred for the dynasty which had established itself within their frontier blinded them to the dangers that might arise from the new race steadily encroaching southwards and carrying all before it in its career from the north. The Sung knew nothing of the Mongols, whereas the Kins were their bitterest enemies. To compass the ruin of the race which had imposed tribute upon him and stripped him of his glory was the fondest wish in the heart of the Sung Emperor. The successes of the Mongols, and the reduction of the Kin garrisons, which became necessary in consequence of the defeats on the northern confines, afforded the ruler of Southern China the long-wished-for opportunity of shaking off a thralldom which had always been irksome and hateful to him. That he did not hesitate to avail himself of it is rather to his credit than otherwise ; but prudence should have impelled him to abstain from taking any direct step towards promoting the triumph of the Mongols.

*When Genghis undertook the conquest of Hia, the Kin ruler despatched an embassy to the Sung capital to ask the Emperor Ningtsong to join with him in opposing the Mongol invasion. The Sung refused to regard the interests of the two realms as identical, and declined to help their neighbour in distress. The warning of the Kin ambassador that the Kins were beset by the danger to-day, but that to-morrow it

would be the turn of the Sung, fell upon deaf or indifferent ears; and at the tidings of each fresh victory of Mongol arms the native rulers rejoiced in their blindness. It has been seen that they were not content even with the part of gratified spectators. They desired to take a more active and, they hoped, a more advantageous share in the struggle. So it happened that while Ogotai and Tuli were winning conclusive battles on the Hoangho and the borders of Honan, Mongkong, the great Sung general, was hastening to give, by his skill and the large army placed under his command, a decisive turn to the struggle. And now the main object had been accomplished. The Kin dynasty had been destroyed, and of the formidable Niuche race there remained only the relics that had fled to remote Manchuria. Was there any reason to suppose that the Mongols, who throughout their career had been continually removing their neighbours' landmarks, would prove better neighbours to the Sung than the Kins had been? There could be no question that their military power was much greater, and that their ire was not only more formidable but also more easily aroused.

By the terms of the understanding which had been agreed on for the purposes of war between Mongkong and the Mongol commanders, it was arranged that the province of Honan should be restored to the Sung when victory had been obtained over the Kins. The required result had now been attained; it remained to be seen whether the accompanying stipulation would be carried out. The very large part which the genius of Mongkong had played in the final overthrow of the Kins has already been referred to, and it would not appear unreasonable to conjecture that the confidence felt by one side in his abilities, and the apprehension on the other of their consequences, were among the most prominent causes of the precipitation of a struggle that was in itself inevitable.

Tokens of the coming storm were not long in revealing themselves. The Mongol troops, instead of evacuating the province, remained in possession of the principal positions; and if they retreated in any single direction, it was done merely for the purpose of drawing their strength to a head.

A proposition was then made to divide the spoil, and some steps were taken for the division of the province into two parts, one of which was to remain in the hands of the Mongols, and the other in those of the Sung. As the durability of such an arrangement was palpably impossible, it was no longer open to the most obtuse to refuse to see that the Mongols included not one portion, but the whole of China within their sphere of conquest. Both sides were eager for the contest, and the cause of strife was flagrant and well known to all. It mattered little under these circumstances which side, in the heat of the moment, struck the first blow.

The Chinese were inflated by their successes in the recent war, and inclined to underrate the superiority of their late allies. The supreme council was composed of men anxious to obtain fresh fields for their energy and also for their personal advantage; and under their advice Litsong resolved to attempt to seize by force the territory which had been the appendage of his ancestors, and to which he considered he was fully entitled by the solemn stipulations of treaty. The wish being thus formed, the large Sung army on the frontier supplied the ready means of carrying it into execution; and it so happened that the Chinese, having the larger number of troops on the scene, were successful in the earlier engagements. Thus often does Fortune, by an initial success, tempt nations to follow out a reckless enterprise and rush in blind confidence on their fate.

The Mongol commanders were at first singularly inactive, but when the first flush of Sung activity had passed away, and the full danger of the war began to be realized, the Chinese wished to conclude a peace even at the sacrifice of all their claims. The Mongol people had, however, been called into consultation on the subject of the war with the Sung, and they had decided to prosecute it to the end. From a kuriltai at Karakoram the fiat had gone forth that the Sung were to be dealt with in the same manner as the Kins had been. Litsong's passionate appeals for peace received but scant notice from his relentless and terrible opponents.

In A.D. 1235 three Mongol armies were raised for the

purposes of this war, and to each were entrusted operations that it was hoped would result in the breaking-up of the Sung Empire. While one army, following in the track of Tuli a few years before, crossed over from Shensi into Szchuen, two other bodies of troops invaded Kiangnan and Houkwang.* Ogotai's second son Kutan was placed in command of the first of these, and the campaign principally consisted of the deeds of this corps, although it was computed that Ogotai had in all half a million of men in the field. The task which Kutan was required to perform was one of exceptional difficulty, as the northern portion of Szchuen was then and is still a region presenting great obstacles to the movements of armies, and one where a handful of men might make a stout resistance against vastly superior numbers. Despite a few small reverses, the Mongols were generally victorious, and the large garrison, to which had been left the charge of this important province, offered little more than a show of resistance. Much is said in praise of the valour of Kaokia, governor of Mien, who died at his post like a brave man ; but neither Mien nor the more important Tsingzeyuen could keep out the Mongols. Before the year closed, the northern part of Szchuen had been wrested from Litsong, but Kutan and his troops retired as they had come. They were on this occasion only a passing scourge.

Eastwards the Mongol arms were not less fortunate, although on a smaller scale. Kutan's brother Kuchu, Ogotai's third son and acknowledged heir, commenced a career of success which was too soon cut short by his death, leaving to his father the bitterness of a loss not to be replaced. But at the end of a campaign, which had witnessed much bloodshed, the Sung reoccupied cities that had been sacked, and again took possession of territory depopulated and impoverished by the horrors of war.

The Mongols, true to their traditions, began the conquest of Southern China by a series of expeditions that resembled in their character marauding raids rather than the systematic advance of a great conquering power.

* The former is now, as already stated, Kiangsi, Kiangsu, and Anhui ; the latter Hoonan and Hupeh.

During the remaining years of Ogotai's life little or nothing was done towards furthering the conquest of the Sung Empire. Ogotai took more interest in the progress of the wars in Russia and Hungary, where his nephew Batu was winning victories that will compare as military achievements with any of the most brilliant feats of his House, and his interest was only distracted from them by the growing hold which the pleasures of the table obtained over him. In the great palace that he built at Karakoram he gave himself up to the indulgence of his own inclinations during the last six years of his life, leaving to Yeliu Chutsai* the task of governing China. Ogotai's death occurred in A.D. 1241, and he left behind him the reputation of being not only a just and able prince, but one whose natural goodness of heart prevented him from enforcing the cruel practices of his race.

After a brief interregnum and the happy avoidance of differences and dangers which seemed at one point likely to break out in serious disturbances, Kuyuk, Ogotai's eldest son, was proclaimed Great Khan of the Mongols. It was not until A.D. 1246, five years after the death of Ogotai, that this decision was taken, and that the threatened disruption of Mongol power was averted by the election of a single head. The ceremony made up in splendour for whatever it suffered through the tardy arrangements that had preceded it. All the principal Mongol leaders—Batu, fresh from the passage of the Carpathians, and Argun, Khulagu's most skilful

* The name of Yeliu Chutsai has been mentioned several times. It was chiefly due to his moderation that the Mongols abstained from tyrannizing over their Chinese subjects. Under Ogotai he had shown both his sagacity and generosity in advocating the retention of the old mode of taxation in China; and when Turakina, the widow of that ruler, and for a short time regent after his death, farmed out the revenues, Yeliu Chutsai retired in disgust, and died shortly after of grief. Yeliu Chutsai was certainly the most estimable personage of his age. Père Mailla says of him that "he was distinguished by a rare disinterestedness. Of a very broad intellect, he was able, without injustice and without wronging a single person, to amass vast treasures and to enrich his family; but all his care and labours had for their sole object the advantage and glory of his masters." It is only just to add that D'Ohsson states that "his vast treasures" consisted exclusively of books, maps, etc.

lieutenant—were hastening thither, if not actually present ; and many of the conquered princes and tributary kings—Yaroslaf of Russia, and David of Georgia—came to pay in person the token of fealty to the great Khan. But although thus elected with the appearance of unanimity, and with all the pomp of power, the reign of Kuyuk was far from being a brilliant one. Beyond noticing the issue of a seal expressing, with the arrogance of unfettered authority, his own idea of his position, there is nothing to be said of the second successor of the great Genghis.

Kuyuk's death, in A.D. 1248, arrested the preparations that had been made for the renewal of the war with the Sungs, who had suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Mongkong, the one general possessing the ability to supply the numerous deficiencies of his countrymen in the art of war. His loss was the more appreciable because his soldiers rated his capacity at a higher value than it may intrinsically have been worth. Under his flag, having learned the first duty of a soldier, they fought with confidence, because they had always found it leading them to victory. His private virtues were on a par with his ability, and his modesty, affability, and single-mindedness endeared him to all who came within the range of his influence. The loss of such a man at such a moment was more than Litsong could hope to replace.

Kuyuk was succeeded by his cousin Mangu, who at once devoted his principal attention to Chinese affairs. Indeed, there was little else except the reform of the finances, which had been thrown into confusion by the recklessness of the regents, to engage his mind, as by this time the western possessions of the Mongols were practically independent of the great Khan's authority, and governed by kings of the House of Genghis. Doubtless the memory of his father's military achievements had much to do with this resolution, and the restless energy of another member of the same family, now about to appear for the first time prominently on the scene of affairs, also contributed to urge the titular head of the Mongols to devote his attention more exclusively to the Chinese question. The genius of Kublai became the spear-head of the energy and persistency of Mangu ; and the two brothers

took in hand, with a determination ominous for the Sung, the completion of the conquest of China.

Mangu appointed Kublai his lieutenant, with supreme command of all the forces in China from the Korean border to the desert, and southwards as far as the great Kiang. This appointment was made in A.D. 1251, and proved the immediate precursor of the resumption of hostilities with Litsong. Some of the most important offices were given to Chinese, who devoted all their ability to promoting the interests of a government that neglected no opportunity of showing that it knew how to appreciate good and timely service. Kublai himself did still more than utilize in a general way those who had special experience in the country. He attached to his person a Chinese secretary named Yaochu, who became his constant companion and most attached minister. Yaochu had been for some years tutor to the young prince, and it cannot be doubted that many of the most important acts of Kublai's after-career were inspired by this enlightened political student. Yaochu may be justly compared with Yeliu Chutsai, the sage of the preceding generation.

Kublai very soon gave proof of the assiduity with which he intended to devote himself to his duties. The southern districts of Honan had suffered most in the campaigns which had witnessed the expiring effort of the Kins, and the subsequent brief struggle of the Sung to retain the price of victory. They had, in truth, been turned into a barren solitude whence the people had fled. It became Kublai's first care to restore something of its lost prosperity to this region, and by the guarantee of protection to attract the inhabitants back to their homes. A board of inquiry into, and also for the redress of, grievances was formed, and Kublai's personal supervision prevented its functions being either neglected or becoming a mere form. The result of these measures was advantageous in a double sense. A base nearer the scene of war was obtained for a large army, at the same time that the new rulers secured a stronger hold on the affections of their subjects by advancing some claim to their gratitude. Kublai's popularity increased at a rapid pace; and his brother Mangu supported him with his cordial assistance.

By these prudent preliminaries Kublai paved the way for the invasion of the country south of the river Kiang. It was not until two years after he commenced his preparations that he was in readiness to commence active operations. The necessity which had arisen for sending an army against the Coreans contributed, no doubt, to increase the delay, but it had been turned to useful account. During this period the Sung remained inactive behind their frontier, as if fascinated into a state of passiveness at the approach of a danger which, with a true presentiment, they felt they would be unable to resist. Their good behaviour, evinced too late, could retard neither the progress of fate nor the march of the Mongols.

The plan of campaign, which Kublai and his lieutenant Uriangkadai drew up, was marked by originality, and showed that the Mongols were fully resolved to conquer as much by skill and strategy, as by superiority in weapons, and the brute force of numbers. In the extreme south of China, with a people of different race to the rest of the country, lies the province of Yunnan. It has frequently been constituted as a separate kingdom, and at this period was divided into several principalities, independent of each other, and also of the Sung Emperor. Kublai resolved to commence his enterprise by the conquest of Yunnan—a bold scheme, but one which, if it could be successfully carried out, would result in the isolation of the Sung by the cutting-off of their communications with the west and the south.

From Shensi Kublai marched through Szchuen at the head of a large army, divided into three corps, and having rapidly traversed the latter province and crossed the upper course of the Yangtse on rafts, he found himself at his destination in front of the fortified city of Tali. The people of Yunnan were thunderstruck at this sudden invasion of their country by an army that seemed to reckon nothing of a march of a thousand miles, and of the passage of great mountain ranges and broad rivers. They could discover no better chance of defence than to shut themselves up in their cities and see whether the tornado would not retire as suddenly as it had arisen. The Mongols had never been deterred in their expeditions by walled cities, and the people of Yunnan soon

discovered that their fortifications were of no avail against their assailants. Several of the principal towns, including the capital Tali, were captured ; and when some Mongol officers were murdered, Kublai would have exacted a terrible revenge but for the exhortations of Yaochu to punish only the guilty and to spare the innocent. After this decisive success, further resistance on the part of the people of Yunnan stopped, and Kublai returned to Shensi, leaving Uriangkadai in chief command.

After Kublai's departure, Uriangkadai carried on operations with great vigour. Surrounded on all sides by independent tribes, and in the midst of a hostile population, he saw that his best chance of safety lay in unceasing activity. His first expedition was against the Toufan or Tibetan tribes, who had attained the zenith of their power some centuries before, and were now rapidly declining, but who had not yet forgotten all their martial prowess. Having inflicted several defeats upon these turbulent people, Uriangkadai turned his success to greater account by enlisting many of them in his service. He thus increased his small army by the addition of a valuable auxiliary corps, and, flushed with success, turned his arms in the direction of Burmah. The King of Ava and the numerous tribes that then held, and still hold, the fringe of country between China and the northern kingdoms of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, were next compelled to recognize the Mongol power, which had now made itself supreme to the south-west of the Sung territory. The bold enterprise conceived by Kublai was thus crowned with the most complete success.

Kublai's return to Shensi had been caused by the growing feeling of jealousy against him at his brother's court. Mangu himself had not been proof against the malign influences of his detractors, and, in A.D. 1257, took the extreme step of removing him from the high posts which he held in China. Kublai had none of the patience under personal injustice which moralists laud, and he gave some signs of an intention to resist with force the decree of the Great Khan. But his Mentor, Yaochu, was fortunately at hand to restrain his ardour, although it required a more than usual effort on the

part of this experienced minister to induce him to repress the promptings of his indignation. The term of his disgrace was not to be lengthy, and the blunders of those appointed to his place speedily produced his full justification. They strove to undo everything he had done for the Chinese, but their precipitate and ill-judged action only entailed their complete condemnation.

Kublai went in person to Mangu, protesting his innocence of the ulterior designs with which he had been charged, while each day showed more and more how indispensable he was for the proper administration of affairs in China. Mangu, greatly affected at the sight of his brother, forgave him his imaginary crime and reinstated him in his offices. To give increased importance to the occasion, and at the same time to show that he was resolved to take a more active part in the war, Mangu collected a large army and announced his intention of leading it in person against the Sung. Kublai was appointed to a command under him, and his next brother Arikbuka was left in charge of Mongolia.

In the meanwhile Uriangkadai's career of success in Yunnan continued. Tonquin had been added to those states already dependent upon his authority, and an outrage offered to his envoys had been amply avenged in the streets of Kiao-chi, the capital. But while the Mongols had been thus successful in the far south, the Chinese had re-entered Szchuen in greater force, and their increased garrisons occupied positions severing the Mongol communications with the army in Yunnan. That army, although victorious over the local levies, could not hope to long resist on its own unaided strength any determined attack on the part of the Sung. That the Sung were meditating an attack on Uriangkadai's exposed rear was made sufficiently plain by their increasing activity in Szchuen. If a large Mongol army was not to be left in a dangerous dilemma it was therefore high time for Mangu and his generals to bestir themselves."

Mangu began his march in the winter of A.D. 1257, when the ice still upon the Hoangho enabled his army to cross that barrier without delay. The Mongol army was then divided into three bodies, one to operate in each of the provinces,

Shensi, Houkwang, and Kiangnan, while Uriangkadai was ordered to march northwards and, if possible, to join Kublai. The hostile forces were thus converging upon the last of the Chinese kingdoms from four sides. Although there were encounters at the other points, the details are only preserved of those which were fought in Szchuen, where Mangu commanded in person; and here the resistance was of a stubborn character. In the neighbourhood of Chentu in particular the struggle was carried on with great bitterness. At one time in the possession of the Mongols, and then retaken by the Sung, its fate was not finally decided until Mangu's arrival with the main army, when the Sung withdrew their forces. Several victories followed, but they were all gained at such heavy cost that the result of the campaign cannot be considered to have been anything more than very dubious. The Sung fought throughout with bravery against their adverse fortune, and the Mongols progressed at a slow rate. An anxious consultation was held by their commanders at the end of the winter A.D. 1258-59, to decide whether they should return for the summer months to the north, or remain to prosecute the war. It was decided to remain, and active hostilities continued without intermission.

The new campaign began with the siege of Hochau, an important town in Szchuen, which had been entrusted to the charge of a brave and faithful officer named Wangkien. To the Mongol summons to surrender he replied by the arrest of the envoy, thus expressing his resolve to defend the place to the bitter death. The Mongol detachments marched from all quarters to the siege of this important place, and the garrison nerved itself to pass triumphantly through the coming ordeal. While Wangkien held bravely on to his post, another Chinese general, Luwenti, endeavoured by all the means in his power to harass the movements of the Mongols; so that Mangu very soon found that the capture of Hochau was a task of unusual difficulty. He might have succeeded in the end, when the garrison's stock of provisions had been exhausted, could he only have maintained his own position outside the walls long enough; but to the losses in the field were very soon added the ravages of dysentery, the plague of Eastern

armies. The siege continued throughout six months, and might have proceeded still further but for the death of the head Khan Mangu, who fell a victim to this disease. The Mongol generals at once resolved to retire into Shensi and to abandon for this occasion the attempt to seize Hochau.

Mangu's death, which seemed at first sight calculated to arrest the Mongol campaigns against the Sung, proved in reality the cause of their speedy and triumphant consummation, by again bringing Kublai to the front as their director. The troubles which immediately followed the death of the Khan Mangu produced a lull in the war, but, as soon as these were temporarily settled, Kublai turned all his attention to the consolidation of his position in the new sphere he had chosen, which was the Chinese Empire, in preference to an authority, weakened in significance, over the disjointed sections of the Mongol people.

Kublai was Mangu's proper heir, but his younger brother Arikbuka held possession of the centre of power in Mongolia. Arikbuka was also supported by all those who had grudged Kublai his good fortune and who had intrigued against him during the life of Mangu. It was clearly unsafe for Kublai to trust himself within his brother's power, but unless he went to Karakoram to attend the Kuriltai of the nation it was impossible to give validity to his proclamation as Mangu's successor. Kublai took a short road out of the difficulty by holding a council of his chief officers and supporters near Peking, when he assumed the functions and authority of the Great Khan. Arikbuka and the mass of the Mongols refused to recognize this illegal proceeding, and Arikbuka, with all the necessary formalities, and supported by the principal members of his House, took the same title at Karakoram. There can be no doubt that Arikbuka made up for much of the weakness of his claim by the manner of his election and by his popularity among the Mongols.

In A.D. 1261 Kublai marched at the head of a large army upon Karakoram, and, having defeated his brother, made good the superiority of his claims in the most forcible way that is recognized. Arikbuka fled to the Kirghiz, but he soon accepted the generous terms offered him by his brother.

He was reinstated in the rank due to a prince of the blood ; but Kublai returned to China, whither his tastes urged him, with the fixed determination to bring the long wars in that country to a conclusion. Discord within the ranks of the Mongols was to break out again at a later period and to cause grave anxiety to Kublai. But it became a matter of secondary importance, for henceforth we have to think of Kublai not as the Great Khan of the Mongols, but as the first Emperor of the Yuen dynasty of China.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FALL OF THE SUNGS.

BEFORE the death of Mangu, Kublai had obtained some minor successes over the Sung forces in the province of Houkwang, and when the tidings reached him he did not withdraw his troops from the positions he had seized on the southern bank of the Yangtse-kiang. The excessive confidence felt by the Sung in the impassability of that river had led them to neglect the defences of their towns in its neighbourhood. Kublai turned their mistake to the best possible advantage. The chief credit of forcing the passage of this river appears to have belonged to Tong Wen Ping, who, having captured some Chinese vessels, filled them with his most determined soldiers, and crossed in face of the Sung army. Kublai promptly reinforced this advanced-guard with his main body, when siege was laid to the important city of Wochow, the capital of the great dual province of Houkwang. The Mongol cavalry carried their raids into the province of Kiangsi, capturing the towns of Liukiang and Chouichow.

But meanwhile the garrison of Wochow held stoutly to its post, and large numbers of troops were fast assembling at Hanyang, the town in the fork formed by the Han and Kiang rivers. Unable to make any impression on the fortifications of Wochow, and apprehensive of the consequences of an abortive assault under the circumstances in which he found himself, Kublai turned a ready ear to the peace proposals sent by Litsong, who was terrified by the appearance of the Mongols in Kiangsi. As a matter of fact, the Mongol army, with a very uncertain command of the passage of the river,

and surrounded by numerous and rapidly increasing foes, was in a most dangerous position, out of which the panic of the Chinese alone extricated it. If Mongkong had only lived to have the command at this juncture, Kublai would in all probability never have regained the northern bank of the river he had so adventurously crossed, and the whole fortune of the war might have been changed. But as the event happened, Litsong acknowledged himself a Mongol vassal, paid a large tribute, and forbade his generals to take any offensive steps against Kublai's army. The Mongols withdrew across the Yangtse-kiang, the fame of this expedition and the treaty it produced bringing fresh lustre to their arms. None the less must Kublai's venture against Wochow be pronounced to have been imprudent, and one out of which he came with better fortune than he had any reason to anticipate.

It was fresh from this success—from having made the Sung Emperor a Mongol vassal—that Kublai came to settle as described the question of supremacy with his brother Arikbuka, and when he returned triumphant from Karakoram the thought that was uppermost in his mind was that nothing short of the annexation of the Sung territory would suffice to satisfy his own ambition, and to meet what he considered to be the political necessities of the day. Fresh cause of grievance had arisen between the neighbours. The Sung sought to evade the terms of the treaty, and went so far as to murder the envoys sent by Kublai to announce his proclamation as Great Khan. This conduct further embittered the contest and rendered the preservation of peace impossible.

During this period Kublai had neglected no means of making himself popular with his new subjects, by many of whom he was already regarded with more friendly eyes than any foreign ruler had ever been, and he had greatly strengthened his position in Northern China by adopting many native customs and by attaching to his person a chosen band of Chinese advisers. But perhaps the most important step he sanctioned was the personal interest he took in promoting Buddhism, and in gaining over to his interests the powerful class of the lamas. There appears to have been in this age a religious indifference, equal in its way to the political and

social decay plainly visible outside the vigorous ranks of the Mongols. The Buddhist lamas as a class were alone capable of making a resolute effort for a great and definite object. Sunk to a certain degree in the prevailing apathy, they still possessed cohesion among themselves, and stood apart from the rest of the nation on so many points, that their aid could not but be most useful to any individual knowing how to utilize their services. Kublai took them under his patronage, and they became his most devoted and trustworthy assistants.

Prominent among these was a young Tibetan, sprung from a family which during more than six centuries had given ministers to the kings of Tibet; and Kublai, despite his youth, made him the supreme lama, with the title of Pakba Lama. At a later period he sent him back to his own country with seals of office, and under Kublai's patronage he succeeded in making himself not only the chief religious, but the supreme secular authority as well in his own country. This may be considered the first proclamation of a Grand Lama, and it arose from the unbiassed conviction of Kublai, who saw in it a step towards the consolidation of his power. It was made the simpler of execution because Uriangkadai had conquered Western Szchuen and the approaches to the valley of the Sanpu. Scarcely less wisdom was shown in the proclamation granting their liberty to all the men of letters who had been taken prisoners by the Mongols during the long wars of this period. The Chinese were shrewd enough to see that Kublai represented the best traditions in their history, and that he endeavoured to guide his policy in accordance with them, whereas Litsong was typical only of weakness and decay.

Fresh troubles had arisen with the people of Corea who, ever tenacious of their liberty, refused to abide by the terms of the treaties imposed upon them by armies that were irresistible so long as they remained. One king had retired to a small island rather than sign his own disgrace, whilst another, although the friend of Kublai, had been seized with the national fervour, and placed himself at the head of the popular movement. But Kublai, knowing well the danger that always lurks in the despair of a people, resorted to

diplomatic means * to gain his end, and his diplomacy fared as well as the arms of his predecessors. Wangtien, the Korean king, became one of Kublai's firmest friends and allies.

No further task stood in the way of Kublai's commencing the final war with the Sung, who were reverting to the old policy of provocation, which had never succeeded and never could succeed. Kublai was the last man to tolerate wilful acts of hostility. The attack on Uriangkadai's rear-guard had not been forgotten, and other outrages swelled the bill of indictment against the Chinese. The detention of the Mongol ambassador and his suite crowned the mistakes of Litsong's government, and in the last year of that ruler's life Kublai issued a proclamation to the generals of his armies "to assemble their troops, to sharpen their swords and their pikes, and to prepare their bows and arrows," for he designed to attack the Chinese in the coming autumn "both by water and by land." The task was simplified by the defection of some of the principal Sung officers, who were disgusted and alarmed at the apathy of their king and the shortcomings of his court.

As if to compensate in a slight degree for these losses to the Sung, Litan, a Chinese general in Kublai's service, revolted against the Mongols. In Shantung, where he had been entrusted with a post of some responsibility, Litan collected a considerable band of troops and put to the sword

* The letter he wrote to Wangtien, the Korean king and his former friend, is well worth quotation, if only in part. "The Empire of the Mongols, founded by my grandsire of glorious memory Genghis Khan, has been so widely extended under his successors that it is composed of almost all the kingdoms enclosed between the four seas, and several even of our subjects possess the title of king, for themselves and their descendants, over vast extents of territory. Of all the countries of the earth there is only yours, beside that of the Sung, which has refused to submit to us. The Chinese regarded their great river the Kiang as a barrier which we should never be able to force, and I have just shown that belief to be a vain hope. They thought that the valour of the troops of Szchuen and Houkwang, joined to their impassable mountains, would preserve those two provinces for them; and, behold, we have beaten them everywhere, and hold their strong places. They are at this moment like fish deprived of water, or as birds in the net."—Mailla, vol. ix. p. 293.

the few Mongol detachments in garrison throughout the province. But his reign of independence was short-lived. Kublai sent fresh troops against him, and, after defending himself in his city with the courage of despair, the hour arrived when he was compelled to surrender. Litan's execution served to show intending rebels the futility of an attempt to shake off Mongol authority.

Meanwhile Litsong's long reign was drawing to a close. Unfortunate in the period in which his fate was set, he was still more unhappy in the ministers he employed. To Kiassetao, more than to any one else, must the final overthrow of the Sung be attributed, for it was by his order that the Mongol envoys were retained in confinement. His incapacity was undeniable, but he concealed it by an arrogant bearing that silenced if it did not deceive the world. Those who ventured to give the Emperor advice different from the wishes of this magnate were forthwith exiled to the lagoons of Fuhkien; so that few dared to cross the path of this formidable dictator. In many ways Kiassetao was a worse enemy to Litsong than the Mongols; and Litsong's death must have been a happy release to himself as the clouds were lowering more darkly than ever overhead, after Kublai's announcement of his intention to invade and conquer his territory. Litsong died in A.D. 1264, and his nephew Choki succeeded him as the Emperor Toutsong. One act of the Emperor Litsong deserves record. He conferred on the representative of Confucius the hereditary title of a duke which still exists.

Several circumstances combined to prevent Kublai, already engaged in the embellishment of Peking, from carrying out his plan as soon as he had intended. It is possible that he deferred his attack on the Sung kingdom because he saw that each day it was becoming weaker and less able to resist him. Whether he perceived this or not there is no question of the fact, for as steadily as Kublai's reputation for wisdom and for power grew, that of Toutsong not less perceptibly declined. When Kublai at length issued his final instructions for the campaign, they were based on a plan submitted to him by a renegade general of the Sung. He thus availed himself of

an experience and a local knowledge which his side had not possessed in the earlier wars. The proposed plan rested on the assumption that the capture of the strong and important city of Sianyang should form the starting-point in the conquest of the Sung. This was held to be not only necessary in a military but justifiable in a moral sense, because it had once been in the possession of the Mongols. Sianyang is still an important town on the southern bank of the Han river in the province of Hupeh. At this period it was strongly fortified, the capital of a well-populated and prosperous district, and it also commanded the main road from the province of Shensi. To the south of Tunkwan it completed, on the western frontier, the defences still left in the possession of the Chinese. Its capture proved to be the difficult task which the importance attached to it by the Sung indicated. But the advantages that would accrue from its fall had not been exaggerated. Sianyang once captured, the navigation of the Han would be at the mercy of the Mongols, who could then devote all their efforts towards making their power supreme on the Kiang river itself. When both these objects were accomplished there would be practically an end to the authority of the Sung.

In A.D. 1268 Kublai's army, computed to consist of sixty thousand veteran troops, with a large number of auxiliaries, and commanded by two generals, appeared before the walls of Sianyang. They occupied all the surrounding heights, which they fortified, and their entrenched camp extended over a line of ten miles. Having cut off all communications by land, they next took steps for intercepting the supplies sent up the Han river by water ; and this portion of their task was the more difficult because they had to construct their own war vessels. They set themselves to the work with their usual determination, and in a very short time fifty junks of larger build than those used by the Sung were equipped and ready to contest the passage of the Han river.

Meanwhile, Lieouwen Hoan, the governor of the two cities of Sianyang and Fanching, which communicated with each other by means of several bridges, was holding out with good cheer, neglecting no precaution to improve his position,

and opposing the Mongol attacks with steady and unflinching courage. Confident in the strength of the place—surrounded by thick walls and a deep fosse—in the number of his garrison, and in the copious supply of provisions stored in the granaries—capable, it was said, of meeting all wants “for a period of ten years”—Lieouwen Hoan met defiance with defiance, and answered threat by threat. Warned by the Mongols of the fate that awaited an obstinate and vain defence, Lieouwen Hoan retorted by threatening to drag their renegade general in chains into the presence of the master he had abandoned. The bitterness of the struggle developed greater intensity underneath the ramparts of Sianyang.

Although the Mongol army was constantly reinforced by bodies of fresh troops, and notwithstanding that Kublai himself devoted much of his attention to the subject, the siege of this Sung stronghold made very little progress. Several times were his generals compelled to change their position, to extend their lines at one point and to curtail them at another. But still Lieouwen Hoan's fortitude remained unshaken, and Kublai's lieutenants were baffled on every side. The Mongols succeeded in intercepting and driving back, with considerable loss to the Chinese, a flotilla of store ships; but even this success did not bring them nearer a satisfactory result, because Lieouwen Hoan's supplies were still sufficient for all his wants. The siege was beginning to languish, and seemed about to lose the special interest that had attached to it, when at the very same moment Kublai resolved to press it with greater vigour than ever, and the Sung minister, Kiassetao, came to the determination that it was necessary to do something towards effecting its relief. The main power of the two hostile states was therefore converging, by a common impulse, upon the same point. The siege had already lasted three years, and the events about to be described happened in the year A.D. 1270.

Kiassetao placed a large army in the field, but he entrusted the command to an incapable and inexperienced officer named Fanwenhu. The movements of this force were dilatory, and the timidity of the general did not afford much

promise of any vigorous attempt being made to succour Sianyang, and drive away the Mongols. Fortunately, there were some braver spirits in the Chinese army than the miserable and pusillanimous personages occupying the highest places in the realm. Litingchi, the governor of Ganlo, a town south of Sianyang, and also on the Han river, was one of the most determined of them, and he resolved to do something towards helping his colleague, Lieouwen Hoan. At this time Fanwenhu's great army was still engaged making its tardy march from the Eastern provinces; but Litingchi, knowing that in war promptitude counts for everything, came to the decision to strike a blow with the small force at his disposal. He collected three thousand men, who devoted themselves to the dangerous but honourable task he proposed to them; and having bade all those depart who did not feel equal to the perilous attempt, he completed his arrangements for throwing into Sianyang this reinforcement, with a large convoy of supplies in which Lieouwen Hoan had informed him that he was deficient.

Several hundred vessels, escorted by this brave band, commanded by Changkua and Changchun, advanced in two divisions down a tributary of the Han, upon Sianyang. The Mongols had impeded navigation by chains and other barriers; but the Chinese war-junks broke through them and forced their way onwards. The Mongols were apparently surprised, but fighting from their superior positions on the heights above the river, they were recovering the ground they had lost when the division under Changchun, devoting itself to destruction for the attainment of a great end, charged, and kept occupied for some hours the whole Mongol fleet. The store-ships escorted by Changkua passed safely on to Sianyang, where they were received with acclamations of profound joy. The relief at this reopening of communication with the outer world, after a confinement of three years, was intense. In their excitement, the garrison forgot the beleaguering foe outside, and threw the gates open as if the Mongols had given up the siege, and were in full retreat for their own northern regions. The iron ring was, however, still tightly drawn round Sianyang, and the disfigured body of the hero Changchun,

found floating past their walls, reminded them that the Mongols were as formidable as ever, and as resolute to attain their ends. After this successful reinforcement of the garrison, the Mongol lines were reformed, and nearer to the city ramparts. Both Lieouwen Hoan and Changkua were imprisoned in Sianyang, and the Sung were too poor in brave men to spare two for the same place. Litingchi was also hovering in the neighbourhood at the head of a lightly equipped force of five thousand men. With so small a body of troops, he could attempt nothing serious against the numerous and skilfully placed army of the Mongols.

Changkua had effected his purpose when he supplied the most pressing wants of Lieouwen Hoan and his garrison. It was no part of his mission to remain in idleness at Sianyang, and after a short rest he prepared to cut his way back through the Mongol force to join Litingchi in some other design for the harassing of Kublai's army. He mustered the companions of his former exploit to raise their courage anew, by extolling the glory that was already theirs, and by pointing out how it might be increased; but whilst addressing them he perceived that one of the band was missing, and immediately comprehended that he had deserted to the Mongols, to warn them of the attempt he was about to make. It was not by considerations of personal peril that the Chinese hero was to be turned back from the enterprise he had in view.

During the night he departed in the few war-junks that had escaped the encounter with the Mongols, and, having burst the chains placed across the river, cut his way through the first line of the Mongol fleet. It seemed at one moment as if he had accomplished his object; the straight course of the river showed apparently unguarded before him, and a beaten Mongol squadron lay behind. The morning light gave promise to Changkua of a safe issue for his daring feat. But it was not to be. In his path stood another fleet, whose ensigns showed that it was part of the Mongol force, and on the banks on either hand were the thousands of Kublai's army in readiness to overwhelm his handful. The odds against him were irresistible. There was no choice between surrender and a hopeless struggle; but Changkua never

hesitated to adopt the nobler part. So long as a ship held together, or as he could find an archer to bend a bow, or a spearman to use his spear, he fought on, and, when he was left the last of all his band, he refused to accept further favour at the hands of the Mongols than his death. Whether in admiration of his conduct, or out of a spirit of refined cruelty, the conqueror sent his body into Sianyang, where it was received with loud lamentations. The courageous Lieouwen Hoan caused it to be placed beside that of Changchun ; and the two heroes, who had been partners in as gallant a feat of arms as any recorded in history, were divided in neither their glory nor their death.

After this incident, the lines of the Mongols were drawn more closely round Sianyang, and greater resolution was shown in pressing the siege. Up to this point the Mongols had devoted their main attention to the city of Sianyang, but henceforth they included Fanching as well. By the advice of Alihaya, one of Kublai's generals, engineers accustomed to the use of machines capable of hurling vast stones with precision were brought from Persia. With these formidable engines the Mongols succeeded in demolishing many of the chief defences of Sianyang, and in destroying the bridges by which communication was maintained between that town and Fanching. No sooner was this accomplished than the Mongols concentrated all their efforts on the capture of Fanching, and after a prolonged bombardment delivered an assault which, although bravely resisted, proved successful. The garrison fought with the most determined courage and marvellous devotion. The battle raged from street to street, from house to house ; and, when there was no longer any possibility of continuing the contest, the officers, sooner than surrender, slew themselves, in which they were imitated by their men. The Mongols had indeed captured Fanching, but their triumph was only over a city of ruins and ashes.

With increased fury Alihaya turned all his engines against the ramparts of Sianyang, where Lieouwen Hoan still held bravely out, although the garrison was greatly discouraged by the capture of Fanching, and by succour not arriving from Kiassetao. But Lieouwen Hoan saw that his powers of

resistance were almost exhausted, and that unless aid promptly came his soldiers would refuse to continue what could only be a vain defence. Kublai's generals perceiving the temper of the garrison, made an offer of generous terms * to Lieouwen Hoan, if he would only yield. After some hesitation these were accepted. Sianyang, having thus held out for four years, surrendered, and Lieouwen Hoan transferred to Kublai the fidelity and courage of which he had shown the possession in the service of the Sung. The indifference manifested by Toutsong's government to the fate of this city had disgusted the most faithful followers of his cause, and injured the Sung reputation quite as much as it was by the actual loss of this double fortress.

Little as had been done for the relief of Sianyang its loss was felt by all to be a great blow to the native dynasty still governing the southern provinces of China. When Kiassetao announced its capture to Toutsong it seemed for a moment as if something of the old spirit of the royal race would reassert itself, and it required the exercise of all the minister's personal ascendancy to stifle Toutsong's first inclination to take a summary revenge on the real author of the disaster. Kiassetao's apathy and self-seeking policy had been the true causes of the surrender of Sianyang, and Toutsong's eyes were at last opened to his enormities. But the ruler lacked the moral courage to grapple with the difficulty, and to treat the traitor according to his deserts. He found it more congenial to his tastes to withdraw into the interior of his palace, and to pass his time in midnight debauchery. Toutsong appears to have felt deeply the degradation to which he was reduced, and sought forgetfulness in the wine-cup. His

* Kublai wrote the following letter to the commandant:—"The generous defence you have made during five years covers you with glory. It is the duty of every faithful subject to serve his prince at the expense of his life; but in the straits to which you are reduced, your strength exhausted, deprived of succour, and without hope of receiving any, would it be reasonable to sacrifice the lives of so many brave men out of sheer obstinacy? Submit in good faith to us, and no harm shall come to you. We promise you still more; and that is to provide each and all of you with honourable employment. You shall have no grounds for discontent, for that we pledge you our Imperial word."—Mailla, vol. ix. p. 332.

excesses, aggravated by the increasing anxiety and danger of his position, soon put an end to his existence, and the crown of the Sung was placed, by Kiassetao's direction, on the head of his second son, a child named Chaohien (A.D. 1274).

The capture of Sianyang was the greatest encouragement to the Mongols, and the strongest possible inducement to Kublai to devote all his energy to the conclusion of a war towards which his father had, forty years before, contributed so much in its earliest stages. Toutsong's death and the accession of a child prince, who could be nothing more than a tool in the hands of the incapable Kiassetao, were additional reasons in favour of the prompt and vigorous action upon which Kublai had at last decided. If there was wanted another inducement it was furnished by the fact that in Bayan of the Hundred Eyes, the greatest general of the age was available for the conduct of the war. Toutsong's death, far, therefore, from arresting Kublai's military preparations, had the effect of hurrying them on. The hour had come to strike home, and nothing of advantage could be obtained by delay.

Bayan's apprenticeship in the service of arms had been passed in the campaigns in Persia, where Khulagu had won great fame and founded a dynasty of kings. The opportunity now offered itself on another field of turning to account the military knowledge he had acquired in Western warfare. The army with which Kublai entrusted him was the larger of the two placed in the field. While one force marched into Kiangnan, the other under Bayan, assisted by three trusty and experienced lieutenants, advanced against Houkwang. In the path of each lay the same obstacle, the broad waters of the river Yangtse-kiang, but even north of that stream the Mongol advance was not unresisted.

A numerous gathering held the fortified town of Ganlo, situated south of Sianyang, but on the banks of the same river, and as all preparations had been made by its commandant, Litingchi, for a protracted defence, Bayan prudently refused to halt before it. Leaving a small corps to observe the Chinese force stationed there, the Mongols passed on to assail the main positions of the Sung, defending the passages

of the Great River. Chang Chikia, the commander at this point, sent a portion of his troops to harass the Mongols in their operations against the neighbouring cities; but his lieutenant was drawn into a general engagement, in which he lost his life and the greater number of his troops. This preliminary success was followed by the capture of Chayang, and its sister town Sinhing, where the garrisons were either put to the sword or committed self-destruction in imitation of the conduct of their leaders. In the siege of the latter place, Lieouwen Hoan, who had become a marked man among the faithful adherents of the cause he had abandoned, nearly met his death. Riding near the walls to receive what he supposed would be a proposal to surrender, he was greeted with a flight of arrows, which killed his horse and inflicted several severe wounds upon himself. Enraged at this treacherous conduct, as he considered it, Lieouwen Hoan vowed that he would not spare a man of the garrison, and pressed the siege operations with all the energy springing from a personal grievance. The commandant cheated him of the revenge on which he was confidently counting by throwing himself into the flames of his burning residence when further resistance appeared useless. Bayan, more magnanimous than the Chinese renegade, ordered that the bodies of the slain should be accorded honourable burial in token of his admiration of their bravery.

Bayan then continued his movement on the Kiang river, taking as his central object the three cities, Hankow, Wuchang, and Hanyang, situated at the junction of the Han river with the main stream. At this point the Chinese had concentrated their strength. The garrisons had been largely increased, and a numerous fleet defended the passage of the river. Had the general Hiakoue been equal to the occasion, the Mongols would never have succeeded in forcing a passage in face of the strong positions he held; but unfortunately he permitted himself to be outmanœuvred by his more skilful and enterprising opponent. By a series of feints which completely deceived Hiakoue, Bayan seized several important posts on the northern side of the Kiang, thus intercepting supplies and nullifying the superiority in which the Sung could still boast on the water. That that superiority

was not to remain undisputed or to long endure after their reverses on land was shown by the increasing activity of the Mongol fleet, which at the very commencement of the struggle obtained some advantage over the more numerous and confident Chinese squadron.

Meanwhile Bayan had thrown his main body against Hanyang, and, while his war-ships, under the command of Artchu, were driving the Chinese to take refuge in Wuchang, he was subjecting that place to a heavy bombardment from catapults and engines that hurled combustibles with a precision remarkable in those days. When sufficient damage had been inflicted on the fortifications, he ordered several assaults to be delivered against the cowed garrison, who, although enfeebled in courage and numbers, fought with some valour. Disheartened by defeats elsewhere, and by the overthrow of the fleet, which afforded them an avenue of escape, the garrison accepted the terms offered by Bayan, and Hanyang surrendered to the Mongols. Hankow had been captured shortly before this, and the only place that still held out was Wuchang, the most southern of these three cities. Against this the Mongols now directed all their efforts, but it offered no protracted resistance. Bayan, leaving behind a force of forty thousand men under his lieutenant Alihaya, continued his march upon the Sung capital, Lingan or Hangchow, the celebrated Kinsay of Marco Polo.

After the naval successes of the Mongols, the remainder of the Sung fleet; with a considerable portion of the army under the command of Hiakoue, had retired down the Kiang river towards the capital, whither they carried the panic prevailing in those districts which had beheld the triumph of Mongol arms. In this moment of trepidation the public voice denounced in no measured terms the incapacity and indifference of Kiassetao, who, to avoid a worse fate, felt compelled to place himself at the head of the national forces. Large levies of men were ordered, the reserve in the treasury was drawn out for the equipment of an army, and individuals were called upon to contribute with their money and their arms to the scheme of national defence too late devised.

Meanwhile Bayan's army was on the march. Hoanchow,

a town on the northern bank of the Kiang, and eastward of the scene of his late triumphs, was surrendered by its governor, on the promise of a reward, without detaining him for a day ; and Kichow, south of this city, followed the same example. In this portion of the war the services of Lieouwen Hoan proved invaluable, for many of the most important of the governors in the province of Kiangnan were gained over by his representations to the side of the Mongols. Without halting, Bayan crossed the Kiang and entered Kiangsi, establishing his head-quarters at the important town of Kiukiang. From this position he directly menaced the Sung capital, as well as the cities on the lower course of the river. The advantage thus obtained with such little difficulty was rendered the greater by the voluntary surrender of several towns in the valley of the Kankiang river and on the banks of Lake Poyang. The generosity which Bayan had shown towards his adversaries afforded a powerful inducement to the officials of a decrepit and expiring family, represented moreover by a child, to abandon a lost cause and to attach their fortunes to the rising power. What the humanity and generous instincts of Bayan began, the tact of Lieouwen Hoan and the arrogance of Kiassetao completed. Before the fighting was resumed, the cause of the Sung had been reduced to the lowest ebb by numerous desertions and by the half-heartedness of many who still remained faithful in name.

The Mongols had, therefore, obtained a good foothold in the southern provinces, and might with some confidence anticipate the final result before Kiassetao had so much as arrayed the army equipped out of the last resources of the Sung. That army consisted of not more than one hundred and thirty thousand men in addition to a fresh fleet ; but the major portion were untrained levies, largely composed of the effete aristocracy of Hangchow. What it lacked in strength and efficiency for war its general sought to replace by an unusual parade. His own equipage was magnificent, and his principal officers lounged on silken couches, and ate off plates of gold. Before taking the field, this commander sent, by a Mongol officer who had been made prisoner, a haughty

message to Bayan, asking him whether he would conclude a treaty of peace on the old footing of the Kiang river being the boundary between the two countries. Bayan's reply was that the proposal had come too late. Nothing short of an unconditional and complete surrender on the part of the Sung would satisfy the demands of the people who had beaten them in several successive campaigns, and who now virtually held them powerless in their grasp.

The fortified town of Chichow, on the Kiang, had been abandoned by the military commandant, but the civil governor, named Chao Maofa, resolved to hold it to the last, and made preparations for undergoing a siege. His efforts were neutralized by another traitor within the town, who concluded an agreement with the Mongol generals for its surrender as soon as they appeared before the walls. Unfortunately the views of the garrison were more in accord with the officer who desired to surrender than with him who wished to resist the Mongols to the last. When Bayan's army arrived, Chao Maofa found that none would follow him. He therefore put an end to his existence, as became a notable of the Empire; and his wife, Yongchi,* framed in a not less heroic mould, refused to leave him, and they died together. Bayan, always sympathetic towards acts of devotion and bravery, ordered that these two, the only worthy citizens of Chichow, should be accorded honourable burial.

The capture of this town was the prelude to the contest about to begin at the mouth of the great river, which now

* This is one of the noble episodes in Chinese history. When Chao Maofa saw clearly how matters stood, "he summoned his household and relatives to a great repast, and when it had nearly concluded he turned to his wife Yongchi, and said that in a very short time the town would be in the possession of the enemy, and that, having the honour to be one of the magnates of the Empire, he could not flee without covering himself with infamy. But as for his wife, he counselled her to retire to a place of safety while yet there was time. Yongchi replied that she felt strong enough to show herself worthy of him; but her husband answered, smiling, that women and children were incapable of so much fortitude. Yongchi would then have killed herself, but that he arrested her hand. On the morrow, when the Mongols had completed their task, the two retired to a room in the interior of the palace, and gave themselves their death-wounds."—Mailla, vol. ix. p. 348.

beheld victorious Mongol armies marching on either bank, and a hostile fleet riding proudly on its broad waters. Kiassetao felt that the time had at last come when he must cast aside his sluggishness, or want of courage, and make some effort to arrest the steady advance of the Mongol army. He accordingly took up a position in the neighbourhood of Nankin, and occupied an island in the river with half his army, and arrayed his fleet for the purpose of disputing the passage. The position on the island was entrusted to a corps of seventy thousand men, under the command of an inexperienced officer named Sunhouchin ; but it appears to have been not only badly defended, but also ill chosen.

Bayan marched against the Sung army in three divisions, the central one consisting of his fleet, still led by the intrepid Artchu. The Chinese were surprised, outmanœuvred and thoroughly beaten. Their resistance was very slight, as they seem to have been seized with an unreasoning panic. The Mongols pursued them with vigour, inflicting great losses upon them, and capturing their camp and all the rich spoil of a luxurious army. The Chinese fleet alone suffered small loss, but its escape was due to the precipitation or the caution shown by Hiakoue in withdrawing it from the encounter. On receiving the news of this defeat, Kiassetao at once withdrew to a place of greater safety, leaving the Mongols to continue their advance without further opposition. The defeat of Sunhouchin and the flight of Hiakoue's ships left Bayan master of the whole course of the Kiang river, and in a position to complete his preparations against the Sung capital.

Among the immediate consequences of this victory was the capture of Nankin, the governor of which, unable to fulfil his charge, saved his honour in the same manner as Chao Maofa had done at Chichow. He, too, invited all his connections and followers to a banquet, and then took the ready poison. In this instance proof was found also that the man who could regard death with such indifference was capable of devising a bold scheme of defence for the country. When his palace was being sacked by the Mongols, an officer discovered a plan of operations, addressed to Kiassetao, which

he brought under the notice of Bayan. That general, on perusing it, exclaimed, "Is it possible that the Sung's possessed a man capable of giving such prudent counsel? If they had paid heed to it, should we ever have reached this spot?"

By this time the main body had been, as the result of a grand council of war between the Chinese generals, Kiassetao, Hiakoue and Sunhouchin, withdrawn to Hangchow for the defence of the Emperor, while Hiakoue, with the fleet and a smaller force, remained to dispute the passage from the Kiang river to the open sea. No serious objection was made to the proposed removal of the Emperor and the court, for it was evident that the arrival of the Mongols was only a question of time, and Bayan's energy was so great that at any moment he might be expected. But still no determination was concluded, or, if concluded, carried into execution. Summer was then at its height, and Kublai wished that the army should halt and wait, before renewing the war, for the cooler weather of autumn. But it was no part of Bayan's plan to delay his final attack and give time for the Sung's to recover from their panic. His reply was characteristic of the man. He said that "to relax your grip, even for a moment, on an enemy whom you have held by the throat for a hundred years, would only be to give him time to recover his breath, to restore his forces, and in the end to cause us an infinity of trouble." Kublai had the wisdom to reply that, not being on the spot, he would leave the question in the hands of his general. Kublai's own inclinations are said to have been in favour of peace and of an arrangement with the Chinese; but Bayan saw more accurately the necessity of settling the matter once and for all.

At this moment, when Fortune wore her darkest aspect for the Sung's, the successes of the general named Chang Chikia revived their courage and gave them some better hope than the promptings of despair. He recaptured several towns in Kiangsi, and drove the smaller detachments of the Mongols back on Bayan's main body. A proclamation was issued by the Empress Regent calling upon all of Chinese race to oppose the Mongols with their utmost vigour; and

there can be no doubt that, had Bayan put off operations as desired by Kublai, the Sung would in the autumn have been much better prepared to resist the Mongols. The murder of several Mongol officers and envoys further increased the bitterness of the contest, and all hopes of a pacific settlement vanished in face of these outrages. At this crisis Bayan was recalled by Kublai for the purpose of leading an army against Kaidu.

The Mongols had not been less successful in the west of China than we have seen them to be in the Eastern provinces. Alihaya, who had been left in command at Wuchang, had overthrown a fleet and army collected in Szchuen and Hoonan for the recovery of that town, and had won a great naval fight on the Tungting lake. Still further west Wang Leangchin, the governor of the portion of Szchuen subdued by the Mongols in the Yunnan campaign, wrested from the Sung the few districts that remained in their possession, thus effecting a junction with the forces of Alihaya. On all sides, therefore, the Mongols had overcome the national resistance, save where the relics of the Sung fleet and army lay assembled round the capital under the command of Chang Chikia; for before this the powerful and incapable minister, Kiassetao, had fallen into disgrace, and the Empress Regent, yielding to the force of popular indignation, had removed him from all his offices and banished him for life. A private enemy, of whom he had so many that in his fall he could not have hoped to escape their malice, was appointed to conduct him to a remote spot in Fuhkien; but he was not fated to reach it. Having been subjected to every species of indignity on the way, he was murdered in a temple whither he had gone to rest from the noonday sun. Thus ignobly fell, by the hands of an assassin, the man whose incapacity and love of luxury had contributed more than any other cause to the ruin of the Sung dynasty.

Chang Chikia, now the only supporter left of the Sung cause, resolved to assume the offensive while the Mongols were still suffering from some of the effects of Bayan's absence. He accordingly sailed up the Kiang at the head of a vast fleet, computed to number not fewer than two

thousand vessels of war, with the intention of attacking the Mongol positions below Nankin. The encounter took place off Changkiang, near which place the river widens into a noble stream at the point where on both sides the Imperial Canal enters the Kiang; but, although Chang Chikia delivered his attack with resolution, Artchu, the Mongol commander, proved himself fully capable of sustaining the reputation of his race for invincibility. The approach of the Chinese fleet was discovered long before it reached the neighbourhood of the Mongol forts; and Artchu had time to devise a scheme for its reception. Placing his best marksmen, who were instructed to attach lighted pitch and other combustibles to their arrows, in the largest of his vessels, which he supported with the remainder of his fleet, he then advanced to attack the Chinese, probably driving them before him into the narrow part of the river where their numbers would place them at a disadvantage. The Chinese fought well but with little skill. Some of their ships were set on fire, carrying confusion throughout the rest of the unwieldy flotilla, and an uncontrollable panic seized Chang Chikia's armada. The loss was tremendous. Seven hundred vessels remained in the hands of the Mongols, whilst a still greater number were either burnt or sunk. Those that escaped this fatal day were so overwhelmed by the blow that they never afterwards dared to attack the Mongols save with an amount of trepidation that rendered victory next to impossible. As if to complete the effect of this victory, Bayan at this moment returned from Peking to again assume the chief command of the Chinese war.

Whilst Artchu, who had shown himself to be a worthy coadjutor of the great Bayan, laid siege to Yangchow, in Kiangsu, Bayan himself concentrated the scattered garrisons for an advance upon Hangchow, where the Sung court still tarried in hope of better times. The first resistance to the Mongol attack was made at the fortress of Changchow, on the Imperial Canal, where some of the Chinese generals collected their shattered forces, resolved to hold out with the last drop of their blood. Bayan defeated several detachments sent to effect its relief, but the fortitude of its defenders

compelled him to besiege it in form. To all his promises and arguments there was made the uniform reply that they held it for their master, and would continue to hold it with their lives. The delay caused by this resistance ruffled the usually serene disposition of Bayan, and for the first time in his career he used threats towards a garrison endeavouring to perform its duty. His threats were as unavailing as his promises and his appeals to the hard logic of fact. At length the town was carried by assault; all the Chinese officers were slain except one, who cut his way out with eight followers; and the Mongols, breaking loose from the restraining influence of their general, put every one they came across to the sword. The massacre of the brave garrison and inhabitants of Changchow is the single stain on Bayan's reputation.*

Meanwhile all was in confusion at Hangchow, where there was none to direct the military preparations commenced for its defence. The Mongol armies were converging on it both from the north and from the west, for while Bayan had been delayed before Changchow, another force was rapidly advancing through Kiangsi on the doomed capital. In these straits an embassy was sent to Bayan imploring peace on any conditions. "Our ruler is young, and cannot be held responsible for the differences that have arisen between the peoples. Kiassetao, the guilty one, has been punished; give us peace, and we shall be better friends for the future." Such was the burden of their message. Bayan's reply was to the point. "The age of your prince has nothing to do with the question between us. The war must go on to its legitimate end. Further argument is useless."

After the capture of Changchow no further obstacle worthy of the name remained in Bayan's path. The important towns Souchow and Kiahing, on the Imperial Canal, both

* There is much doubt whether the facts were exactly as stated in the Chinese history. Marco Polo says that the force Bayan left in possession was first massacred by the Chinese, and that Bayan only ordered the destruction of the town in expiation for this offence. See Marco Polo, vol. ii., p. 41, and Colonel Yule's notes.

surrendered to him without resistance. As a precaution, several of the princes of the Imperial family were now sent into Fuhkien, and all those who had the power began their preparations for withdrawing to a place of safety. The Empress Regent refused all proposals to retire with the Emperor to the south, and in a very few weeks after the plan was first mooted its execution was rendered impossible by the arrival of the Mongol army. Hangchow was in no position to offer a protracted defence, and the Empress Regent made, therefore, an unconditional surrender. The terms were arranged by conferences in Bayan's camp, and, after appointing a tribunal for the administration of affairs, it does not appear that the Mongols in any way interfered with the government of the city. Bayan made a triumphal progress through the streets at the head of his army, whilst one of his officers notified to the Empress that she and the Emperor would have to set out with as little delay as possible for Kublai's court. Kongtsong, accompanied by all his relations who had been taken at Hangchow, was sent to the northern capital, thus closing his reign and virtually the Sung dynasty as well. His mother summed up the situation in the words, "The Son of Heaven grants you the favour of sparing your life; it is just to thank him for it, and to pay him homage."

After the capture of the capital, many of the great generals and officials of the Sung made their obedience to Kublai. The departure of the Emperor and of the principal members of his family removed the objects of their fidelity. The country was exhausted and tired of war. It wished for peace, and would accept the favour with some gratitude even at the hands of an enemy. Hiakoue and several other Sung commanders received from the hands of Kublai a reappointment to their different functions. There were still some exceptions to this wide-spread worshipping of the rising sun, and a few brave men preferred to encounter all the dangers of an unequal struggle to recognizing a foreign enemy as their master.

The relics of the Chinese army rallied at Wenchow, in Chekiang, under the command of the two princes, Ywang

and Kwang Wang, with whom still remained the faithful Chang Chikia. The former of these princes was declared Emperor, and the people of the coast and the southern provinces gathered round these representatives of their ancient kings. The immediate effects of their proclamation were to arrest the defection of many Chinese who meditated going over to the side of the Mongols, and to attract a very considerable force to their standard. Several skirmishes were fought and won, and these princes established their headquarters at Foochow, the capital of Fuhkien. These preliminary advantages were followed up, and for a moment it seemed as if the tide of Mongol success was not only arrested, but on the point of being rolled back. The successes were, however, only hollow and deceptive. They were more than counterbalanced at the time by the capture of Yangchow in Kiangsu, which had long resisted under the command of Litingchi the utmost efforts of Artchu and a chosen force.

After the surrender of that fortress, the Mongols resumed operations on a larger and more active scale in the south, where they had not enjoyed unvaried success. Their attention was called the more urgently to the matter by the tidings of a defeat inflicted upon one of their lieutenants in the neighbourhood of Canton. The Mongols rapidly advanced out of Kiangsi for the purpose of restoring their shaken authority, and a victory at Nanyong, in the north of Kwantung, more than compensated for the defeat near Canton. Following up their advantages with their usual rapidity, they had in a few days also seized Chaochow, where the Chinese vainly sought to defend their homes from the housetops and in barricaded streets. The main army of the Sung was still more unfortunate. In a great battle at Chuchow, in Chekiang, it was driven from the field with heavy loss, and many of the leaders, who could ill be spared, were among the slain. The Sung princes then retired from Foochow to Siuenchow, a harbour further to the south—having only succeeded in evading the pursuing Mongol fleet in a mist. At this place the governor received them with very little friendly feeling, and in consequence of some

misunderstanding even turned his arms against his fellow-countrymen. The Sung fleet was then obliged to seek another asylum. The year A.D. 1276 closed in unrelieved gloom for the cause of the native rulers. They had lost possession of every province, with the exception of a few districts in Kwantung and Fuhkien.

During that winter Kublai's attention was again summoned to affairs in Mongolia, where his nephew Kaidu had renewed his hostile measures; and this afforded the Sung an opportunity for momentarily recovering some of the ground they had lost. The Mongol armies speedily returned, vanquished the Chinese forces, and left the Sung princes no place of safety except their vessels and some of the lonely islands off the Canton estuary. Canton itself had before this been again taken by the Mongol forces. In this extremity the young Emperor died, but a few brave men were still left resolved to continue the struggle. Another prince was declared Emperor by this faithful but much reduced band, under the name of Tiping, and Chang Chikia and a few other resolute adherents prepared to renew hostilities with the Mongols. "If Heaven has not resolved to overthrow the Sung," said one of them, "do you think that even now it cannot restore their ruined throne?" Tiping's proclamation was made in the year A.D. 1278; but, instead of being the inauguration of a more prosperous period in the history of the dynasty, it was only the prelude to its fall.

The Sung prince took refuge with his fleet in a natural harbour in an island named Tai, which could only be entered with a favourable tide, and there Chang Chikia set himself to work with all his energy to prepare for a renewal of the contest. He had not neglected any precautions for the defence of the position he held should he be attacked in it. His fortifications crowned the heights above the bay, and nearly two hundred thousand men were under his orders. The Mongol fleet at last discovered the whereabouts of the Chinese place of retreat, and prepared to attack it. Reinforcements were procured from Canton, and on their arrival the signal was given for an immediate assault on the position held by Chang Chikia and the only force remaining to the Sung.

The Mongols attacked with their usual impetuosity, but after two days' fighting they had obtained no decisive advantage. The Chinese fought with great gallantry, and under Chang Chikia's leading their rude valour was supplemented by his skilful dispositions. On the third day the Mongol admiral Chang Hofan, who happened to be a connection of the Chinese commander, renewed his attack, and after a stubbornly contested engagement succeeded in throwing the Chinese fleet into confusion. There can be no doubt that not a ship would have made good its escape but for a heavy mist which suddenly fell over the scene, when Chang Chika succeeded in making his way out to sea, and his example was imitated by sixteen vessels.

The vessel of the Emperor had not the same good fortune. Unable to extricate itself from the press of battle, it fell into the power of the victor. In this desperate situation Lou-sionfoo, one of the most faithful of the Sung ministers, resolved to save the honour if not the life of his master. Having thrown into the sea his own wife and children, he took the Emperor in his arms, and jumped overboard with him. The greater number of the officers adopted the same resolution. Thus perished Tiping, the last of the Sung Emperors.

Meanwhile Chang Chikia was sailing away in search of another place of refuge; but his first thought still was more of the cause to which he was attached than of saving a life which had become of little value. On learning the death of Tiping, he requested the mother of that prince, who had escaped with him, to choose a member of the Sung family to succeed him; but the grief at the loss of a son proved more potent than any inducement on public grounds to name a successor. She refused to be consoled for her loss, and seeing no hope left, threw herself overboard, thus putting an end to her anxieties. The high courage of Chang Chikia would not recognize the impossibility of retrieving their defeat, and he accordingly continued to sail in the direction of the south, where he might be safe from the Mongol pursuit, and could obtain some fresh succours from the tributary states of that region.

In this hope he was not to be disappointed, for the ruler of Tonquin not only gave him a friendly reception, but assisted him to refit his fleet, to lay in stores, and to collect fresh troops. Having thus recovered to some extent from the effects of his recent defeat, Chang Chikia resolved to return without delay, expecting to seize Canton by a sudden attack and to renew the struggle with Kublai's forces. His followers endeavoured to dissuade him from the attempt, but he was determined to again tempt fortune ; and perhaps he felt assured that unless he resorted to some vigorous course, not only would the cause of the Sung be utterly ruined, but his own chosen band would in all probability break up and desert him. In A.D. 1279, twelve months after the death of Tiping, a Chinese fleet, representing the expiring effort of the Sung family, was bearing down on the city of Canton with hostile intent, and under the command of a man whose resolution and valour alone would have made the cause he represented formidable. There is no information extant as to whether the Mongols were aware of the approaching enemy, or whether they were in sufficient strength to successfully resist a sudden attack. At the most favourable supposition, however, Chang Chikia could not have obtained more than a local and temporary success. The Mongol position was then too thoroughly assured—Kublai's power being at its apex—for this semi-piratical squadron to have achieved any durable success.

But the Fates willed that the blow, however forcible or feeble it might have proved, should not be struck. The approaching peril dissolved itself into a vain and empty menace before the wrathful elements of the China Sea. Chang Chikia's fleet had not turned the southern headland of the Kwantung coast when it encountered a terrific hurricane which destroyed the great majority, if not all, of Chang Chikia's ships. That gallant leader had refused to seek shelter under lee of the shore until the tempest had exhausted itself, and he paid the penalty of his temerity. He burnt incense to the deities of the waters, and expected that the observance of a few superstitious rites would allay the force of the waves, and still the blasts of the typhoon.

But on this occasion the simple faith of the Chinese hero produced no result, and when his vessel was overwhelmed and sank with all on board, the last champion of the Sung dynasty disappeared. "I have done everything I could," he exclaimed when entreated to seek a harbour of refuge, "to sustain on the throne the Sung dynasty. When one prince died I caused another to be proclaimed Emperor. He also has perished, and I still live! Oh, Heaven! should I be acting against thy decrees, if I sought to place a new prince of this family on the throne?" His plans and hopes received a sudden and unexpected solution and response; but the valour and fidelity of the brave and faithful Chang Chikia will still remain as a striking and instructive example of the devotion sometimes shown by an adherent to the fallen fortunes of a royal family and a ruling House.

The conquest of China was thus completed. The kingdom of the Sung, after nearly half a century of warfare, had shared the fate of its old enemy and rival, the Kin; and Kublai Khan had consummated the design commenced seventy years before by his grandfather Genghis. The long and obstinate resistance of the Chinese, despite treachery and incapacity in high places, against the first soldiers in the world, led by great princes such as Genghis, Tuli and Kublai, and by the most accomplished of living generals, Subutai, Bayan and Artchu, is the clearest of proofs how vigorous must have been the latent strength of the Sung kingdom, strictly speaking the sole representative of ancient China.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE YUEN DYNASTY.*

Kublai Khan.

WHILE the war with the Sung was in progress Kublai's authority had been steadily extending itself throughout Northern China, and acquiring a greater hold on both the affection and respect of the people. Several years before the death of Tiping and the last essay of Chang Chikia, Kublai had given his dynasty a distinctive name, and had assumed the title of Chitsou. Summoning to his court the most eminent of the Chinese ministers, and assisted by many skilful administrators from Western Asia and even from Europe, among whom was the Venetian traveller Marco Polo, Kublai's government had special elements of security, and was capable of attracting the sympathy and good-will of the indifferent as well as of crushing the opposition of its enemies. The skill and good fortune of his three principal generals—Bayan, Alihaya and Artchu—enabled him to devote all his attention to the consolidation of Mongol supremacy north of the Kiang river, where, it will not be forgotten, it had been established ever since the fall of the Kins forty years before, and where, amongst a population of semi-Tartar origin, and long accustomed to Tartar domination, there was less difficulty in adapting the customs brought from the wilds of Mongolia to the institutions of an alien population. When Kublai

* In A.D. 1271 Kublai gave his dynasty the name of the Yuen or Original. The Mongols in China are henceforth to be known by that name.

returned to his capital, Cambaluc or Peking,* after his first war with his brother, Arikbuka, it was with the full intention of beginning a fresh era in Chinese history. Adopting all the advantages to be obtained from the ancient Chinese civilization, he only grafted upon it the greater vigour and military qualities of his northern race. Assisted by some of the most remarkable generals and ministers of the age, he soon succeeded in attaining his object and in making his court the most brilliant of the time. The final overthrow of the Sungs, the capture of their Emperor, the surrender of their capital, and, finally, the defeat of the last champions of their cause, all tended to facilitate the accomplishment of this task and to hasten its consummation.

From his earliest youth Kublai had given great promise of future valour and ability. His courage in a battle nearly fifty years before this time had been conspicuous, and his grandfather Genghis had predicted a more brilliant future for him than for any other of his children or grandchildren. The acts of his matured age amply confirmed any prophecies that may have been hazarded about his future career, and when the Sungs were vanquished he could boast that he had carved out in Eastern Asia an Empire not less

* Cambaluc or Khanbalig—"the city of the Khan"—the name of Peking, or the Northern Capital, was made for the first time capital of China by the Mongols. A city near, or on its site, had been the chief town of an independent kingdom on several occasions, *e.g.* of Yen, of the Khitans, and of the Kins. A long description is given in Marco Polo. There were, according to him, twelve gates, at each of which was stationed a guard of one thousand men; and the streets were so straight and wide that you could see from one end to the other, or from gate to gate. The extent given of the walls varies: according to the highest estimate, they were twenty-seven miles round, according to the lowest eighteen. The Khan's palace at Chandu, or Kaipingfoo, north of Peking, where he built a magnificent summer palace, kept his stud of horses, and carried out his love of the chase in the immense park and preserves attached, may be considered the Windsor of this Chinese monarch. The position of Peking had, and still has, much to recommend it as the site of a capital. The Mings, after proclaiming Nankin the capital, made scarcely less use of Peking, and Chuntche, the first of the Manchus, adopted it as his. It is scarcely necessary to add that it has since remained the sole metropolis of the Empire. See Marco Polo, *passim*; Amiot's "Memoires sur les Chinois," tom. ii. p. 553; Pauthier, pp. 353, 354.

splendid than that formed by Genghis in the North and the West.

When Kublai permanently established himself at Peking he drew up consistent lines of policy on all the great questions with which it was likely he would have to deal, and he always endeavoured to act upon these set principles. In framing this system of government he was greatly assisted by his old friend and tutor, Yaochu, as well as by other Chinese ministers. He was thus enabled to deal wisely and also vigorously with a society with which he was only imperfectly acquainted ; and the impartiality and insight into human character, which were his main characteristics, greatly simplified the difficult task that he had to accomplish. In nothing was his impartiality more clearly shown than in his attitude with regard to religion. Free from the prejudices and superstition of the Early Mongol faith, the family of Genghis had always been characterized by a marked indifference to matters of religion, and Kublai carried this indifference still further than any of his predecessors had done. His impartiality showed not the working of a well-balanced judgment towards the convictions of others, but rather the absence of all sentiment and the presence of a hard and unattractive materialism.

He at first treated with equal consideration Buddhism and Mahomedanism, the creed of the Christian and that of the Jew. He is reported to have said that there were four Prophets revered by all the world, and that he worshipped and paid respect to them all in the hope that the greatest among them in heaven might aid him. Whether this statement may be accepted with implicit credence or not, there can be little doubt that it expresses with sufficient accuracy Kublai's views in matters of religion. He made a politic use of one and all ; and he worked upon men by their fears and by humouring their predilections. Some have imagined that he sympathized with Christianity, but his measures in support of Buddhism and in favour of his friend the young Pakba Lama were much more pronounced than anything he ever undertook for the Nestorians or the Jews. Whatever his own secret convictions may have been, none

were ever admitted into his inner confidence ; but in his acts he evinced a politic tolerance towards all creeds, and none could say that he favoured one more than another.

But if Kublai was tolerant or indifferent in matters of religious belief, he was very firm in requiring from all prayers and adoration for himself as the Emperor of the realm. Priests were appointed and particularly enjoined to offer up prayers on his behalf before the people, who were required to attend these services and to join in the responses. About the same time Kublai also adopted the Chinese practice of erecting a temple to his ancestors, whom he named for several generations before Genghis. Coins with his image stamped upon them were circulated freely, and images of himself were sent to the principal towns to be paid reverence to by the people. These decrees were all passed before the year A.D. 1270, and no means were spared for rendering his rule popular with his new subjects. At first it will be perceived that he identified himself with no cause or party in particular ; but, as time went on, and as he appreciated the situation more accurately, he discarded this impartiality, and identified himself with many of the prejudices and views of the mass of the Chinese people.

Naturally fond of pomp, and knowing how much the masses are impressed by the glitter of a gorgeous court, Kublai caused a state ceremonial to be drawn up of a magnificent character. His courtiers were required to dress after a uniform fashion, and to appear in fixed apparel on all state occasions. His banquets were of the most sumptuous description. Strangers from foreign states were admitted to the presence, and dined at a table set apart for travellers, while the great king himself feasted in the full gaze of his people. His courtiers, generals, and ministers, attended by a host of servitors, and protected from enemies by twenty thousand guards, the pick of the Mongol army ; the countless wealth seized in the capitals of numerous kingdoms ; the brilliance of intellect among his chief adherents and supporters ; the martial character of the race that lent itself almost as well to the pageantry of a court as to the stern reality of battle ; and, finally, the majesty of the great king himself—all

combined to make Kublai's court and capital the most splendid at that time in the world. The gossipy, but shrewd and observant, Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, whose account of the countries of Asia illustrated an unknown continent, describes, in his own quaint way, the mode of life and the ceremonies in vogue at Kublai's capital. The curious in such matters will find that after six centuries the interest has not departed from his pages, which give us corroborative proof of the evidence we have from other sources.

When Kublai returned from his first campaign against Arikbuka he proclaimed his intention of proceeding no more to the wars. Henceforth he would, he said, conduct his military operations, not in person, but by his lieutenants. He was led to this decision partly by his increasing years,* and partly by the extent of his Empire, which necessitated vigilance at all points. For even before the overthrow of the Sungs he was meditating fresh conquests, and either actuated by some conviction of political necessities of which we must necessarily be ignorant, or goaded into action by the irrepressible energy of his race, he had resolved on prosecuting an enterprise for which no necessity existed and the benefit of which was more than doubtful. That enterprise was the invasion of Japan.

The old connection between China and the islands of Japan has been several times referred to, and it has been stated that the ruling dynasty in that country was supposed to trace back its descent to Taipe, a Chinese exile in the twelfth century before our era. At various periods the relations between the two states had been drawn more closely together than the intercourse usual between neighbours; and although the Emperor of China had always been allowed a

* Kublai was born in the eighth month of the year A.D. 1216, and was the fourth son of Tuli, himself the fourth son of Genghis by his favourite wife. He was proclaimed Khakhan on his brother Mangu's death in A.D. 1260. Marco Polo describes his appearance as follows:—"He is of a good stature, neither tall nor short, but of a middle height. He has a becoming amount of flesh, and is very shapely in all his limbs. His complexion is white and red, the eyes black and fine, the nose well formed and well set on." His conquest of Yunnan in A.D. 1253-54 was the most remarkable of his military achievements.

superior position, and had sometimes asserted his shadowy claims to exact feudal rights, the Japanese Government had none the less maintained and preserved its independence with good-tempered firmness. There had been one conflict between the states in the case of Corea, but the result had been to inspire them with a mutual respect. The islanders of "the rising sun," safe in their insular position, had remained undisturbed by the great Mongol outpouring which had revolutionized the face of Asia. If they were aware of the startling changes on the mainland, nothing more than the echo reached their shores. Kublai was apparently piqued at their indifferent attitude towards his power, and resolved at an early stage in his career to bring them within the sphere of his influence.

In A.D. 1266, Kublai had sent two envoys with a letter from himself to the King of Japan, complaining that no friendly message had been received since his accession to power, and that it would be well to repair this omission as soon as possible in order to avoid the horrors of war. But neither the envoys nor the letter reached their destination. The Mongol messengers travelled by way of Corea, which held more intercourse with Japan than the other countries of Northern China, and which was allied on terms of friendship with Kublai; but when requested to assist these envoys in reaching their destination, all the Coreans did was to point to the danger and difficulty of the voyage, and to expatiate on the inaccessibility of Japan. Unaccustomed to the sea, these Mongols were easily dissuaded from their undertaking, and returned to Kublai's court without having delivered their letter or accomplished any portion of their mission. After this abortive attempt, the continued silence or indifference of the Japanese was treated as proof of their hostility. Two years later, in A.D. 1268, Kublai sent orders to the Corean ruler to collect his naval and military forces and to hold them disposable for his service. The war with the Sungs was still far from being settled, and it was uncertain whether Kublai would employ this auxiliary force against Japan or against the Chinese; but the Corean king promised to place at the service of the Mongols a fleet of one thousand vessels and ten

thousand men. Kublai sent one of his officers to inspect, and apparently also to instruct, the forces of this new ally and dependent.

In the following years Kublai's attention was frequently directed to the consideration of the subject of how he might best accomplish the chastisement of the Japanese, and as soon as the result of the Chinese war had become well assured, he adopted more active measures for the attainment of his object. In A.D. 1274 he sent a small fleet of three hundred vessels and fifteen thousand men against Japan, but the result was unfortunate. The Japanese attacked it off the island of Tsusima, and inflicted a great defeat upon the Mongols. Apparently the larger portion of this fleet consisted of the contingent provided by the King of Corea ; and Kublai does not seem to have thought that his military honour was in any degree involved in this disaster, for in the years immediately following he showed greater inclination than at any previous time to come to terms with the Japanese. The Japanese, inflated by their naval victory, and confident in their insular position, refused to yield, in either form or substance, to the pretensions of Kublai, and, at last, either anxious to show the firmness of their resolve or desirous of bringing the tedious discussions to an end, they caused some of the Mongol envoys to be murdered in A.D. 1280. This violation of the laws common to all humanity, left Kublai no choice save to vindicate his majesty. He was the less disinclined to make the attempt because the conquest of Southern China had been completed, and a large body of disbanded Chinese troops, who had deserted from the Sung, were available for military operations. At the time it must have seemed that the Japanese had chosen a bad moment for bringing their differences with a formidable enemy to a head.

During the year A.D. 1280-81, great preparations were made in all the harbours of Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Fuhkien for the expedition which was to punish and subdue the bold islanders who had openly defied the great conquerors of the continent. The fleets and the armies released by the destruction of the last vestiges of Sung power were concentrated in the eastern seaports, and a large number of the survivors

of the Chinese armies were re-enlisted for the purposes of this war. The total force to be employed considerably exceeded one hundred thousand men, of whom it is not probable that more than one-third were Mongols. The large number of native troops employed is shown by, among other circumstances, the harbours from which they set out, which were Kincsay and Zayton (Chinchow), the nearest and most convenient for the despatch of the troops stationed in the south. A preferable plan, because minimizing the sea-voyage for the inexpert Mongol sailors, would have been to have concentrated the army of invasion in Corea, and to have thence directed it against Japan. But this would have involved much preliminary marching to and fro, and the courage of the Chinese recruits would probably have evaporated long before a start could have been made. Moreover, the war was far from popular with the Mongols themselves, and the principal object of the Pekin Council was to get the business done as quickly as possible, and before the army had relaxed the energy which counts for so much in the prosecution of a war. Although, therefore, it entailed a long sea-voyage, it was from the harbours of Zayton and Kincsay that this great armada set sail.

As is often the case in an army composed of mixed nationalities, two generals were appointed to the command, one a Chinese and the other a Mongol; but the arrangement did not in this or in any other instance conduce to harmony. Numerous points arose for settlement, but they proved only provocative of dissension. One general fell ill and had to resign his command, and another disappeared during a storm at sea. When the wind-shattered fleet reached the islets off the south-western coast of Japan, it was reduced in numbers and the men were disheartened in courage. The Japanese fleet was hovering round it in readiness to attack whenever a favourable opportunity offered, and on the chief island of Kiusiu the Japanese forces mustered in great numbers. A fresh storm destroyed many more of Kublai's war-junks, and drove others out to sea to be never again heard of; and when the army, in despair, endeavoured to construct fresh vessels for their return journey the Japanese assailed them with all

their forces. After an unequal contest, in which the Mongols seem to have made a strenuous resistance, the relics of this army were compelled to surrender. While the lives of the Chinese and Koreans were spared, all the Mongols were put to the sword, and very few escaped to tell Kublai the mournful tidings of the greatest disaster which had ever befallen his arms or those of any of his race.

It was no part of the Mongol character to acquiesce in defeat. Their enterprises had on some previous occasions been checked, and not succeeded to the full measure of their hopes; but they had always returned in greater force to complete what they had been compelled to leave half finished. Brought face to face with a new and formidable element, the determination of the race was of a sufficiently practical kind to recognize that no advantage could be gained by rushing blindfold against an obstacle that defied their utmost effort, and the common sense of the Mongols revolted against the resumption of an operation that was seen to be most costly and unlikely to result in anything save discomfiture and disappointment. But Kublai was only a mortal, and the spectacle of his shattered vessels and his slaughtered thousands appealed to him strongly for revenge. What had been merely the prompting of ambition now presented itself to him with all the force of a sacred duty. A Mongol had never yet acquiesced in the immutability of defeat. Was it reserved for the proud Kublai to be the first to make so important a departure from the accepted policy and traditions of his race and House?

During the following years Kublai made energetic preparations towards repairing this defeat, and in A.D. 1283 he had, with the assistance of the Korean king, equipped a fresh fleet for this service; but he found greater difficulty in procuring sailors to man it. Several mutinies, which assumed alarming proportions, arose from the dislike generally prevailing to embark on this voyage; and Kublai's plans advanced very slowly towards realization. At last, in A.D. 1286, after a sharp protest from the President of the Council, Lieousien, Kublai gave orders for the abandonment of all further designs upon Japan. Bitter as the decision must have

been to this haughty ruler, it was resolved that no fresh preparations should be made for the retrieval of the late defeat, and that the brave islanders of Japan should be left to enjoy the liberty which they had shown they knew how to defend. The Mongols might well rest satisfied with what they had accomplished, although, like many great continental peoples, they had to confess on the sea a superior in a race of free-born islanders, inferior in numbers, and also in the science and machinery of war. It will be seen that their successful defence inspired the Japanese with a spirit of aggression, and that they became at a later period the assailants in a struggle with the inhabitants of the mainland.

The conquest of Yunnan by Kublai at an earlier stage in his career, and the subsequent successes of Uriangkadai, had led to the institution of relations with the rulers and peoples of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Several of these had been reduced to a state of more or less dependence upon the Mongol general in that region; but the principal of them, the King of Mien or Burmah, who arrogated to himself the title of King of Bengal as well, was inveterately hostile and defiant. While the Sung dominions remained only partly subdued, the Mongols were unable to act with any vigour in this quarter, and sought to obtain by diplomacy the recognition of their authority by the sovereign of Mien. But this potentate, trusting in his wealth, the numbers of his people, and the extent of his dominions from the borders of Yunnan to the Gulf of Bengal, if not to the Gangetic Delta, haughtily refused to abate one jot of his authority. He would be an independent prince or nothing.

The Mongol garrisons in Yunnan were, therefore, reduced to the lowest possible limits in order that an active force might be placed in the field; and when the King of Mien crossed the frontier at the head of a large army, he found the Mongols drawn up to receive him on the plains of Yungchang. The numbers were greatly in favour of the Mien ruler, who had not only a large body of cavalry, but, like another Pyrrhus, had brought into the field a strong contingent of elephants. The Burmese army exceeded fifty thousand men, and included, according to one authority eight hundred,

according to another two thousand, elephants; whereas, at the highest estimate, the Mongols mustered no more than twelve thousand men in all. The Burmese possessed also an artillery force of sixteen guns. Despite, therefore, the well-known valour and great military qualities of the Mongols, the result of this battle appeared to be more than doubtful when the two armies halted in face of each other. The struggle proved long and bitterly contested. The superiority of the Burmese in cavalry, added to the advantage they possessed in their corps of elephants—manned with artillery and slingers—gave an impetuosity to their first attack which Kublai's soldiers were unable to resist. The Mongol commander had foreseen this result, and had provided against it. Dismounting his cavalry, he ordered his whole force to direct their arrows upon that part of the Burmese battle which was composed of the elephants. Before this hailstorm, for the Mongols were then incomparably the best archers in the world (although the age which we are accustomed to think of as the golden period of English archery—when the traditions of Robin Hood preserved their force, and when the bowmen turned the day at Cressy and Poitiers), the onset of the elephants was speedily checked and thrown into confusion, and these infuriated animals rushed through the ranks of the Burmese, carrying confusion in their train. The Mongols then remounted their horses and completed the effect of this panic by charging the main body of the enemy. The latter were driven with heavy loss from the field, and the Mongols brought the campaign to a brilliant conclusion by the capture of several towns on the Irrawaddi. The Mongol general was compelled by the heat of the weather to withdraw his troops to the cooler quarters of Northern Yunnan, leaving the Burmese king with a shattered reputation, but still untouched and practically secure in the interior of his dominions. The Mongols only retired with the determination that they would return to complete their triumph, and the local commander, Nasiuddin, sent a report to Kublai that it would be an easy matter to add the dominions of the King of Mien to his Empire.

Six years after this campaign, in which the Mongols fully

sustained their military reputation, Kublai sanctioned preparations for the invasion of the dominions of the King of Mien. He entrusted the principal command to Singtur, one of his most trusted generals and a member of the Royal House; and a large army was concentrated in Yunnan for the purposes of this war. The Burmese troops were defeated in several encounters, and the capital Mien, or Amien, was closely besieged. The king had made preparations for a protracted defence, but apparently his heart failed him, for after the siege had continued a few days he sought safety in flight. The Mongols followed up their successes by its capture, and by a triumphant advance to the neighbourhood of Prome. They carried their raids into Pegu, and received the submission of several of the tribes of the Assam frontier. Thus were the Mongol campaigns against the Burmese brought to a conclusive and successful issue; and the authority of Kublai became as firmly established in this remote south-western quarter as it was in any other portion of his wide-stretching dominions.

Almost at the same time as this war in Burmah troubles arose with the ruler of Chenching, a portion of the modern Tonquin. In A.D. 1278, after the final overthrow of the Sungs, this prince had recognized the Mongol supremacy, and had for several years sent tribute to Canton. But on his death his heir refused to hold further intercourse with the Mongols, and, gathering the braver spirits of the country round him, resolved to resist all attempt at encroachment on the part of his neighbours. Sotou, the Mongol commander at Canton, apprehensive lest the danger should assume larger proportions, resolved to adopt vigorous measures against this defiant prince. Sotou's force compelled these patriots to take refuge in the hills, but when the Mongols attempted to carry on the war in their fastnesses they experienced a decided check. One detachment was destroyed and cut to pieces in a defile, whilst Sotou's main body was roughly handled and compelled to beat a hasty retreat from before a stockaded position. Kublai was very much distressed by these reverses, and sent fresh troops from his capital, under the command of Togan, one of his sons. The increased interest displayed in

this insignificant contest did not, however, produce any greater or more fortunate result.

Westwards of Chenching was the state of Annam, which had also bowed to the Mongol yoke, but the discomfiture of Sotou had restored the sinking confidence of all these southern potentates, and when the Mongols recommenced their advance against Chenching the King of Annam had resolved to repudiate his allegiance to them and to throw in his lot with his neighbours. When, therefore, Togan's army, which had been joined by Sotou's forces, reached the frontier of Annam, it found, instead of the supplies and welcome upon which it had counted, an army drawn up to dispute its further march. The troops of Annam were ill able to cope with Kublai's trained soldiers in regular warfare. The Mongols crossed the river Fouleang on a bridge of boats in face of the Annam army, and drove their adversaries in confusion from their positions. The Annamites retreated, but continued to show a good front, and they possessed an invaluable ally in their climate. The heat and the damp proved more formidable to Togan's army than the valour or skill of these defenders of their country; and after a resolute attempt to force his way to Chenching, Kublai's son found himself compelled to order a retreat. The Mongols appear to have lost all sense of discipline as soon as their backs were turned to the foe. Ignorant of the country, they wandered from their course, and only a few detachments regained the province of Kwantung. Liheng, Togan's principal lieutenant, was slain by a poisoned arrow in one battle, and Sotou fell fighting, sword in hand, when attempting to force his way over the Kien Moankiang river. Togan escaped to bear in person the sad tidings to Kublai. In A.D. 1286, Kublai wished to despatch a fresh army against Annam, and even went so far as to give orders to Alihaya, one of his chosen generals, who had been engaged in exploring the upper course of the Hoangho, to proceed to the scene of war. But the representations of the Chinese minister, Lieousiuen, again prevailed. The terrors of the hot and humid climate of Annam had been found, and were now admitted to be not less real and formidable than the hurricanes of the storm-tossed shores of Japan; and

Kublai at last announced his intention of foregoing all design of retrieving the honour of his arms in this quarter.

Kublai was the more induced to adopt this pacific policy because numerous internal troubles raised feelings of apprehension in his breast. Already the great mass of the Chinese people were showing that they bore their new masters little love, and that they would not long consent to remain apathetic subjects of an alien rule. In Fuhkien, Houkwang, and Kiangnan the Mongol garrisons were kept constantly on the alert, and indeed had often to resort to extreme measures against the disaffected inhabitants. Some years before the final abandonment of all further designs upon Japan or Annam, a fanatic had proclaimed a revival of the Sung dynasty in Fuhkien, and his auguries, drawn from the position of the planets, of coming misfortune to the Mongols, sufficed to bring one hundred thousand supporters to his side. Kublai was thoroughly alarmed at this popular demonstration, which showed the hollowness of the Mongol conquest, and, suspicious of the members of the Sung family in his power, he caused them to be brought before him, with Wen Tien Sang, the last and most faithful of their ministers. The members of the Sung family were banished to Tartary, and Wen Tien Sang, whose fidelity remained proof to the end, and who refused to enter the Mongol service, was publicly executed. Notwithstanding these sweeping measures, the populace was far from being either cowed or won over; and Kublai found in the sentiment of the Chinese towards his race the most potent inducement to abstain from costly and hazardous expeditions against the few of his neighbours who were willing to give their lives in defence of their freedom.

But although his necessities compelled him to abandon the expensive dreams of military conquest which he had formed, his restless spirit urged him to attempt other means for the accomplishment of his purpose. He sent, therefore, a mission and a skilful envoy to visit the courts of the states and islands of Southern Asia; and the presents brought back from hospitable potentates flattered the declining years of the aged Emperor, who saw, because he wished to see, in their courtesy the formal recognition of his power.

Whether encouraged by the result of this embassy, or from some other cause that is unknown, Kublai came to the sudden determination to renew the war with the King of Annam; and he again entrusted the task to his son Togan who had been appointed Viceroy of Yunnan. The active command was divided between two generals, and a squadron co-operated with the land forces from the sea. The Mongols were victorious in seventeen encounters, and the vanquished prince of Annam, so late exulting in the confidence of victory, was obliged to seek personal safety by a timely flight. As has often proved the case under similar circumstances, the true danger of the undertaking did not reveal itself until all open opposition had been overcome. The Annamite army had been overthrown, the king had fled no man knew whither, and the capital was in the hands of the national enemy. There was no one left to dispute the authority of the Mongols, and apparently their work was done.

At this point Apachi, the most experienced of the commanders, recommended that Togan should order the return of the army to its own country. All the objects of the war had been, he said, attained, and the Annamites had been forcibly reminded that the Mongols could, when they chose, administer the necessary chastisement for any act of hostility. There was no inducement to delay the return march, and provisions were daily becoming more scarce and the heat more intense. But Togan put off his decision until his army had become so reduced by its privations that the safer plan seemed to be to remain in its position until it had recruited its exhausted strength. Meanwhile the Annamites gathered from all sides, their neighbours came to their assistance, and their king suddenly returned from his place of safety to put himself at their head. Togan was at length compelled to give the order of retreat, and the Mongol army, although victorious in the field, was constrained to make a hasty and undignified exit from Annam. Kublai was so indignant at this untoward and unexpected result that he removed Togan from his governorship, and forbade him to visit the court. The King of Annam completed by his tact the task which his valour and judgment had carried far towards a successful

conclusion, for when he had vanquished the Mongol army, and expelled it from his dominions, he sent a letter of apology for having so long opposed Kublai by arms, together with an image of solid gold in the shape of tribute. For this reign Annam made good its claims to independence, and, partly from its situation, partly also, perhaps, from its unimportance, it has succeeded in maintaining it ever since. If in the present age it is exposed to any immediate danger, it is at the hands of our gallant and courteous neighbours, the French, who only require the appearance of another Dupleix to carve out a fresh empire in the kingdoms of the Indo-Chinese peninsula along the banks of the Mekong and the Songkoi, and on the shores of the Gulf of Tonquin.

In the meanwhile the popular disaffection was steadily increasing. The Sung Emperor, whose place of imprisonment had been several times changed, was sent to Tibet to be instructed in the doctrines of Buddhism ; but this did not prevent insurrections in Fuhkien and Kwantung. The necessity for exceptional precautions at the capital and in all the garrisoned towns, where the Mongols, literally speaking, slept with their arms ready to their hands, showed that the people were far from being reconciled to their fate. In their contempt for the barbarian conqueror, they would not even give his attempt at governing them with a fair show of justice and moderation a hearing. It was condemned before anything could be said in its defence. The Chinese people would have none of it. They eagerly expected the hour of deliverance from a foreign yoke, and submitted with such patience as they could muster to the tyranny of Kublai's administrators, and to the bungling, although well-meaning, efforts of that ruler to propitiate their good-will.

Much of the failure of Kublai's endeavours to popularize his authority must be attributed to the tyrannical acts and oppressive measures of his principal ministers, who were mostly natives of Western or Northern Asia, and who regarded the Chinese with unfriendly eyes. Prominent among these were two farmers of the taxes, who ground the people down by harsh exactions, and, although Kublai dismissed and punished them as soon as their iniquities became

too glaring to be passed over, their successors followed very much in their footsteps. Nor were the exactions confined to the civil authorities. The older Kublai became the more was he attached to Buddhism, and the lamas, or priests of that religion, acquired greater influence under his patronage. Encouraged by the royal favour, one of these ventured to plunder the tombs of the Sung Emperors, and when arrested at the instigation of a Chinese official the Emperor ordered his release and permitted him to retain possession of his ill-gotten plunder. This brutal and injudicious clemency added fuel to the flame of popular indignation.

The failure of his enterprise against Japan had not wholly cured Kublai of his desire to undertake expeditions beyond the sea. To avenge an insult offered to one of the envoys he was constantly sending into the Southern Archipelago, Kublai fitted out a large expedition against Kuava, a state identified with the island of Java. The Mongols as usual overcame the resistance openly offered them, but they were outmanœuvred, and suffered heavy losses in several skirmishes. Their commander, seeing that there was not much prospect of speedily conquering the country of Kuava, at once withdrew his forces and returned to China with vast booty, but little glory. A smaller expedition to the islands of Loochoo, which in the seventh century had been subjected by the Soui Emperor, Yangti, was not more fortunate, being obliged, on the death of its commander, to return to Chinese harbours without having accomplished any tangible result.

While these causes of discontent were in operation there were other circumstances threatening the fabric of Mongol supremacy in the very foundations of its power. The quarrel between Kublai and his brother, Arikbuka, has already been described; but although terminating with the success of Kublai, it left behind it the seeds of future trouble. Kublai's cousin, Kaidu, of the family of Ogotai, had, at an earlier period, assumed an attitude of marked hostility towards his kinsman, and the lapse of time only seemed to intensify the bitterness of their rivalry. But although Kaidu never wanted the inclination to molest his more successful opponent, it was

long before he could collect sufficient strength to work him any harm. But about the period we have now reached he had been joined by Nayan, a member of the House of Genghis, who had gathered together a power of considerable dimensions in Tartary, and had formed a bond between all the tribes and chieftains of Northern Asia in their common antipathy to Kublai. By the year A.D. 1287 Kaidu's plans were in a fair way towards completion, and a general revolt throughout Mongolia had been arranged and was on the point of breaking out. Fortunately for him, Kublai received intelligence of this scheme, and he resolved to strike a blow against Nayan before Kaidu could come to his assistance.

He sent his great general Bayan to Karakoram to maintain his authority there and to retard the advance of Kaidu, while he himself marched to encounter Nayan in the region which is now Manchuria. Nayan had made strenuous preparations for the war, but he was taken by surprise when he found that the Emperor was marching to attack him in overwhelming strength. Nayan's army probably did not exceed forty thousand men, while Kublai's may be computed at about one hundred thousand, better armed and with more formidable engines of war. Kublai, at this time more than seventy years of age, inspected his army from a tower erected on the backs of four elephants fastened together, and, having been informed by the soothsayers that the auguries were favourable and that he was promised victory, no longer delayed the signal for attack. The collision between these representatives of the same race proved bitter and protracted, and the result long hung doubtful in the balance. Nayan's followers fought with great valour, but the more desperate their resistance the more complete did it make Kublai's victory. Those who escaped the carnage of that day were glad to find safety in the woods of Northern Manchuria; but Nayan himself, who is said to have been a Christian, fell a prisoner into the hands of the great Emperor. It was a custom among the Mongols not to shed the blood of their own princes, so Kublai ordered that Nayan should be sewn up in a sack and then beaten to death. The overthrow of

Nayan enabled Kublai to return to Peking, but it did not close the war. Kaidu remained unconquered, and resolved to tempt the decision of Fortune. He was advancing eastwards as rapidly as he could, receiving many reinforcements from the tribes and Mongol chiefs on his line of march, and not to be deterred from his undertaking by the overthrow of his ally Nayan, or by the power of Kublai, or by the reputation of the great general Bayan.

In this quarter Kublai's arms had met with a preliminary disaster before Bayan had had time to reach Karakoram. Kanmala, prince of Tsin, and son of Kublai, endeavoured to arrest Kaidu's march at Hanghai, near the banks of the Selinga river ; but being forced to engage in a general battle, he was signally defeated, and owed his life to the personal valour and devotion of Tutuka, a Kipchak officer. The consequences of this reverse were considered to be so grave that Kublai again took the field in person, and, although no fighting is reported to have occurred, it may be assumed from Kaidu's retreat that Kublai succeeded in fully restoring his authority in the north. Kublai's prompt return also signified that he, for his part, did not desire to push matters to an extremity with Kaidu. He thought it more prudent to leave him the proverbial golden bridge for retreat.

After Kublai's departure, the war still lingered on in this quarter, and, indeed, it continued until after his death. On the whole, Kublai's lieutenants succeeded in maintaining their positions and in repelling the frequent attacks made against them. But they did not attempt to carry on an offensive war against Kaidu. They were well content to rest upon their laurels. Bayan, who arrived late upon the scene, was alone not satisfied with doubtful success. Wherever he appeared, the result of the fighting was sure to be complete and unequivocal ; and in the steppes of Mongolia his strategy and tactics were as conspicuous as they had been on the banks of the Great River and against the armies of the Sung. On one occasion he was, with a portion of his army, entrapped into an ambush, but his presence of mind and cool courage extricated him from the dangerous predicament, and his assailants left two thousand of their number slain

upon the ground, and the rest prisoners in his hands. This was the last military achievement of the great Bayan, the most remarkable of Kublai's generals, perhaps of all the Mongol commanders, with, of course, the exception of Genghis himself.

Bayan was too great a man to escape the shafts of the envious. In A.D. 1293, Kublai was so far influenced by the representations of those at the court that he ordered him to return to Peking; and having removed him from his high military command, gave him instead the post of a minister of state. On Kublai's death, a few months later, Bayan reappeared upon the scene to determine by his powerful voice the elevation of Prince Timour to the throne. That prince happened to be absent at the seat of war when his father died, and he owed his undisputed succession to the firmness shown by Bayan in his interests. Bayan did not long survive this change in the person of the ruler. A few months after the day when he drew his sword in support of the cause of the absent prince, he died at the comparatively early age of fifty-nine, leaving behind him a great reputation for skill as a general and highmindedness as a man. His character appeals to our sympathy with the irresistible claims of a magnanimous and courageous soldier, who endeavoured on all occasions to mitigate the horrors of war and to temper the rage of his fierce soldiery. If Kublai had possessed many supporters like Bayan, or perhaps known how to make use of their services, the Yuen dynasty would probably have occupied the throne of China for a longer period, and attained a greater amount of popularity in that country than it did.

After Kublai's last journey to the northern frontier, his bodily infirmities increased so much that it was generally perceived that the end could not be far distant. In A.D. 1294, after the appearance of a comet in the preceding year, which the Chinese took advantage of to warn him to reform his administration, Kublai fell ill and died. He was then in the eightieth year of his age, and had occupied the throne for thirty-five years. Twenty-three years had elapsed since he first gave his dynasty the Chinese name of Yuen, and

during the last sixteen years he had been the acknowledged ruler of the whole of China.

With regard to the private character and domestic life of this prince, we owe most of the details to that vivacious gossip and remarkable traveller, Marco Polo. That Kublai was destitute of natural affection could not be sustained in face of his evidently unaffected grief at the loss of his wife Honkilachi, and his eldest son Chinkin; but there is much corroborative evidence of the charges brought against him by the Chinese historians, of having been too much addicted to such weaknesses as the love of money and a morbid inclination for superstitious practices; and he was also undoubtedly of a sensual nature. But admitting these faults and shortcomings, there remains a long list of virtues and high qualities in his favour. If he was not the greatest of Chinese Emperors, and that he certainly was not, his character is sufficiently vindicated by the events of his reign. They show him to have been well able to maintain a great Empire at its height, and to lead his people into the paths of peace and prosperity.

Kublai's long reign is not less remarkable if regarded from the standpoint of its being the climax of the triumph of a more vigorous race over a weaker. The greatest of the Mongol achievements, greater in its way than the march across Asia to the confines of Austria and the Persian Gulf, was undoubtedly the conquest of China. It had foiled the efforts of Genghis and his immediate successors, and all the credit of success was reserved for Kublai. The praise for having accomplished the most arduous of all the undertakings that formed part of the original Mongol programme belongs, therefore, to this prince. The Chinese were subdued and reduced by him to the condition of subjects of the Great Khan; but there can also be no question that they were throughout the most unwilling of subjects. Kublai showed that he knew how to conquer them; but it was above his capacity to reconcile them to his rule. Perhaps the task was impossible; but his later public acts were conspicuously deficient in the tact and judgment required for popularising his authority. The triumph of the Mongols was incon-

testable on the basis of their superior military strength and knowledge; but it had no secure foundation in any portion of the country south of the Hoangho. Even before Kublai's death it was clear that it could not long endure; and when he disappeared, the inevitable result came clearly into view.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE DECLINE OF THE MONGOLS.

OWING to the prompt measures of Bayan, Prince Timour, Kublai's grandson, was proclaimed Emperor under the style of Chingtsong. He retained possession of the throne for thirteen years, during which he governed the country with moderation and with a palpable desire to win the sympathy of the people over whom he reigned. Ill health, and anxiety on the score of the claims of others to the throne, prevented his undertaking any extensive operations at a distance from the base of his power, and Timour's reign was the very opposite to his father's, in that it beheld no foreign wars or costly expeditions on the sea. The bent of his own inclination was further strengthened by a great famine which visited the northern provinces and produced a vast amount of suffering. The preservation of peace became a matter of sheer necessity. When the scarcity passed away, it left other evils in its train, and prominent among these were the exactions of bands of brigands who traversed the country with almost complete impunity. Timour's attention was repeatedly called to the subject, but all he could do availed but little.

When, however, these brigands attempted to combine, and sought to attain other objects than mere plunder, their formidable character vanished. In small parties they were to be dreaded, but as soon as they collected in the proportions of an army they came within the reach of the Mongol garrisons, and were speedily dispersed. The anxiety shown by Timour to relieve the necessities of his suffering subjects and to repress the exactions of tyrannical governors, obtained

for him the sympathy and, to some extent, the support of many of the Chinese. The great Mongol chiefs and the princes of the House of Genghis had been allotted possessions throughout the Empire which they ruled in a semi-independent manner, and in their own districts they had assumed not only the right of raising taxes, but also the power of life and death. Timour abolished these privileges by decreeing that for the future no one could be sentenced to death without his express authority. All these measures tended to make his person, if not his race, more popular with the mass of the Chinese.

In many respects Timour had no choice save to rest contented with what had been accomplished. Kublai had done so much that there was very little left for his successor to perform. He often, indeed, received the formal expression of the results of previous triumphs; and among the most notable of these must be placed the embassy sent from Mien or Burmah, where a new king had ascended the throne. There had been some symptoms that this potentate had entertained thoughts of casting off the tie which bound him to the Mongols, but the arrival of the embassy with the tribute dispelled all apprehension on this score. Timour showed his prudence by issuing strict injunctions to the officers in Yunnan to refrain from molesting the Burmese frontier, and to content themselves with keeping the roads open and in a secure state for purposes of trade.

In the north, meanwhile, the rising under Kaidu still lingered on, without any important occurrence, it is true, yet threatening at any time to break out into serious proportions. The expense of maintaining an army in the field in these northern regions was very considerable, and even two victories won by a general named Changar over Kaidu's lieutenants were only an inadequate equivalent for it. In A.D. 1298, the effect of these victories was almost nullified by a disaster inflicted on the Imperial arms, when Timour's forces were surprised, and their commander, Kolikisse, the Emperor's son-in-law, preferred an honourable death to an ignominious surrender. The continuation of this struggle presents no features of interest, although it long remained a serious

element of weakness at the root of the Mongol power. Even Kaidu's death from chagrin at a defeat, in A.D. 1301, failed to put an end to the strife.

In the south the Burmese question assumed a fresh turn in these later years. The rightful king had been dethroned and murdered by his brother, who usurped his place. The Mongol forces thereupon crossed over the frontier from Yunnan, and restored order by replacing in power the prince whom they had recognized in the treaty. Whilst engaged in this task, which did not prove very arduous, a more serious matter claimed attention in their rear. A minister had proposed to Timour that he might win a cheap renown by the conquest of the country of Papesifu, in the south-west of China; and in a weak moment Timour had listened to the representations of his flattering counsellor. An army of twenty thousand men was collected for the purpose of invading this remote territory, which possessed no other value or importance than in providing an easy way as alleged of enabling Timour to hand down his name to posterity as a conqueror.

The expedition revealed unexpected dangers. One-third of the force perished from the effects of the climate before it reached its destination, and the commander was compelled to exact so much in the southern provinces of Kweichow and Yunnan that the people rose up and endeavoured to cast off the Mongol yoke. The intended conquest of Papesifu resolved itself into the necessity of defending a territory that had been subjected more than half a century against the efforts of an insurgent population. Songlongtsi, a chief of the people in this quarter, and Chentsiei, the wife of a local official, who had both suffered greatly at the hands of the military commander, placed themselves at the head of the disaffected, and, combining with their forces large numbers of the Miaotse and other fierce tribes of the hills and woods of Kweichow, attacked the towns within their reach. Several of these were captured, and the Mongol general entrusted with the operation against Papesifu was on the point of succumbing to the attack of his more active and numerous enemy, when Koko, Timour's uncle, the governor of Yunnan,

arrived with fresh troops and rescued him from his imminent danger.

Encouraged by the example of the people of Kweichow, the tribes of Papesifu and the neighbouring districts assailed the rear-guard and generally hampered the movements of the expeditionary force returning from Burmah. In the numerous skirmishes which were fought, the Mongols suffered very serious losses. The whole country from Burmah and Laos to Annam and Tonquin rose up against the invaders; and Timour had to collect a large army from the garrisons of Szchuen, Houkwang and Yunnan for the purpose of restoring his disputed authority. Before these troops could reach the scene of war further reverses had been inflicted upon his arms; and the authority of Songlongtsi and Chentsiei practically displaced his own. Several months were occupied in the preparations for restoring the Imperial reputation, and when at last the army was ready to take the field they found that their opponents had retired to the hills, where they occupied strong positions. Owing to the skill of a commander named Lieou Koukia, they were expelled from them and pursued for a considerable distance. The restoration of Mongol influence in this quarter was assured by the capture and execution of Chentsiei and the murder of Songlongtsi. Deprived of their leaders, the people returned to their homes, and affairs speedily resumed their normal aspect. None the less it was felt that the origin of the whole trouble was to be found in the rash and unnecessary proposition to invade Papesifu—a scheme which had resulted in addition of neither territory nor reputation to Timour.

The remaining acts of Timour's reign call for no special comment. Storms, earthquakes, and violent tempests visited the land with unusual frequency; but the people were less affected by these phenomena because there was domestic tranquillity. The frontiers were guarded in force, and a satisfactory termination of the question in the north with the other sections of the Mongol family gave Timour good reason for resting satisfied with the aspect of affairs. In A.D. 1306 the Emperor was seized with a malady which, gradually becoming worse, had a fatal termination in the following

year. The Chinese historians praise Timour's character in the strongest terms. He had done much towards making the Mongol dynasty more Chinese in its views and mode of government; and its subjects could not harden their hearts to virtues which were incontestable, and in face of a manifest desire to propitiate their sympathy. Timour was, there is no reason to doubt, sincerely regretted, and when he died the position of the Mongols in China was certainly not weaker than when he ascended the throne.

Timour left no direct heirs, and his nephews, Haichan and Aiyuli Palipata, were held to share between them the right to the throne. An attempt was made to secure the position for Honanta, Prince of Gansi, and at one time it looked as if the plot would succeed, for Haichan was absent in Mongolia, where he had distinguished himself against Kaidu. Fortunately Aiyuli Palipata was on the spot, and able to take vigorous measures against the pretender, who, when on the point of proclaiming himself Emperor, was suddenly arrested, with his principal supporters, and banished to Tartary. In the moment of triumph there were some who wished Palipata to place himself on the throne, but he possessed the strength of mind to resist the tempting offer. He summoned Haichan from Mongolia to assume the functions of authority, and that prince came, with thirty thousand chosen troops, to take what was his right. He was proclaimed as Haichan Khan or Woutsong, and the late conspirators were executed to give security to his new authority.

Haichan enjoyed his honours for only five years. During that short period he gave abundant proof of the excellence of his intentions and of his capacity for government. But, like all of his family, he was much addicted to the pleasures of the palace, and his uxoriousness was on a par with his inclination to gluttony and debauchery. He rather discouraged than promoted foreign trade, saying that it was a bad thing to permit the wealth of a country to leave it. With the Tibetans the relations were at this period of the most friendly character, in consequence of the influence of the lamas. The people of Papesifu and that region maintained their independence, and

on one occasion inflicted a defeat on a Chinese officer ; but, on the whole, Haichan's reign was one of continuous peace. His death occurred early in A.D. 1311, when his brother, Aiyuli Palipata, was proclaimed Emperor in his place. Haichan left two sons, who, temporarily set aside, eventually came to the throne.

Aiyuli Palipata began his reign with a formal announcement to his neighbours of his accession to the throne ; and as the Mongols were, owing to the death of Kaidu and the surrender of his son Chapar, more united among themselves than they had been for years, these had the good sense to yield a ready compliance with his demands. All the southern states and kingdoms sent tribute, and expressed their desire to execute the behests of the Emperor. At a later period embassies came from the Kings of Hien and Mapor. This ruler devoted much of his attention to education, and indeed his reign presents few features of interest, because no events occurred of exceptional importance. An insurrection, headed by his nephew, Hochila, son of Haichan, at one moment threatened the Emperor's peace of mind, but it was promptly repressed. Hochila fled the country to find a place of refuge among his kinsmen in the west. Aiyuli Palipata reigned nine years. His death, which was probably caused by the predominant Mongol vice of over-eating, occurred in A.D. 1320, when his son, Chutepala, or Yngtsong, succeeded him.

Chutepala bitterly lamented the early death of his father, and while he gave himself up to the indulgence of grief, his minister Temudar tyrannized over the people, and caused all his enemies at court to be executed. Temudar was on the high-road to the attainment of supreme power when Baiju, the commander of the Imperial Guard, and a descendant of Genghis's great general Muhule, intervened and ousted Temudar from the ascendant position he coveted and was steadily acquiring. Chutepala was, fortunately, not blind to the faults of Temudar, and felt towards Baiju admiration for his personal courage, and the sympathy of an equal age ; for, when Baiju was absent, Temudar, striving to regain his lost ground, presented himself at the palace. Chutepala refused to give him an audience, and Temudar died soon

afterwards, either of chagrin or, more probably, of poison self-administered. After Temudar's death, Baiju's position became more assured, and he may be said to have exercised all the functions of authority.

Fresh conspiracies were formed against the young ruler and his adviser; and Tiechi, Temudar's son, anxious to avenge his father's death, and fearful of the consequences of that father's acts of tyranny, which were becoming better known every day, placed himself at the head of a plot for murdering the Emperor and giving the throne to Yesun Timour, another of the grandsons of Kublai Khan. The plot succeeded better than it deserved. Baiju was murdered in his tent, and Chutepala, after a short reign of three years, shared the fate of his brave companion and faithful minister.

Yesun Timour, who had taken no part in this plot, and who, the instant he received intelligence of the conspirators' plans, had sent messengers to warn Chutepala, was then placed on the throne. But his first measures showed how much he disapproved of the means which had been employed to bring him to the head of affairs. Tiechi and his principal confederates were arrested and executed. Their goods were confiscated to the state, and their families experienced all the suffering held to be their due for having produced such criminals.

The five years during which Yesun Timour occupied the throne were years of peace, and no event occurred of unusual importance. He was the first of the Mongols to set his face against the votaries of Buddhism, and passed several edicts tending to limit the numbers of the Mongol priests or lamas. These precautions against the innovations of an alien religion, and the terrible earthquakes and other dire visitations from which the country suffered, were the only notable events of the reign. His death occurred in A.D. 1328.

Yesun Timour's death proved the precursor of many troubles. His two sons were in turn proclaimed Emperor, but their tenure of power was so brief that they are not recognized. Hochila, the banished son of Haichan, was recalled, and, when Yesun Timour's sons had been got rid of, placed upon the throne. Hochila owed his elevation to the

talents of his younger brother, Tou Timour, who gracefully made way for his elder; but he did not long enjoy the privileges of absolute power. . Proclaimed in A.D. 1329, he suddenly died in the same year, and it is strongly suspected that his end was hastened by foul means. His brother, Tou Timour, had shown symptoms of regret at having surrendered the power he had acquired, and upon his brother's death hastened to seize the attributes of sovereignty. Tou Timour was the eighth prince of the Mongol dynasty.

The reign of the new ruler, although covering a rather longer space of time, presents as few features of interest as any of the preceding reigns. There is no evidence, unfortunately, throwing light upon the effect these repeated changes in the person of the ruler had upon the opinion of the great mass of the Chinese people. It cannot be doubted, however, that they strengthened the hostile feeling against a foreign domination, at the same time that they showed that the governing race was beginning to forget that the whole fabric of its power depended on the unity that might exist among themselves. These repeated changes in the person of the ruler boded ill for the long duration of Mongol power in China. They showed that the conqueror was becoming oblivious to the fact that the conquered still existed in their millions, and might easily acquire fresh courage.

The most noteworthy event that history has preserved of the reign of Tou Timour is his reception of the Grand Lama of Tibet, who visited his court in the year of his accession. Always a devoted Buddhist, Tou Timour was seized with a frenzy of religious zeal by what he regarded as so auspicious an event, and he issued an order to all his courtiers to bend the knee to the Lama whenever they addressed him. The disdain with which the haughty Mongol soldiers and barons received this order can be imagined. Nor were the Chinese themselves more pleased at the deference shown to the representative of a foreign and always much-hated religion. The President of the Hanlin College boldly refused to concede the mark of honour which the Emperor had wished to enforce.

During the greater portion of this reign an insurrection

prevailed in the south-western provinces of the Empire. In Yunnan and the adjoining parts of Szchuen the rebels expelled the Mongol troops and subverted the existing administration. It required a great effort, and the direction of a large body of troops from other quarters of the Empire, before tranquillity and the authority of the Mongols were fairly re-established. But Tou Timour troubled himself little with this complication, although it threatened his power very nearly, and he preferred to devote his attention to court ceremonies and religious rites. He did not, however, permit his superstition to interfere with his worldly pleasures. His death in A.D. 1332 exercised no perceptible influence on the fortunes of the Mongols, which were now steadily on the decline.

A child was proclaimed Emperor, but dying within a few months of his proclamation, a fresh arrangement had to be made. Tohan Timour, the eldest of the children of Hochila, and at this time a boy of thirteen years of age, was, after some delay caused by the intrigues of an ambitious minister, raised to the throne. Tohan Timour assumed the name of Chunti, and his reign, while being marked by a succession of misfortunes, witnessed the rapid decadence and fall of the Mongol power. At the very beginning of his reign Chunti showed himself a weak and vacillating prince, from whom little good could be expected. The difficulties by which he was surrounded were of the gravest character, for the people were being goaded into desperation by sufferings of no ordinary kind. The annals of the last fifty years of Mongol power contain one long list of terrible visitations, which reached their culmination in the second year of Chunti's reign in a famine, during which it is computed that no fewer than thirteen million persons died.

But the conflict of the elements was a matter of trivial importance in comparison with the storm gathering in the breasts of the Chinese. The people who had not refrained during the prime of Kublai's power, from showing their ineradicable antipathy to their alien rulers, were now, encouraged by the marked deterioration in the qualities of the governing race, to give unequivocal expression to their long-concealed hatred. In the prevailing troubles they saw

the clearest token of the anger of Heaven against the conqueror, and anxiously speculated on the prospect of the revolution which was beginning to loom in the near future.

Several attempts were made to depose the young Emperor, and in A.D. 1335 a desperate attack on the palace, headed by some of the chief members of the Mongol family, was only repulsed by the valour and timely precautions of Bayan, a descendant of the great general of the same name. The leaders in this rising were fortunately all captured, and expiated their treason with their lives. Instead of then devoting himself to the task of reforming the evils in the administration, and of mitigating the misfortunes of the people, Chunti turned from the path of duty to follow the course of pleasure, and passed most of his time in the chase. The remonstrances of the censors who strove to perform their duties with care and impartiality failed to show him the folly of his actions, and even the growing dangers which surrounded him only partially roused him to the gravity of the situation.

The first distinct rising on the part of the Chinese occurred in A.D. 1337, when Chukwang, a native of Kwantung, raised a considerable force and proclaimed that the Mongols had ceased to reign. The example thus set was followed in several of the neighbouring provinces. These insurrectionary movements, which were badly organized, and composed to a large extent of the scum of the people, failed to attract any general amount of sympathy or support from the nation. The Mongol troops succeeded, without any great delay or difficulty, in restoring order and in reasserting their master's authority.

In this hour of anxiety the Mongols, afraid of the Chinese officials, and wishing to take precautions in good time, ordered that all arms and horses should be surrendered by the Chinese. It is probable that in seeking to evade a danger they only precipitated the course of events, and that many who were disposed to stand by them found themselves compelled to attach themselves to the national party and to array themselves on the side of those who had resolved upon the expulsion of the Mongols.

The great qualities of one Bayan had contributed as much as any other circumstance to the consolidation of the Mongol power in China; and by the irony of fate it was reserved for the bad qualities of another of the same family and name to expedite its fall. This later Bayan tyrannized over the people placed under his authority, as might be expected from one who, to strengthen his position at court, had soiled his hands with the blood of an Empress. Showing slight respect for even the person of the Emperor, he cared more for the advancement of his own ends than for the interests of the dynasty. Chunti does not seem to have felt the loss of the functions of government; but when Bayan assumed a more magnificent train than that of the Emperor, and aspired to surpass him in his equipages, the growing power and arrogance of this subject appeared in a more unfavourable light to the last Emperor of the House of Genghis. When his vanity was touched, the crimes of Bayan, which had been long condoned, became heinous in the eyes of Chunti. In A.D. 1340 this too-powerful minister was deposed from his high place by a coalition between his personal enemies and those who wished to restore the Emperor's independence.

During the fifteen years that followed the disappearance of Bayan, Chunti's court was the scene of continual disputes between rival ministers, while, by some strange coincidence, the country suffered from drought and famine, from the overflow of the Hoangho, and from tremendous earthquakes. The insurrections which had at first been composed of mere adventurers were gradually taking a more definite form, and some had even gone so far as to claim that they were fighting for a restoration of the old dynasty. But still the Mongol troops were uniformly victorious, and the Chinese only rose to be repressed and slaughtered by their more disciplined opponents. On the sea, however, the pirate Fangkua Chin bade defiance to the Mongol fleet, which had lost its old efficiency, and captured the generals sent against him. On land, too, the rebels had taken a distinctive sign to mark the popular cause. Their leaders had given out red bonnets as their head-gear, and these became the bond of union between the foes of the Mongol.

In A.D. 1352 the first important success of the war was obtained at Kiukiang, when a Mongol detachment was annihilated. The principal of the rebels, Sinchow Hoei, assumed the title of Emperor, and followed up his success at Kiukiang by a rapid advance into Chekiang, when he menaced the famous city of Hangchow. The Mongol forces, hastily assembled from all quarters, proceeded to engage this army, and in a great battle recovered everything that had been lost. But for the continued successes of Fangkua Chin the Mongols would have retrieved whatever they had suffered, and on all sides. In A.D. 1354 there was a fresh outbreak; but the measures adopted by Toto, Chunti's minister, proved so effectual that the Mongol position may be said to have been at this point as much assured as it had been at any time since the commencement of this internal struggle.

Toto had barely succeeded in restoring some degree of order to the condition of affairs in the realm when he found himself the object of Chunti's suspicion and disfavour. A rival named Hama, who owed his fortune to Toto, and doubtless felt "the debt immense of endless gratitude," had maligned him during his absence fighting the enemies of the state, and succeeded in inducing Chunti to sign a warrant for his dismissal and arrest. When Toto returned, therefore, to the capital it was only to receive an order for his banishment. Hama completed his perfidy by sending Toto the poisoned cup, usually the portion or the solace of the unfortunate minister. With Toto disappeared the last possible champion of the Yuen or Mongol dynasty.

The country had been in a distracted state for a long time, and the Chinese, who had been brooding over their wrongs, had now for twenty years been accustomed to the spectacle of slaughter, and become hardened to the bitter struggle for their emancipation. But they had not yet combined. Their efforts had hitherto been spasmodic and disunited. Their principal leaders had shown themselves little better than brigand chiefs. With each fresh effort, however, their courage was rising higher, and their action acquiring greater method. Union was fast displacing disunion, and

their untrained levies were learning discipline in the field and under the hard master defeat. The discord among the Mongols, and the murder of their greatest leader further increased the prospect of an auspicious result. The occasion for throwing off the Mongol yoke had evidently arrived, and it only needed that the time should produce the man.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE EXPULSION OF THE MONGOLS.

THE prevailing disorders, which revealed the full extent of the people's misfortune, attracted, among many others, into the ranks of those fighting under the national ensign a simple individual named Choo Yuen Chang. Originally he had taken the vows of a priest, and entered a monastery; but now he cast aside his religious garb to follow the more congenial pursuits of a soldier. Enlisting as a private, his zeal and attention to his duties soon caught the eye of his commander. Raised to the rank of an officer, he speedily found occasion to show that in enterprise and personal valour he was equal to every emergency. His first feat was the capture of the town of Hoyan—an exploit in itself sufficiently creditable; but when he saved the inhabitants and their possessions from the rapacity of his ill-fed and badly paid soldiers, he showed not only higher qualities, but also a truer perception of the necessities of the time than had yet been evinced by any other of the Chinese leaders. Choo was the first to inspire his countrymen with a belief in their capacity to substitute, without much trouble, a stable Government of their own in place of the decrepit and expiring dynasty of the Mongol. By proving that the maintenance of order and the preservation of life and property did not necessarily depend on the measures taken by the reigning Emperor, Choo dealt a most forcible blow at the reputation of the House of Genghis—in fact, the only blow still required to ensure its fall.

At first Choo had to content himself with a very subordinate part in the contest, for a claimant had been put forward to

both the sympathy and the allegiance of the Chinese people in the person of a youthful member, pretended or real, of the Sung family. The Mongol Court had always feared the dormant affection to that native house more than the innate love of independence in the hearts of the people ; and now it concentrated all its force upon the work of crushing this particular movement. Its ends were attained. Army was sent after army to oppose this royal claimant and his general, Lieou Foutong ; and, although the struggle proved stubborn, the Mongol authority was completely reasserted. In face of these successes, Chunti and his ministers conceived that they had every reason to congratulate themselves on a safe and satisfactory issue from the crisis. This hope was soon found to be delusive. They had in reality been wasting their strength and resources in grappling with what, in comparison with the increasing reputation and power of Choo, was a danger of very minor importance.

In A.D. 1356, Choo made himself master of the city of Nankin, and thus obtained a hold on some of the wealthiest provinces in the country. His policy continued to be marked by the same moderation that had characterized the acts which first brought him into notice. He proclaimed that his sole wish, for the realization of which he was prepared to spare neither his life nor any exertion whatever, was to restore to the people their lost independence, and to revive their ancient form of government. The success which attended his military operations attracted to his side the young and the daring ; but the stability of his position was rendered the more assured because the more serious sections of the nation were won over to his party by a fertility of resource equal to every difficulty, and by the prudence with which the fruits of victory were turned to the attainment of noble and praiseworthy objects. Almost before the Mongol Court realized the danger likely to arise from the operations of this particular leader, Choo had gathered into his hands the power and influence which enabled him to become its destroyer.

From his post of vantage on the Yangtse, Choo succeeded in expelling the Mongol garrisons from most of the towns in Kiangsi, and, on their expulsion, in establishing an efficient

form of administration of his own. The overthrow of the Mongols did not cause the friends of peace and order those doubts as to what would thereafter ensue that nearly always suggest themselves at a time when the form of the existing institutions is undergoing a forcible change. But this confidence was only felt in those districts which were the scene of Choo's exploits. Elsewhere, Chinese patriots were only an euphemism for Chinese brigands. Ravaged regions, sacked towns, and the usual horrors of war proclaimed throughout the rest of China that the Chinese and their Tartar conquerors had met in a last death-struggle out of which the one or the other must issue finally vanquished. The question briefly put was, whether the natives would tolerate any longer a foreign and a much-hated race as rulers.

The growth of Choo's power proved slow but sure, and the districts subjected by him did not throw off his authority. In the north, particularly in the provinces of Honan and Shansi, other leaders made indeed more rapid progress. One of these had seized the city of Kaifong, and some had carried their raids through Leaoutung to the frontier of Corea; but they were all regarded with feelings more of apprehension than of love by the mass of the nation. Choo alone was considered to be working for the welfare of the people, and this reputation for sincerity and public spirit served to bring over to his side all those smaller leaders who could not hope to reach the highest place. Prominent among these was the pirate Fangkua Chin, whose naval exploits had exalted him to the rank of a national hero and made him a power for good or evil on the great river Kiang. In 1358 he sent an embassy to Choo, proposing an alliance for the emancipation of their country from the foreign yoke. He promised to place all his forces at the disposal of Choo, and in token of good faith sent one of his sons as hostage to Nankin.

Choo again showed himself well able to turn the opportunity to the best advantage. Having entertained this mission in a becoming manner, he returned the son to his father, saying that where expressions of friendship were sincere, hostages would be unnecessary. Fangkua Chin appeared greatly touched by this act of magnanimous

confidence, and sent Choo a short time afterwards a steed magnificently caparisoned, with a saddle-cloth ornamented with pearls. But Choo refused to accept the gift. "I have no other passion," he said, "than to serve the Empire, and I ask only for skilful soldiers and ministers who may help me in my project. Corn, linen, and silk for the use of my soldiers are very necessary to me ; jewels have neither value nor use." After this expression of Choo's designs, the understanding between him and Fangkua Chin was drawn more closely together, and their alliance became more firm. It was well that it was so, as elsewhere dissension prevailed in the Chinese camp, and no two other leaders were found to advocate the same policy and course of action.

The penalty of this want of union soon arrived ; for in 1359 the Mongol general, Chahan Timour, recaptured Kaifong, and the Sung claimant, who had established his court there, barely escaped with his life and the relics of his force. Had Chunti possessed in any degree the capacity of the race from which he sprang, a turn in his favour might, even at this eleventh hour, have been given to the contest, and the authority of the Mongols might have been preserved north of the Kiang river. But Chunti's debaucheries continued, and Peking remained the scene of incessant intrigues. One plot in which the heir-apparent took a prominent part failed by the merest chance, and its failure proved only the forerunner of others. In the field the absence of union was not less conspicuous than it was at the capital. Chahan Timour, the best and most skilful of the Emperor's generals, whose recapture of Kaifong afforded some solid hope for believing in a retrieval of affairs, was the pronounced rival of Polo Timour ; and where the principal commanders set so pernicious an example, their lieutenants were not slow to do likewise. At this critical moment, Alouhiya, a descendant of the Emperor Ogotai Khan, raised a considerable army in Mongolia for the purpose of, as he said, reviving the dignity of the Empire ; but, however honourable his object, his pretensions constituted a grave peril to the Emperor Chunti, already sufficiently occupied and even embarrassed by the numerous hostile bands established within the heart of the

realm. A body of troops hurriedly assembled and despatched to encounter Alouhiya, under a general named Toukien, was beaten with some loss, and compelled to find shelter in the ruined city of Changtu, the Xanadu of Coleridge, where Kublai was wont to pass the greater portion of the year. From this peril Chunti was fortunately relieved by the capture of Alouhiya, who found that the integrity of his intentions with regard to the State was no excuse for taking up arms against the Emperor. There were those who counselled a policy of generous forbearance towards this energetic Mongol chieftain, but Chunti refused to be guided in this matter except by his own views. Alouhiya may have been either a misguided enthusiast or a shrewd critic of Mongol decay ; but he was undoubtedly a rebel in Chunti's eyes, and as such he was condemned to death.

The episode caused by Alouhiya's march out of Mongolia had hardly concluded, when the death of Chahan Timour caused fresh and serious embarrassment to the Emperor. In 1361, Chahan Timour had reduced the great province of Honan once more to its allegiance to the Emperor, and during the late winter of the same year he had employed his victorious soldiers in the reconquest of Shantung. He had almost completed the latter task, when two of the rebel leaders, to whom he had not only accorded their lives, but also assigned honourable posts of command, formed a plot to murder him. They succeeded only too well. Chahan Timour, with the confidence of a noble and fearless mind, trusted himself with a very small following into their power, when he was forthwith murdered in one of their tents. The loss of Chahan Timour proved irreparable. His adopted son Koukou exacted a fearful vengeance for this outrage ; but, although he succeeded to his father's dignities, and, possessing some ability, took a not inconsiderable part in the later troubles, he could not hope, and was not able, to wield the same power as Chahan had exercised.

The year which beheld these events in Honan and Shantung, was also marked by a rebellion in Yunnan, where the shadow, if not the substance, of the authority established by Kublai and Uriangkadai a century before still existed.

An officer named Mingyuchin had been sent thither by the Sung pretender for the purpose of stirring up the people ; but although his efforts in this direction were far from having no result, he failed to maintain himself even against the weak garrison strengthened by reinforcements timely sent from Shensi. Baffled in Yunnan, Mingyuchin retired into Szchuen, where he met with better fortune, and for a short time maintained his authority in that province—in fact, until he was overthrown by Choo.

One of the natural consequences of these internal troubles was a falling-off in the respect shown by the neighbouring states to the Emperor's authority. The people and governing family of Corea, although loving their independence, had up to this obeyed without demur the edicts of the Mongol ruler ; but in 1362 Chunti unwisely sanctioned an arbitrary interference in their home affairs. Some relations of his wife, the Empress Ki, who was of Corean birth, murdered in that year the reigning king ; but, far from punishing the criminals, Chunti appointed a new king of their choice. Tasutumor—such was his name—left Peking for his new kingdom, with a Mongol general and an army of 10,000 men, oblivious of the storm which his nomination had aroused. The Coreans resolved to repudiate this nominee of Peking, and assembling in their thousands on the Yaloo river, under the leadership of Wang Jwan, their popular chief, inflicted so severe a defeat there on the Emperor's army, that only seventeen men escaped to tell the tale of their disaster. Such was the closing act of the Mongol dynasty in regard to its relations with the kingdom of Corea and its brave, independent people.

It was not until the year 1366, when Chunti's incapacity had alienated the sympathy of his own followers, and when the dissensions in the ranks of the Mongols themselves had produced distrust and suspicion on all sides, that Choo resolved to commence the war for the expulsion of the foreign rulers. Up to this point he had maintained and extended his authority without coming into contact with the power of the Emperor, and chiefly by quietly substituting his administration in districts which had been lost to the Mongols. But the end before him was the same as with the most

pronounced of their enemies ; he alone knew how best it could be attained. The difficulties which he had to overcome before he felt ready to grapple with the forces of Peking were far from being few or trivial. A rival leader in the southern provinces, Changsse Ching, who represented the hopes of a numerous and desperate band of adventurers, threatened his position in the rear, and the dispersion of this faction was the essential preliminary to any operations north of the Yangtsekiang. Having accomplished this task, Choo found himself brought face to face with a new and unexpected difficulty in the momentary defection of his ally, the piratical leader Fangkua Chin. This personage had not been as sincere in his protestations of friendship and zeal as had at the time appeared to be the case. Personal pique led him to break away from the alliance with Choo, and to enter into another arrangement with Koukou, the adopted son of Chahan Timour, who, after taking a certain part in the affairs of Peking, had been dismissed by Chunti from all his employments, and was now a desperate and dangerous man, striving to make a second fortune out of the troubles of the time. The promptness of Choo's measures foiled the plans of his enemies. Before they could draw their strength to a head, Choo's generals were in possession of Fangkua Chin's cities, and that chief had been compelled to seek safety in an island of the sea. Seeing the hopelessness of the cause, Fangkua Chin threw himself on the generosity of his conqueror, and sank into obscurity at Choo's court. With the removal of these perils, Choo was left free to concentrate all his attention and strength on his forthcoming struggle with the Mongols.

In 1366, therefore, Choo gave orders to his troops to prepare for a general campaign, and at the same time issued a proclamation to the Chinese people telling them that the hour had arrived for casting off the foreign yoke which had pressed heavily upon them for almost a hundred years. The proclamation was calculated to inspire the people with courage, and the effect of Choo's eloquence was made complete by the sight of his well-drilled and well-led soldiers. Three armies left Nankin at the same time, each charged with a distinct mission. The two first were instructed to

subdue the three provinces of Fuhkien, Kwangsi, and Kwantung. The notice of their approach, the mere sight of their banners, sufficed to attain their object. In the course of a few weeks the authority of the Mongols had been swept away for ever from three of the great provinces of the Empire. The people hailed the name of their deliverer with acclamations of joy, and many hastened to swell the ranks of the army to which had been entrusted the more difficult task of reconquering the northern provinces. Of the fate of the Mongol garrisons in the south history has left no record, a silence which by many will be considered more expressive than words.

Meanwhile, the third or great army, numbering 250,000 men, and consisting mostly of cavalry, was in full march for the northern capital. Choo did not at first place himself at the head of this force, as his own warlike disposition undoubtedly prompted him to do, but he entrusted it to his favourite general Suta, who showed a skill and an aptitude for command that fully justified his leader's selection. In the autumn of the year 1367 Suta crossed the Hoangho and advanced in the direction of Peking. Very little resistance was offered; and the Mongol garrisons, discouraged by a long succession of reverses, retreated on the approach of the national army. One officer, bolder than the rest, attempted to effect a diversion from the side of Tunkwan; but his scheme, though ably conceived, failed in the execution. After this no further opposition was encountered until the province of Pechihli had been entered, and by that time the result of the campaign being more or less assured, Choo set out from Nankin to place himself at the head of his troops. At Tongchow, Pouyen Timour made a vigorous defence; but the town was forced to surrender, and the commandant either died of his wounds or committed suicide. A few days later Peking, whence Chunti had fled, was carried by storm in face of the desperate resistance of a small portion of the Mongol army. These gallant defenders of the imperial city, headed by Timour Pouhoa and several of the civilian ministers, were cut down to the last man. The enterprise of Choo was virtually crowned with success by the capture of Peking and

the flight of Chunti. The war with the expelled Mongols still went on, but China was then emancipated from the Tartar yoke. The description of these later campaigns belongs to the reign of Hongwou, not to the career of the adventurer Choo Yuen Chang.

The expulsion of the Mongols from China, after they had exercised supreme authority in it for almost a century, marks the close of the history of that remarkable people as a great national power. After the death of Kublai, their decay proved rapid. Not one of his descendants or successors seemed capable of reviving the earlier glories of the family. Possessing, almost to the end of their struggle with the numerous champions of Chinese liberty, the best army in the country, their own divisions and incapacity as rulers prevented their turning this superiority to any advantage. They also showed, by their indifference to the growing power of Choo, an inability to realize the situation, which would alone convict them of grave short-sightedness. While a formidable military power was being formed at their very doors, they remained inactive, or still worse, they further enfeebled themselves by indulging personal rivalries and petty ambitions. The last page in the history of Mongol power in China is unworthy of its mighty past. At the very moment when the conqueror was being vanquished by the conquered, the great Timour, descendant in the sixth degree of Genghis, was about to begin in Western Asia that marvellous career of triumph which emulated, if it could not surpass, that of the greatest of the Mongols. This fact makes it clear that the old Mongol spirit was not yet extinct; but it had certainly departed from that section of the family which had established itself in China.

With the fall of the Mongols a brighter era began for the Chinese, whose aspirations had been repressed under a foreign rule, and the qualities shown by Choo during those years when he was moulding the national will to his purpose did not, fortunately, become less conspicuous after he mounted the throne, as the first of the Mings with the style of Hongwou. It was generally felt that a more auspicious epoch was on the point of commencing, and that the ancient

glories of China were about to be revived in the form most agreeable and palatable to the nation. The incubus of a foreign domination had been cast off, and a great people could rejoice in the prospect raised by so satisfactory an achievement. The advent of the Mings to power was effected in the way most calculated to ensure the durability of their tenure, and the affection of the people was won by the fact that their new prince had conferred upon them the greatest of all the benefits which can be rendered by individuals to communities—the attainment of freedom.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE REIGN OF HONGWOU.

WITH the capture of Pekin, and the despatch of an army into the north-west, under the command of his able general Suta, Hongwou had the leisure to take a careful survey of his position. The Mongols were then in full retreat for their northern solitudes, but the situation was still pregnant with difficulty. In this events were but following the usual course of human affairs; for it has been often demonstrated how much easier it is to destroy than to create. To expel the foreigner and revive a form of national government was a task which appealed generally to the good-will and support of the nation; but it by no means followed that the endeavour to place Hongwou on the throne would meet with the same support, or attain a similar degree of success. The first years after the storming of Pekin were, therefore, passed by Hongwou in considerable anxiety; but the prudence which had marked all his proceedings when in a minor capacity continued to characterize his acts as supreme ruler. He began his career by attaining a great and striking success, and he showed how deserving he was of the prize he had won by his subsequent wisdom and moderation.

The first proclamations he issued were those in honour of his parents and ancestors, which attract and receive the approval of the Chinese. Having indulged his own personal feelings and gratified the popular sentiment, Hongwou next turned his attention to reward those who had so far assisted him in his enterprise. The generals were recompensed with titles and pecuniary grants for their faithful service; but as

these favours would have been conferred by the most ordinary of princes, Hongwou resolved to show the exceptional nature of his own talents by the bestowal of a peculiar distinction. In the year 1369, the first of his reign, he erected at Peking a temple, or hall, in which statues were placed in honour of those of his generals who had been slain, whilst vacant places were left for those who still survived the chances of the long war of independence.

Hongwou was much too prudent a man, and too thoroughly acquainted with the idiosyncrasies of his countrymen, to make his army the sole prop of his power and the basis of his authority. The utility of possessing a highly efficient and trustworthy body of troops was incontestable, and Hongwou was happy and secure in the possession. But in China it is necessary to stability of authority that, in addition to the power of the sword, there shall be the expressed approval of the national mind. The force of public opinion is on cherished points irresistible from the unanimity of a great and multitudinous race; and Hongwou showed marked skill, not only in appreciating the drift of his people's minds, but in flattering the ideas which influenced their opinion. In a country composed exclusively of civilians, the new ruler saw how fatal a mistake it would be to unduly exalt the military class. The Mongols had committed that blunder, or rather it formed the distinguishing feature of their system, and consequently their rule never did, and probably never could, contain the elements of durability. Hongwou had no difficulty in reversing this system; and, while he kept several armies employed in the national war, he took every pains to impress upon his new subjects the fact that he was a man of peace, who believed that the national glory could be best advanced by promoting the welfare of the people. In China there are three principal ways of bringing these views home to the public mind. They are, first, by encouraging learning and by rewarding those who show proficiency in the study of the classical writers; secondly, by a pure and impartial administration of justice through the provincial governors; and, thirdly, by the imposition of moderate and fairly distributed taxes, and also

by a benevolent attention to the local wants of the people, who, scattered over an enormous extent of country, and living under every variety of climate, are frequently visited with all the horrors due to drought, famine, and pestilence. The key to Hongwou's reign will be furnished by the manner in which he discharged the duties, thus defined, of a Chinese ruler.

The Mongols, although Kublai himself had set a wiser example, took but scant interest in the literature of the country; partly because they suffered from the inability of "barbarians" to understand or appreciate the beauties of a southern tongue, and also, no doubt, because the supremacy of letters was an idea totally foreign to their system. The wisdom of Kublai had imposed some fetters on their savage inclination; but with his death the inclination to patronize the classics of China passed away from his unworthy successors. There remained, therefore, to Hongwou the possibility of securing a greater amount of popular applause by encouraging learning, and by patronizing the literary classes. His first acts showed that he fully appreciated the opportunity, and they were guided by an excellence of judgment seldom shown by mortals in the shaping of even their own affairs. Much of the State resources had been turned aside from their legitimate objects by the later Emperors of the previous dynasty, to be devoted to purposes of personal indulgence, or for the maintenance of an unnecessary and foolish splendour. Hongwou's first measure was to stop every outlay that could come under the charge of extravagance, and to devote the public money to objects that might fairly be included in the category of national requirements. Not content with stopping the imprudent outlay which had marked the decline of the Mongol power, he even went so far as to destroy some of the costly palaces which had been constructed out of Chinese money to testify to the magnificence of the House of Genghis. In this extreme step we may see the working quite as much of shrewd judgment and of close acquaintance with the character of his countrymen, as of the spirit of an iconoclast. Hongwou's conduct was based on the best models, and could not fail to secure the national applause. When he remarked

that "the Mongols should have devoted themselves to satisfying the wants of the people, and not to their own amusements," he was well aware that he was appealing to sentiments cherished by the Chinese from their childhood, and ingrained into the national character by centuries of precept.

In the true spirit of the founder of a new family, one of Hongwou's first acts was to entrust to a literary commission the task of writing the history of the preceding dynasty. This was the usual formal notification of the fact that one epoch had closed and that another was about to commence in the national annals. Having passed this decree, which was so emphatically sanctioned by custom that it had come to be regarded almost as binding as a religious rite, Hongwou founded a school for the sons of the greater officials; and to give it a claim to the high consideration it might otherwise have needed, he sent his own sons to be educated there. Nor did his measures for the advancement of learning and for the development of the national mind stop here. They reached their culminating point in two works of the highest magnitude, the restoration of the celebrated Hanlin College, and the codification and revision of the great book of laws.

The Hanlin College had first come into being, or, at all events, acquired definite form, under the wise and beneficent influence of the great Tait song. That prince had given stability to his authority by the patronage he extended to the learned classes, but his main object had been to elevate the taste and mould the style of Chinese writers. With that object in view, he founded the Chinese Academy; and so completely did he attain the purpose he had before him, that the standard of poetical elegance achieved and laid down by the poets of his day remains the standard still. The verses of Keen Lung, which furnished a theme for the admiration of Voltaire, were based on precisely the same lines as those observed by the poets of Tait song's reign, although they may exhibit graces to which the older writers had no claim. Having been started on the high road to success by the bounty of the great sovereign of the Tangs, the Hanlin College flourished on the munificence of those who came after him. In this instance, as in much else, each succeeding

dynasty strove not to outdo, but to perpetuate the work of its predecessor. The Sung and the Kins continued to show favour to the great institution that embraced within its wide-reaching folds the literature of the country; and one of the proofs of Kublai's capacity to rule the Chinese was that no sooner had he made himself master of the old Kin capital than he assigned as the abode of the Hanlin doctors one of the most costly and pleasantly situated of the palaces of the conquered. What Kublai had done as a matter of policy, Hongwou confirmed, and continued as a question of natural attachment and national predilection. To him the Hanlin represented an institution intimately associated with the dawn of China's greatness. True it is that it had no claims to go back to that vaguely known period of perfection when the constitution of the country had its origin; nor had it been handed down as a remote tradition, with not only its original merits, but also with all the accumulated imperfections caused by the dangers, difficulties, and responsibilities of centuries. But it was closely connected with the period when China took her place, not only as the most powerful empire in Asia, but also among the polished nations of the world.

And Hongwou was open to all these influences. A visit to the Hanlin College inspired him with the genius of the place, and he felt a national as well as a personal pride in reversing the neglect which Kublai's unworthy descendants had latterly extended to this monument of China's fame. Both at Peking, and also at Nankin—the favoured city of the earlier Mings—he granted favourable sites for the buildings necessary for the accommodation of its members, and extended to them all the assistance and material support which contributed to maintain the supremacy of its professors among the literary classes of China.

Hongwou's next great work, and one also which still endures, was the codification of the *Book of Laws*, the *Pandects of Yunglo* as it has been called. By this act he not only gave definite form and substance to the regulations by means of which society was kept together in China, but he also placed some further hindrance in the way of those who might seek to tyrannize over the people in districts remote

from the central authority. By recording in a clear and unequivocal form the statutes of the Empire—a work of immense labour, seeing that they emanated from a considerable number of different systems and opposite customs—Hongwou earned a claim to his subjects' gratitude, not merely because he thereby completed a national monument, but principally because he ensured by it just government and that immunity from official oppression which was, as stated, one of the three essentials to the popularity or stability of any administration in China. Hongwou was careful to do the thing that was not only just and true for all ages, but that which was likely to receive popular approval for the time being.

Nor did his efforts for the benefit of the country show symptoms of exhaustion with the accomplishment of these two grand schemes, which might be set down by the cynicism of sceptical critics to human vanity as much as to the benevolent desire of a paternal ruler. By one of the first edicts of his reign he had revived the ancient law of gratuitous national education. Under the Mongols the schools which used to exist in every town of any pretension had been allowed to fall into decay. They were now restored, and schoolmasters, properly qualified, were appointed to their charge, under the immediate supervision of the Emperor himself; and in order to place learning before the masses in her most attractive form, he caused public libraries, with books supplied from the capital, or at the expense of the Exchequer, to be placed in all the provincial capitals and larger towns. Indeed, it was his ambition that every village throughout the country should possess its library,* but in this it was not possible for him to attain the full success he desired. He had perforce to rest satisfied with having placed at the disposal of a vast number

* Libraries in China have suffered from the neglect which has fallen over most of the national monuments since the death of the fourth Manchu Emperor Keen Lung at the end of the last century, and very few now remain. Even the celebrated Imperial Library at Peking has suffered in common with those of less note and importance. There are at this time no general libraries or reading-rooms throughout the country; but, as M. Huc has observed, books can be bought in China at a lower price than in any other country, and thus the evil is to some extent remedied.

of his subjects a ready means of self-instruction, and a source of pleasant occupation which they had never enjoyed at any previous epoch.

Hongwou's care for his people was not confined to their mental wants ; it extended to the corporal necessities common to mankind. By sumptuary laws he had put down the extravagance of his Court, and the sums which previous rulers had wasted on personal indulgence were devoted by him to the alleviation of his people's requirements. Acting on the ancient and widely recognized principle that the aged and the orphan had peculiar claims on the State, which demands from all alike ungrudging assistance and service, Hongwou impressed upon his officials the duty of attending to the wants of the poor and the weak. It would be saying too much to assert that Hongwou was the founder of orphanages and hospitals in China ; but the peremptory instructions he gave his subordinates before despatching them to their posts in the provinces, probably accomplished the same benevolent objects. While he was on the throne the poor and the sick could feel sure of receiving from the authorities the amount of food or other assistance necessary for their support.

And the credit of this Prince was the greater, because the years which beheld the inception of these plans were marked by wars of which the bitterness and severity were undoubted, if the result continued one of uniform triumph for Hongwou. The people in the more remote districts had not yet acquired the habit of obedience to the new ruler, and so long as doubt was justifiable as to the future of the Mings, there was some reason for those who thought that the national interests might be promoted without any formal recognition of the new dynasty. The Mongol, moreover, was still formidable on the north-west frontier ; and while Hongwou was actively engaged in the restoration of the central authority and administration, his general Suta was not less energetically employed in the difficult and dangerous task of driving out the relics of their late conquerors, and of firmly establishing the imperial authority on the western borders.

Suta's campaigns, which form the most stirring episode in

Hongwou's reign, extended over a period of almost twenty years from his first invasion of Shansi to his defeat of the Mongol general, Arpouha, a few months before his death. The invasion of Shansi was accomplished with such ease that it encouraged the Mings to delay no longer than was absolutely necessary in commencing operations against the provinces of Shensi and Kansuh, and the adjoining districts, where the warriors of the desert, again brought face to face with the necessity and penury which had made them conquerors, might recover their old audacity and proficiency in the science of arms. The Emperor resolved to strike quickly and vigorously at the scattered bands of his beaten and discouraged foe before fresh courage and confidence should return.

In the province of Shensi, Lissechi, a general of the Mongols, still maintained an independence, which he evidently hoped might endure. Lissechi aspired to place his state in the path of the Chinese as a barrier against their further aggression, but neither Hongwou nor Suta was disposed to grant him the time necessary for the success of his plans. A brother general, Kuku Timour, had nursed a similar ambition in Shansi, but his ambition had dissolved with his power at the first contact with the vindicators of their country. And now it had come to Lissechi's turn to encounter the same foe under circumstances not more favourable to his prospects, and there was no reason for anticipating that the result in his case would be different or less promptly attained. The military superiority of the Chinese army over the disheartened fragments of the Mongol forces was turned to the greatest advantage by the tactical ability of the general Suta, and the issue was never left in doubt.

The bend of the great river Hoangho * forms a complete

* The Hoangho or Yellow River rises at a place called Sing-Suh-hae in Northern Tibet. Passing through Tcharing and Oring Nors, its course is generally east by north until it enters Kansuh, when it takes a more northerly direction. It stretches beyond that province into the desert, and forms a loop round the steppe occupied by the Ordus tribes; and then flowing south separates Shensi and Shansi until it reaches the Hoiho. It then flows due east towards the sea. We have no exact knowledge of any roads leading from the east to the west in this quarter, or of any passage across the Hoangho, although both probably exist. The length of the Hoangho is 2600 miles.

barrier between the two provinces of Shansi and Shensi. Lissechi rejoiced in the possession of this defence, and imagined that Suta would experience great difficulty in overcoming it. With such confidence did the broad stream of the Hoangho inspire some of the Mongol leaders, that several of them sought to carry the war back into the country just subdued by the Mings. The idea may have been bold, but the scheme was not feasible. Esu, an ex-minister of the Yuens, collected a small band, and attempted to make a diversion against Pet-pin, a fortified place of some importance on the Pet-ho river. But the commandant of a neighbouring garrison threw himself into the threatened town, and the craftiness of his counsels proved of as much avail as the presence of an army; for when he found that his soldiers were few in numbers compared with the troops brought against him by Esu, he resorted to one of those stratagems of which the very simplicity has often sufficed from the earliest days of history to baffle the wisdom of a foe. He collected all the junks in the place, and, planting red banners at their mastheads, bade his soldiers, on the approach of the enemy, strike up with all possible vigour on their trumpets and drums. Esu, seeing this numerous flotilla, and inferring from what he heard the strength of the Chinese army, only stayed to gaze in disappointment on the city which he had hoped to surprise, and then beat a hasty and disorderly retreat.

In the meanwhile, Suta had completed his preparations and crossed the Hoangho with an army accustomed to victory. Lissechi did not so much as attempt any resistance, nor does he appear to have possessed the capacity to improvise a stubborn defence out of means which might, in more capable hands, have proved sufficient. The town of Tsin-yuen, where Lissechi had taken up his residence, and where he had expressed an intention to make a stand, surrendered without a blow on the approach of Suta's forces, and the pusillanimous leader, after a moment's hesitation as to the wisdom of making a timely and discreet submission, fled to prolong his hour of independence. It was only with diminished courage and weakened forces that Lissechi succeeded in finding shelter behind the walls of Fongtsiang. The town

of Koankia-tong, a place of some importance, had been entrusted to the charge of a brave Mongol officer named Sankocheli, whose sole thought in the hour of danger was how he might best defend the trust reposed in him. His fortitude rendered the concentration of the Chinese army necessary for this siege, and Suta had to devote all his energy to the task. Superior numbers soon decided the day, and Sankocheli brought a gallant defence to a conclusion by committing suicide after he had immolated his family on the altar of military honour and devotion.

Suta, when this siege was over, sent his advanced guard against Fongtsiang, where Lissechi had taken refuge, and with it went also a special emissary charged with a letter from the Emperor to Lissechi promising him pardon and oblivion for the past should he submit. But the Mongol had not yet made up his mind to resign the game as lost, although he remained irresolute as ever to tempt the fortune of war. On the approach of the Ming army, he fled to Lintao, and Fongtsiang forthwith opened its gates. The flight of Lissechi into Kansuh closed this portion of the campaign in Shensi. There remained to Suta the necessity of deciding whether he would continue his operations against Lissechi until they had resulted in his capture, or whether he would turn aside from his main enterprise and prosecute the war with the other hostile forces which still contested portions of Shensi against the imperial arms.

At a council of war held for the purpose of deciding what steps should next be taken, opinions were divided between those who proposed to continue the pursuit of Lissechi, and those who advocated leaving him for the moment undisturbed, while all their energies were directed against those of the Mongol leaders who had not yet suffered defeat. The latter were the more numerous. But councils of war are proverbially over-cautious, and Suta fortunately saw through the fallacy of his lieutenants' arguments. In a masterly manner, he explained the advantages that would accrue to them from an immediate advance on Lintao and from the prompt capture of Lissechi. Nor did Suta delay in the execution of his design. Having come to a prompt and

vigorous decision in striking contrast with the indecision and suggestion of half-measures that found favour and approval with his council of war, Suta's orders for a forward movement on the part of his main force were clear and emphatic. In a few days his cavalry had pressed on to Ningyuen, while his infantry had occupied in succession Long, Tsinchow, and Foukiang. Kongchang shared the fate of Ningyuen, and then, by a rapid advance, Suta's cavalry appeared before the walls of Lintao, where Lissechi had made no preparations for holding out. In this evil plight his old irresolution returned, and, as the situation appeared desperate, he placed himself, without striking a blow, in the hands of his enemy. He was sent to the capital, where Hongwou spared his life and gave him a small but honourable employment.

The surrender of Lissechi and the capture of Lintao were naturally followed by the voluntary adhesion of many of the western cities to the cause of the Mings; but, although the results of these campaigns were all satisfactory and far from few, Suta's task still remained little more than half accomplished. The main body of the Mongols, with their fugitive Emperor, had taken up their residence at Ninghia, a town situated on the further side of the Hoangho near the verge of the Gobi desert, and advantageously placed in many ways for the purposes of men who had lost a great possession, but who yet aspired to recover it. At Ninghia the Mongols stood on the threshold of their former renown and greatness. With it in their hands, the hope of regaining what they had lost might still be indulged; but, with Ninghia gone, there would be no alternative to returning into the desert and again sinking into the insignificant position of a nomad race. The interest and importance of the following campaign resolve themselves, therefore, into the question of the possession of Ninghia.

It has been seen that counsels were divided in Suta's camp between an attack on Lintao and on Kingyang; but when the former had been taken, the next enterprise that suggested itself to Hongwou's commander was naturally the siege of the latter place. The Mongol Changsetao had been in command there, but, after Lissechi's overthrow, he hastened to Ninghia to procure reinforcements, leaving a small garrison

under his brother Changsanchin to hold Kingyang against the Mings. Changsanchin, left to his own resources, became so unnerved by the greatness of the danger which threatened him, that he sent a messenger to Suta to say that he held Kingyang at his disposal, or he may have thought to better his chances of defence by a simulated surrender. Suta placed little confidence in the good faith of the Mongol, but sent a strong force under the command of his lieutenant Tangho to occupy the town. Changsanchin either recovered his courage, or had been playing a double part throughout. Tangho arrived only to find the gates closed against him, and the town well prepared to stand a siege. But if Changsanchin's overtures were intended as a ruse to gain time they signally failed in their object, for Suta's promptness left him no profit from his device.

Tangho's corps was too small to lay siege in form to so strongly placed and largely garrisoned a fortress, and had to content itself with acting on the defensive and repulsing the onsets of the Mongols, who hoped to crush this detachment before it could be reinforced. Tangho succeeded in holding his ground; and the arrival of fresh troops, sent by Suta as soon as he learnt the real position of affairs, enabled him to surround Kingyang on all sides, and to cut off its communications with Ninghia, whence aid was anxiously expected by the beleaguered Mongol garrison. The siege had lasted some days, and no signs of the promised aid from Changsetao and the confederates of Ninghia were yet visible. Changsanchin therefore sent a pressing message for help to Kuku Timour, the principal general at Ninghia and the responsible leader of the Mongols in their hour of distress. The messenger, Choho, made his way in safety through the enemy's lines, and carried the news of Changsanchin's desperate situation to the conclave of Mongol leaders.

Kuku Timour was more prompt to send the needed succour to a comrade in distress than Changsetao had shown himself to help a brother. He hastily collected such troops as he could dispose of, and made a forward movement into the districts recently subdued by the prowess of Suta and his army. Several towns were retaken and their garrisons put to

the sword ; but the relief of Kingyang remained none the less a task of difficulty, if not of impossibility. For Suta himself had been far from inactive ; while his lieutenant Tangho had been laying close siege to Kingyang, he had continued his operations beyond Lintao, and had occupied Lanchefoo and defeated the Prince of Yu, one of the most powerful of the Mongol chieftains. When he had accomplished this part of his plan of campaign, and rendered the western cities secure against surprise, he returned to Lintao, whence he marched on Kingyang to assume the personal control of its siege. Changsanchin had been making a gallant defence, and up to this had baffled all the efforts of his assailants. But he had suffered considerable loss during his sorties, and it was clear that unless aid promptly arrived he would have no alternative save to surrender. The garrison was reduced to such straits that they used the bodies of their slain as food ; and, as no sign of Kuku Timour's promised succour was apparent, they at last threw open the gates and yielded their charge to Suta and the Mings. Changsanchin threw himself into a well, whether to invite death or in the hope of effecting his escape is not known ; but, being discovered, he was dragged forth and executed.

The capture of Kingyang virtually closed the campaign in Shensi ; and Suta, having enjoyed the personal gratification of witnessing the withdrawal, at his approach, of the Mongol forces to Ninghia, returned to the capital to seek a well-earned repose from his martial labours. Hongwou suffered about this time a serious loss in the death of his great general and well-trying follower, Chang Yuchun, who was in every way Suta's worthy colleague and peer. He appears to have been a gallant and daring soldier rather than a skilful commander ; but his character as a man is reflected in the fact that, although he was the senior of Suta, he served under him with cheerful obedience. With him it had been a common saying, in the dark days when the Mongols were on the throne of Peking, and when Chinese nationality was struggling for life and freedom on the banks of the Great River, that he would march with a hundred thousand men from one end of China to the other, and the saying has attached itself to his name. He is

still remembered in the military annals of China as Chang Hundred Thousand.

The departure of Suta inspired Kuku Timour and his Mongols with fresh courage. They flattered themselves that they had to fear only his superior generalship and not the valour or numbers of the Chinese. They might still, as they conceived, cherish the hope that they could regain what they had lost in Shensi and Kansuh, if not eastward of those provinces, and enjoy an existence in that quarter of the country, which they had first vanquished and then lost, preferable to any they could pass in the few oases of their old desert home. Suta, therefore, had not long departed before there was a return of activity to the Mongols within the cramped space they still held on the fertile territory of China. Kuku Timour resolved to take the field in person, and marched up the Hoangho for the purpose of besieging Lanchefoo, where Suta had left but a small garrison. The commandant, Changwen, must have been a man of more than ordinary courage and resolution, for, notwithstanding his numerical inferiority, he assumed the offensive, and at first he even obtained a few advantages over the Mongols. The latter returned, however, to the attack, and at last compelled Changwen to retire behind his fortifications. The news of the investment of this important place soon spread throughout the province, and troops were hastily collected from the surrounding garrisons and sent forward to reinforce Changwen's army. Prominent among those who came to aid Changwen was Yukwang, the Governor of Hongchang; but his movements, if characterized by celerity, were also marked by rashness, and he allowed himself to be surprised and overwhelmed by a Mongol detachment sent against him. This victory seemed to justify Kuku Timour's hopes that it was the skill of Suta and not the military prowess of the Chinese which he had to fear.

The news of this disaster called Suta back from the capital. Several fresh armies were raised for the campaign in the west, and Hongwou sent Ly Wenchong and other experienced lieutenants to assist his principal commander in the operations against the Mongol army then laying close

siege to the city of Lanchefoo. The mere rumour of Suta's approach served to ensure the relief of Lanchefoo, where Changwen had made so successful and determined a defence ; for Kuku Timour broke up his camp and retreated, after another desperate effort to carry the town by assault. Having thus secured without a blow all the advantages of a pitched battle, Suta remained in his quarters during the year 1369, but he was actively engaged during that period in completing his preparations for the final move against the Mongols. He appears to have availed himself of this interval of rest to pay another visit to Hongwou's Court, where he was received with all honour, and where he presented Changwen, the gallant defender of Lanchefoo, to their Sovereign.

The first blow was struck by Ly Wenchong, who made a rapid movement against the few Mongol garrisons remaining in the north-west portion of Kansuh. These scattered detachments were ill able to make a protracted stand against this vigorous attack, and in a very short time Souchow and Kia Yu Koan, the western gates of the Great Wall, had surrendered to the Mings. By these successes the way was paved for an advance into the desert ; and the importance of Ninghia, still the head-quarters of Kuku Timour, was much diminished, if, indeed, its very safety was not seriously menaced by the establishment of the Ming power on its flank. The Mongols were reduced to such straits, that in sheer despair they had to face the alternative of a pitched battle. Kuku Timour drew up his army in a position of considerable strength near Souchow, but beyond the Great Wall. A precipitate attack made by one of Suta's lieutenants was repulsed with severe loss to the assailants, and the courage of the Mongols being raised by this preliminary success they set to work with renewed activity to increase the defences of their camp. Such confidence as they had vanished on the appearance of Suta. The very day of his arrival he reconnoitred their position, and resolved to deliver his attack on the morrow. The action commenced at daybreak, and the battle raged throughout the long hours of a summer day. The Mongols at first repulsed the main onset ; but Suta had sent a detachment to make a diversion in their rear, and it

succeeded in gaining an entrance within the lines of the defenders and in holding its ground. When this advantage had been obtained, Suta returned to the attack with renewed vigour, and carried the entrenchments at the charge. The struggle passed into a butchery. More than 80,000 men were counted among the slain when the slaughter ceased, and among these were the noblest of the Mongol leaders. Kuku Timour, when he saw that the fortune of the day had gone against him, beat a hasty retreat with a handful of trusty followers, making good his escape to Ninghia, whence, after a brief rest, he fled into the northern solitudes.

Suta sent one of his lieutenants into the desert beyond Kansuh for the purpose of receiving the submission of the nomad tribes and scattered settlements of that region. We are told that he accomplished his purpose, and that he nominated a governor for this territory, which was kept in awe by the reputation of its master, rather than absolutely conquered. While we may not attach any definite meaning or value to the reported exploits of this expedition, the consequences likely to follow Suta's great victory over the last army at the disposal of the Mongol chiefs will be admitted to have contributed to the elevation of Ming authority in the eyes of the impressionable children of the desert. The pacification of the north-west was undoubtedly rendered the more thorough and assured by this carrying of Chinese authority into the wilds beyond the cultivated districts, and by this occupation of the eastern approaches to the great trade-route with Turkestan and the West.

While Suta had been engaged in the operations that culminated in the overthrow of Kuku Timour, his colleague, Ly Wenchong, had, on another scene of the war, brought a campaign of brilliance and importance to a conclusion. The ex-Emperor Chunti had retired to Yngchang, a place on the Mongolian steppe, where he died in the year 1370, and his titles passed to his son and heir, Gaiourcheritala. A very short time after this event, Ly Wenchong approached at the head of the army with which Hongwou had entrusted him, and consternation seized in consequence the Mongol camp. The Mongols were too disheartened to offer any determined

defence, and surrendered one position after another. Yng-chang itself shared the same fate, and, although Gaiourcheritala made his escape farther into the desert, his eldest son Maitilipala and all the other members of his family were taken prisoners and sent to Nankin, where the Ming Emperor chiefly resided. Ly Wenchong thus completed, by dispersing the ex-imperial family, and by sending them as captives to Hongwou, the work which Suta had successfully begun. This crowning triumph afforded Hongwou's courtiers the opportunity to proceed in a body to congratulate him, and some among them suggested that Maitilipala should be executed in order that the late dynasty might be extirpated. But Hongwou was actuated by more generous motives, and refused to avail himself of the savage rights of a conqueror. The sole revenge he took was to oblige the young Mongol prince to exchange his Tartar dress for the Chinese costume, and he then conferred upon him a title of the third grade of nobility, with a small allowance or estate.

The campaigns against the Mongols being thus brought to a triumphant termination, and all prospect of any recovery on their part being at an end, the two victorious generals returned to Nankin to receive the thanks and congratulations of their Sovereign. The ceremony attending their reception was conducted with all the formality required by the national character of the occasion. Hongwou went down to the banks of the Kiang river to receive them, and preceded them in their procession through the streets. But the principal ceremony of all had yet to be performed. A few days later the Emperor, attended by his full Court, received the generals in public audience. They were then thanked, and received the rewards of their faithful services; but perhaps the most striking part of the Emperor's address was the warning he gave them to avoid luxury, and to cultivate some peaceful pursuit now that the days of warfare were probably over. In Hongwou's remarks may be seen something of the natural prudence of the man, who, knowing how easily those accustomed to lead their troops to victory might indulge dreams of reckless ambition, took the precaution to warn his generals

of the consequences of infringing the laws to which even princes had to bow.

Among the principal wants of an Eastern people must be placed a cheap and plentiful supply of salt, of which the central and maritime provinces of China produce abundant quantities. But the difficulty of conveying the precious article to the extremity of the Empire left the inhabitants of many districts imperfectly provided with this necessary. Hongwou devoted much of his attention to remedying this defect, and by his orders the provincial governors were entrusted with the task of distributing salt to the merchants in exchange for grain. By this means the people of the remote districts and of the frontier territories were able to procure a plentiful supply of this article.

In numerous other matters, small in appearance, but really very closely affecting the happiness and welfare of his subjects, Hongwou showed equal forethought, and a strong desire to extend to them the support and assistance of a paternal government. Nor did he confine his sympathy to those who were of his own race, and he extended as much consideration to the Mongols under his authority. Among the measures which had been taken at an early period of the war to root out the Mongol authority in the northern provinces had been the removal of a considerable number of Tartars to settlements in the interior of China. In their new homes they evinced a spirit of such turbulence and hostility towards the established authorities, that extreme measures against them were advocated by the local officials. Hongwou wisely and temperately replied that their misconduct was probably due to the influences of the climate, for it could not be supposed that a people accustomed to the cold of the north would be contented and happy in the semi-tropical regions of the south. The true remedy, he added, for their dissatisfaction was not to punish them for what, after all, was a natural sentiment, but to convey them back to their native regions, and to supply them with the means of leading an honest life there after their own fashion. From a sovereign of so just a mind, the thoughtfulness which prompted his sending to Ninghia for the garrison at that remote town a

supply of fur coats and other garments, appears to be but another natural trait in a noble character.

The fall of the Mongols had left the governor of the north-eastern province of Leaoutung cut off from the rest of China, and dependent upon his own devices to maintain there some form of recognized authority. But the rapid progress of Hongwou's arms served to convince Liouy, the governor, that it would be imprudent for him to delay any further in recognizing the new Chinese Government; and accordingly in A.D. 1371 he tendered his formal surrender, together with a list of the troops, resources, and population of his province. Hongwou received Liouy's overtures in a spirit of favourable condescension, and forthwith appointed him to act as military governor, with some of the rights of civil authority, in Leaoutung; and for a time it seemed as if that province had been reunited with the Empire without bloodshed or cost of treasure.

But this satisfactory result was not to be so easily obtained, nor without some of the proverbial disappointment and delay common to human enterprises. Liouy had local rivals and enemies who saw in his advancement as a lieutenant of the Mings the doom of the hopes they had indulged; but, although Liouy knew of their machinations, he permitted them to remain at large. He paid the penalty of his rashness, as they attacked and slew him on his own threshold. Two of his lieutenants succeeded in restoring order, and in arresting one of the murderers, while the other escaped to a Mongol leader on the Manchurian frontier. But the situation remained one of anxiety and difficulty. A long council was held at Nankin on the subject, but the only decision at which it arrived was to appoint Liouy's lieutenants and avengers to his post, and to await the further development of events. This clearly provided no permanent settlement of the difficulty, but merely an expedient to gain time.

The Mongol chief, Nahachu, caused considerable trouble to the people of this province, and the possibility of attack from this quarter created so much anxiety in the minds of the new governors of Leaoutung that they thought it better to attempt to conclude an amicable arrangement with him

than to live on in a state of doubtful relationship. An envoy was accordingly sent to his camp to discover a basis for negotiation; but the Mongol placed the messenger in confinement, and resumed his depredations with increased vigour. A report of these proceedings reached Hongwou, who thereupon despatched two armies, one by land and the other by sea, to release the captive envoy and to pacify Leaoutung. The military operations that followed were marked by rapid success. The Mongol bands were either captured or driven further back into the wilds of Manchuria, where both the inclemency of the climate and the barren nature of the soil rendered life cheerless and a matter of difficulty. To their principal leaders, sent captive to Nankin, Hongwou extended the generous forgiveness which he had previously exhibited towards other Mongol princes in the West.

While these events were taking place in the north, others of hardly less importance had happened in the extreme south, where the secluded provinces of Szchuen and Yunnan, after an interval of uncertainty, were undergoing the same vicissitudes of fortune which had attended the other parts of the Empire until they passed under the sway of Hongwou. In these provinces the officials appointed by the Mongol still retained, in A.D. 1372, their posts, nor did they appear to apprehend that there was danger in their neglect to send to Hongwou that recognition of authority which conquerors expect and require. So long as affairs in the north remained urgent, Hongwou neither felt the inclination nor recognized the necessity to interfere in a quarter whence he had no danger to anticipate. The Szchuen officials were thus left to enjoy undisturbed their brief hour of independent authority.

At length one of them assumed a royal style, and took the title of King of Hia; and the outrage to Hongwou's dignity from this act appeared the greater because Minchen, who committed it, was of Chinese race. An army was, therefore, collected and placed under the command of Thangho, for the purpose of bringing this potentate to reason and of reducing Szchuen to the state of a province of the

Empire. A naval flotilla was also brought together on the Yangtse-kiang in order to assist the land forces, and also to secure possession of the best road into the south-west. The invading force was divided into two bodies, one charged with the capture of the important river port of Chunking, the other with that of the capital Chentu. Success attended both movements. The advanced guard seized the narrow gorge at Ichang, and captured the city of Kweichow, where a successful stand might have been made. The Chinese forces, having thus carried the first and most formidable barrier in their path, pressed on, and appeared likely to easily overcome the resistance of Minchen's ill-disciplined levies. But the people of Szchuen fought with great determination, and long held Thangho's main body at bay before their position at Kutang. They might even have baffled Hongwou's commanders during a much longer period, but for the rapid successes obtained by another Ming general, Fuyuta, who was rapidly approaching the capital from the north. Three months were occupied in these manœuvres, which had not yet resulted in any decided advantage to the Ming army; and Hongwou, anxious lest the prize of war should escape him, sent large reinforcements to his generals.

The prompt despatch of these fresh troops decided the campaign, for it enabled both the Ming generals to assume the offensive. Two decided victories, gained by the prowess and skill of Fuyuta, settled the fate of Szchuen; for, with the loss of their hold on the river, Minchen's lieutenants had no choice save to retire to Chentu. While Thangho marched on Chunking, Fuyuta beleaguered Chentu. At the former place Minchen resolved to surrender to the Chinese, and presented himself laden with chains in their camp. He was granted terms honourable alike to himself and to his conquerors; and, after one unsuccessful sortie, the garrison of Chentu followed the example of the late King of Hia. The remaining towns of the province, with two exceptions, surrendered without attempting a futile resistance, and the whole of the great province of Szchuen was reduced to a state of submission to Hongwou.

The conquest of Szchuen had not long been completed,

when a revival of activity on the part of the Mongols beyond the north-western frontier called Hongwou's attention again to the subject which had so often previously engaged it. Kuku Timour had been joined by the so-called Mongol Emperor, and had availed himself of Suta's absence to make incursions into Kansuh. Resolved to bring this often-contested but never-ending struggle to a conclusion, Hongwou despatched Suta at the head of an army of 400,000 men, and assisted by his most celebrated lieutenants, to Kansuh for that purpose. His instructions were to pursue the enemy into the recesses of Tartary. The fortune of war is proverbially fickle, but seldom has its inconstancy been more strikingly evinced than on this occasion. The Mongol forces had been repeatedly defeated; for twenty years no glimpse of victory had attended their arms, and, so far as their physical resources went, they were never at a lower ebb than when the campaign of 1372 commenced. On the other hand, the Chinese forces were more numerous, and certainly should have been better disciplined than they were before, while they were still commanded by their chosen leader Suta. Yet, notwithstanding these facts, the earlier portion of the campaign was marked by Mongol victories and Chinese defeats, and in these encounters Suta himself was the greatest sufferer.

Twice did that general attempt to carry by a desperate attack the entrenchments which the Mongol leaders had erected for the protection of their army, and twice was he compelled to retire with heavy loss baffled from the assault. Nor was this the only reverse or the worst. The necessities attendant on the movement of an army in a barren country, where water and pasturage are only to be obtained in limited quantities and at isolated spots, had compelled Suta to divide his forces. The fortune of the corps under his immediate direction was to shatter its strength for the moment against the ramparts of Kuku Timour's encampment; but the second body, under the command of Thangho, whose ill-luck in Szchuen has been referred to, was surprised and cut to pieces at Kiteouchan in the desert.

The situation of Hongwou's great army was one, therefore,

of extreme peril; for a retreat to China, with the exultant Mongol tribesmen in pursuit, could scarcely be less disastrous than a lost battle. The success of a third division of the army fortunately released Suta's main body from its unpleasant predicament.

A corps had been entrusted to the joint command of Fongching and the heroic Fuyuta, of whom the latter was placed in charge of the vanguard. The advance of this force was conducted with celerity, and the Mongols appear to have been disconcerted by the movements of a foe who showed that he understood as well as they did the kind of manœuvres necessary in a desert country. Fuyuta defeated several hostile bands and captured their leaders. He continued his march far into the desert, and then slowly retraced his steps to Kansuh with numerous captives and the spoil of fifty camps. Further east on the Shensi border another Chinese general, Ly Wenchong, gained, after a fiercely contested action, a signal success over a Mongol horde, but he found the obstacles of the desert an opponent more difficult to vanquish than his human foes. He owed the extrication of himself and his soldiers from a position of extreme peril rather to his good fortune than to the excellence of his arrangements.

Although the results attained by this great and costly expedition were far from being of the decisive character that its originators expected, the Chinese generals had been able to inflict a sufficiently heavy punishment upon the Mongol tribes to induce them to discontinue their incursions into Kansuh. The remainder of this year and the whole of the following one were employed in desultory engagements which redounded little to the military credit of the Chinese, and which brought the question no nearer to a definite solution. But for the fortuitous capture of two of their leading chiefs, the success and the profit of this border strife would have remained on the side of the Mongols. In 1374 the statement was still drawn from the veracity of the native historian that "the borders of the Empire were constantly insulted by these people." Fresh troops continued to be sent to the scene of the outrages, and Suta was again called upon

to proceed to the quarter where he had already gained much distinction, although his military ability had not availed to give solid peace to this troubled region. Further engagements followed, but the practical result remained almost the same. The Chinese retained full and unquestioned possession of the cultivated country within the borders of the north-west provinces; but they were unable to destroy, and were beginning to find it unprofitable to challenge, the right of the Tartars to levy black mail on all who passed through the desert.

The Mongols themselves now experienced a more severe loss than the adverse decision of numerous skirmishes in the death of Kuku Timour, whose fortitude and energy had long contributed to the preservation of their cause. The nominal ruler of this race, Gaiourcheritala, whose father's faults had lost him the imperial diadem of China, also died a few months later, but the fact would not possess much significance save for the incident that attended it. Hongwou sent a mission of condolence to his successor. He may have done this in the belief that the new prince would be his former *protégé*, Maitilipala, but under any supposition the act shows that these border affairs were regaining their normal aspect. The ex-Mongol princes were again becoming the chiefs of a pastoral and nomadic people.

Some sort of assured tranquillity having at last settled down on the northern marches, it was not inappropriate that the long career of Suta should reach its close when the most important portion of his labours had been ratified by the verdict of success. And so it happened, although this great soldier was still, comparatively speaking, a young man, and might have rendered many more years of faithful and useful service to his Sovereign. But that was not to be, and Suta, who during his retirement filled the honorary post of Governor to the Prince-Imperial, died peacefully at the capital. With him disappeared the foremost and most notable of the men who had assisted Hongwou in his great enterprises, and the death of Suta heralded the end of this eventful reign. Hongwou mourned for the loss of his favourite general in private, while in public he pronounced a funeral oration over

him as the ideal soldier. Suta's statue was placed in the great hall at Nankin, and marked the addition of another celebrity to the list of departed Chinese heroes.*

Both in the south, and also in the north, there were further troubles arising out of the wars in Szchuen and Leaoutung ; but these, although fraught with considerable importance as marking further stages in the work of reuniting and pacifying the country, do not call for detailed notice. In Leaoutung, Nahachu had assumed a bolder attitude, and resorted to more vigorous measures. From being a leader in petty raids he advanced to the more dignified position of the commander of an army, and even menaced the hold which Hongwou had established with little trouble to himself over this province. But although he invaded the low country and threatened several strong places, his increased confidence in himself did not bring any greater success ; rather may it be said to have contributed to his fall, for it often happens that the confederacy which is formidable in irregular warfare, and if engaged in detachments, is easily overthrown and broken up when it attempts to combine and assume a vigour that it does not possess in reality. Such was the case with Nahachu. His followers were defeated with heavy loss, and he himself escaped with difficulty to the hills, which he never should have quitted. From that time Nahachu gave much less

* Suta was only fifty-four years of age, and during thirty of these he had borne arms. Keen Lung, translated by Delamarre (p. 83), said of him :—"Suta spoke little, and was endowed with great penetration. He was always on good terms with the generals acting with him, sharing the good and bad fortune alike of his soldiers, of whom there was not one who, touched by his kindness, would not have done his duty to the death. He was not less pronounced in his modesty. He had conquered a capital, three provinces, several hundreds of towns, and on the very day of his return to court from these triumphs he went without show, and without retinue to his own house, received there some learned professors, and discussed various subjects with them. Throughout his life he was, in the presence of the Emperor, respectful and so reserved that one might have doubted his capacity to speak. The Emperor was in the habit of speaking thus in his praise :—' My orders received, he forthwith departed ; his task accomplished, he returned without pride and without boasting. He loves not women, he does not amass wealth. A man of strict integrity, without the slightest stain ; as pure and clear as the sun and moon, there is none like my first general Suta.' "

serious trouble to the officials of Leaoutung* than he had done before, and Hongwou's authority was generally accepted and recognized throughout this province and the north-east.

Nor were Hongwou's arms less successful in Yunnan. Two acts of perfidy had embittered the contest there and rendered the subjection of Yunnan a matter of as urgent necessity for the sake of vindicating the majesty of Chinese authority as for regaining possession of another and the last of the provinces of the Empire. Many other pressing affairs required the attention of Hongwou, and the preparations for this campaign being necessarily of a complicated and arduous nature, several years elapsed before the slow-moving arm of Chinese vengeance reached the wrong-doers in this quarter; but not for the lapse of time did the blow fall less heavy, nor did the Chinese forget the full measure of the injury they had suffered.

To Fuyuta, whose uniform success had marked the later campaigns against the Mongols, Hongwou entrusted the command of the army which was charged with the task of accomplishing the last of his great military enterprises; and neither the number of the troops nor the details of the preparations left the general cause to doubt the full and speedy triumph of his operations. The invading forces were divided into two bodies; one, under the command of an officer named Koen, and computed to consist of 50,000 men, advanced through Szchuen on the town of Oufan, menacing Yunnan from the north; while the second, led by Fuyuta in person, assailed it on the eastern side from Kweichow. Both armies advanced for some distance into the country without encountering any very serious opposition; but at Kinsing, a

* To this success must be attributed the resumption of official intercourse between the Courts of China and Corea. In 1369 Wang Jwan, King of Corea, had sent an envoy to Hongwou, and in 1375 it was followed by a formal embassy. Wang Jwan died about the latter year, and was succeeded by his son Yu, who enjoyed possession of the throne for only a short period, as he was deposed and ultimately poisoned. His son Mao, who succeeded him, met with the same fate; and an ambitious minister, Li Chungwei, seized the throne and established a dynasty of his own. The descendants of Li Chungwei still govern the primitive kingdom of Corea.—See Mailla, vol. x. p. 86; and Ross's "Corea," pp. 268-69.

town situated a short distance north-west of the capital, the Yunnan prince concentrated in a position of considerable strength all his troops, and checked the further progress of the Chinese general. But it was not for long. Fuyuta executed some intricate manœuvres, of which it would be difficult to indicate the significance, but which had the effect of bringing on a general action. The battle was stubbornly contested, and lasted many hours; and at one time it looked as if one-half of the Chinese army, which was separated from the other by a river, would be overwhelmed before assistance could come to it. Fuyuta's promptitude retrieved the day, and the local forces were driven from the field with heavy loss, leaving 20,000 prisoners in his hands. The fall of the capital followed a very short time after this overthrow of the army, and the Prince of Yunnan fled for refuge to the hills of the Burmese frontier. The remainder of Yunnan was soon reduced to subjection, and these successes were obtained with as little bloodshed and trouble as could have been expected under the circumstances.

But the pacification of this region was not to be completed without a tragical incident. The Chinese soldiers had fought with valour, and their generals had shown moderation towards the defeated, so long as open hostilities continued; but when, after a short period of tranquillity, the inhabitants of certain districts rose up against their authority, and entered the field as rebels, the whole attitude of the Chinese underwent a change. From moderation and forbearance they passed at once to the extreme of severity, if not of cruelty. The unfortunate and ill-advised insurgents were butchered, and it is estimated that, before tranquillity was restored, 30,000 of them had suffered at the point of the sword. Such has always been the Chinese practice. In their treatment of an open foe they have generally shown justice, and sometimes magnanimity; but towards rebels their attitude has always been one of stern and relentless cruelty.

The Empire was now thoroughly at peace, and a succession of favourable seasons greatly promoted the prosperity of the people. Within the limits of the provinces of the country there were none left with either the wish or the power to

dispute Hongwou's authority, and the Chinese nation employed itself, with that energy and intuitive skill which are among its principal characteristics, in recovering from the depressing effects of a long season of anarchy and internal strife. And the progress made towards recovery was astonishingly rapid. In contrast with the general happiness and tranquillity of the people, the numerous skirmishes on the remote frontier lose their significance and become merely the ordinary incidents in the daily life of a great governing people.*

The chief, Nahachu, whose raids into Leaoutung have already been mentioned, had again drawn together the Mongol forces in the east, and, having made extensive preparations for a final bid for power, resumed at this juncture his operations against the Ming officials in that province. Although it might appear that the danger from this quarter was not of any serious character, yet Hongwou attached sufficient importance to it to induce him to send a large body of fresh troops, under the command of the generals Fongching and Euyuta, into the province. A desultory campaign, marked rather by a conflict of words than by an interchange of blows, ensued, and in the result Nahachu's followers were dispersed or taken prisoners, while their chief, either by treachery or cajolery, was captured and sent to Nankin. Other successes followed, and the verdict of previous victory was amply ratified by the flight of the Mongol chieftains into the recesses of Manchuria and westwards towards the Tian Shan.

The last eight years of Hongwou's reign were undisturbed by any serious commotion, although a mutiny among a portion of his army, encouraged by an ambitious officer, seemed likely to cause great trouble. The scheme was fortunately divulged in good time, so that the Emperor's measures for the preservation of order were both prompt and effectual. Lanyu, whose share in the campaigns in Leaoutung, to which reference

* The population of China in the year 1394 is given at 16,052,860 households, and 60,545,812 souls. This would not include the inhabitants of the outlying districts and provinces, but it shows how greatly the Chinese people must have suffered from the ravages of these long wars.

has been made, had not been small, but who had allowed himself to be carried away by the promptings of ambition, was arrested and punished with death. He either gratified his pique or satisfied his private animosities by implicating many brave officers and soldiers in his schemes. Lanyu was the most, if not the only one, guilty; but twenty thousand lives were sacrificed to meet what were thought to be the exigencies of the occasion. LAN Y

The last days of Hongwou's reign were marked by no disquieting events, and although the loss of his eldest son had raised causes of possible dissension by the elevation of a child to the place of heir-apparent, they did not present themselves in any tangible shape during the lifetime of the aged prince, whose long career was now about to close. In 1398 Hongwou's maladies grew worse, and although the skill or attention of his doctors kept him alive for some months, it was evident to all that his end was near at hand. Under these circumstances Hongwou made all the arrangements for the peaceful transfer of power with calmness and decision. He sent his sons, who were known to covet the throne, to their different posts in the provinces, so that his grandson might succeed him without disturbance or opposition; and having thus ensured, so far as he could, the tranquillity of the realm, he resigned himself to his end. In his will he set forth the reasons which induced him to select his grandson, Chuwen, for his heir; and caused the document to be published before his death in order that the people might know the motives of, and approve, his policy. He lingered until the summer of the year 1398, when he died in the 71st year of his age.

Of the character of the illustrious Hongwou posterity has best been able to form an opinion by the deeds which he accomplished. As described by his great successor, the Emperor Keen Lung of the Manchu dynasty, he appears to have had most of the virtues and few of the faults of mankind. But we need not attempt here to analyze his character too closely, for we shall arrive at a more just opinion concerning the man by considering his work. To his credit must not only be placed the expulsion of the Mongols, but also the

more difficult task of having created in their place a new machinery of government. Not only had he vanquished in innumerable encounters the chivalry of the Mongols, and dispersed, after long and arduous campaigns, the fragments of their broken power, but he had restored the dignity of the Chinese Empire to as high a point as it had reached under Kublai. The virtue of the man was just as conspicuous in his daily life as king, as his courage, fortitude, and military capacity had been as a popular and national leader in the dark days of Mongol despotism. It may be doubted whether China ever possessed a more beloved ruler, and certainly none had a better opportunity of realizing the national wishes and of supplying its wants than he had. Even now, it is asserted, the Chinese look back with secret longing to their favourite Ming dynasty, and the virtues and achievements of Hongwou form the basis of its fame. Hongwou must be placed among the limited number of the great rulers of China who never allowed themselves to be carried away by the magnitude of their successes, and who could meet the reverses of bad fortune with equanimity and resolution. But in the eyes of a civilized community not the least honourable of his characteristics will be held to be his moderation towards his enemies, and the mercy with which he tempered the severity of his country's justice.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE EARLY MING RULERS.

WHETHER the cause is to be attributed to the excellence and forethought of Hongwou's arrangements, to the general tranquillity prevailing throughout the state, or to the solid contentment of the people, the fact remains that Chuwen succeeded his grandfather without encountering any open opposition. He then assumed the title of Kien Wenti. But this tranquillity was soon proved, so far as the domestic relations of the Ming family were concerned, to be hollow and deceptive, and only the lull that precedes the storm. For Wenti's uncles, although banished to their provincial posts, still nursed the ambitious dreams that arose partly from their position and partly from their youth; and the new ruler appears not only to have been aware of their dissatisfaction, but to have credited them with a much higher ambition even than they possessed. As these princes were absent from the capital at the time of the late Emperor's death, Wenti felt obliged, out of ordinary decency, to send invitations to them to attend their father's funeral. Some declined and others accepted the summons, and among the latter, to the surprise of the Court, was the most-formidable and ambitious of them all, Ty, Prince of Yen. The prospect of Yen's visit to the capital was far from being agreeable to either Wenti or his ministers. The latter had reason to doubt the friendliness of his intentions, and they stood in much fear of his influence with the army. Wenti dreaded his approach as that of his most daring competitor. A council was hurriedly convened to consider what steps should be taken to meet the threatening

danger, and at last it was decided to inform Yen that it would be more becoming in him to abandon his purpose and to return to his province. His duty as a son and as a subject were brought into conflict, and he had to sacrifice his respect for the dead to his obedience towards the living. But the slight thus inflicted made no passing impression on the spirit of this proud and vindictive prince, and the wrong of this act was to be atoned for only by a bitter civil war, in which thousands of lives were to be uselessly lost.

At this same council it had also been resolved that, as there could be no doubt of the hostile plans entertained by the Emperor's uncles against his position, if not his person also, immediate steps should be taken to bring them to a proper sense of their duty towards the new ruler. But while Wenti's ministers came to this resolute decision against the whole collective body of the late Emperor Hongwou's sons, they were cautious in their mode of dealing with the Prince of Yen in particular. One minister, indeed, showed sufficient courage to suggest that the proper course to pursue was to engage Yen at once with all their forces as the most formidable of these enemies of the public peace. But this view found no other supporter, and the determination came to was to proceed against the other brothers one by one, and thus deprive Yen of such support as they might be able to afford. Officials were sent to inquire into their conduct, and armies followed in their track to put down rebellion and to assert the Emperor's power and authority. Wenti's measures, so far as they went, were attended with unqualified success. All his uncles, save the one that was most formidable, were deposed from their governorships and reduced to the ranks of the people. One preferred death to that ignominious descent, but Yen alone remained to disturb the peace of mind of Wenti and his satellites, and also to avenge his brethren.

Yen's position was little shaken by these high-handed acts of authority, and it may even have been rendered the stronger because the wholesale proceedings against his brothers had the effect of representing his cause in the light of the injured party. As if to show his contempt for his nephew's

power, he imprisoned and then executed three officials who had been sent from Nankin to spy upon his deeds. Nor did his hostility cease with this outburst of indignation. An attitude of passive defiance, he felt, was one that could not be long maintained, and the time had evidently come when it was necessary for him to strike a bold blow for his own rights and independence, if he did not wish to be swept aside and share his brothers' fate. He accordingly issued a proclamation calling upon all those who cherished the memory of Hongwou to rally to his side. The Chinese historian appears disposed to regard the collision between these personages as a matter of family quarrel and dynastic pretensions, but the facts justify the assumption that the real point at issue had become a larger one. If Wenti's government could not yet be called hopelessly bad, it was fast tending in that direction, while Yen had the tact to promise and hold out for popular approbation a higher standard of excellence in the administration.

The Imperial Government perceived from this proclamation and the warlike measures of the Prince of Yen that the time had arrived when it would have to make good its position and rights against the formidable pretender who had been goaded into action by its injustice, and who claimed for his cause the support of all those who took as their motto justice and the common weal. At first the hope was entertained that the Prince of Yen would experience some difficulty in maintaining his authority within his own province when once it was realized that he had undertaken so dangerous a task as to pit his strength against the whole force of the empire; but this expectation had soon to be abandoned. The Prince rapidly consolidated his authority over the whole of his province. The fortified towns surrendered for the most part and hoisted his flag, while the few that declared for the Emperor were speedily brought back to a sense of their duty. The Prince's active army was augmented by these garrisons and by large levies raised from the hardy people of the north. While Wenti's ministers remained inactive and blind to the gravity of the crisis, the Prince of Yen was ready to begin an offensive war.

The first successes in the strife, which commenced with singular bitterness, and which raged throughout a period of almost five years, went to the side of the Prince, for, although they fought with the courage of soldiers who had contributed to the fame of Hongwou, the Imperialists were uniformly vanquished. Yet these victories were far from being cheaply purchased. Thousands fell on either side, and the Prince found reason to congratulate himself over some exceptional advantage when a hard day's battle left him some more tangible result than the name of master of a field of promiscuous slaughter. But one triumph soon brought another, and a fortunate prize of 8,000 horses enabled him to mount that number of men, and to strengthen himself in an arm in which he had hitherto been weak. Wenti experienced a further loss in the surprise and capture of some of his most trusted and skilful officers, whose services could ill be spared, but who found an easy issue from their misfortunes by attaching themselves to the cause of the Prince, their captor. Perhaps Wenti's greatest misfortune consisted in his never learning, until too late to repair them, the full extent of his disasters. Then, as in more modern times, and in countries nearer to our own, a fashion came into vogue with the Government to obscure its defeats by mystical statements and reports of corresponding advantages. An order of false bulletins was fairly inaugurated.

The progress of the struggle was marked by numerous battles which equalled in bitterness any recorded in the civil wars of China. It was not, however, until the year 1401 that this contest for power reached its extreme dimensions, when both the Imperialists and the Prince placed several large armies in the field. The Prince directed his main effort during the campaign of this year to the capture of Taitong, while Wenti's commander, Li Kinglong, resolved to strike a bold blow in the hope of averting the fall of so important a place. Li Kinglong assembled, therefore, all the available troops to the number of about 600,000 men, marched northwards with them from Tsekinghoan, and compelled Yen to forego his purpose. The two armies, after marching and countermarching for some weeks, drew up opposite to each

other near Techow, which place was in the possession of the Imperial forces. Both sides were anxious to begin an engagement that each hoped might prove decisive; and when the Prince offered battle his challenge was eagerly accepted. The engagement lasted several days from early dawn to setting of the sun, but whether the numbers engaged were so great as to render time necessary to produce any decisive result, or whether all fought with obstinate desperation, the balance of victory remained steady, and inclined to neither one hand nor the other. At one point, indeed, thanks to the intrepidity of two of Wenti's commanders, Tingan and Kuneng, the victory seemed on the point of being gained, and the cry was raised among the Imperialists, "The day is ours; now is the time to extinguish this revolt." The announcement was premature, and the Prince, heading his troops in person, restored the battle. The desperate position of affairs may be inferred from the fact that his boldest followers had counselled flight, and that, before he gained a moment's breathing-space to survey the field of battle, he had to head three charges, in each of which his horse was killed under him. Even then, the end appeared remote and doubtful, but the death of Kuneng and the dispersal of the two wings decided this hardly contested combat in favour of the Pretender. More than 100,000 men were either slain in the fight or drowned in the waters of the Euho during the pursuit; and Li Kinglong had difficulty in collecting the broken and discouraged fragments of his army in Techow. Even here the Prince allowed him no rest, and, inflicting a second defeat upon him, compelled him again to flee.

Wenti's first step, when the full extent of his defeat became known to him, was to remove Li Kinglong, the principal author, as was alleged, of this military disaster; and as it happened that his successor, Chinyong, was a soldier of considerable experience and skill, the very announcement of his appointment sufficed to restore the sinking confidence of the Imperialists. The result justified the choice, for in a very short time he had collected a large army, perfected all his preparations for a campaign, and drawn up strongly fortified lines round the town of Tongchang. The Prince having

taken several places which had hitherto resisted his arms, advanced rapidly towards this town, and took up a position at Lintsing, where he could draw supplies from his rear, both by means of the Euho Canal, and also from the sea. He did not make any protracted halt there, but continued his forward movement against Chinyong, who had placed a body of his troops in a village in advance of his main position. This corps was surrounded and destroyed almost to a man before Chinyong could come up to its support. But the Prince's troops, carried away by their success, pursued the fugitives too far, and were in turn assailed and driven back by Chinyong's main body. Their loss seems to have been considerable, and the Imperialists following up their advantage with close ranks, were carrying everything before them, when the Prince at last reached the field in person with his force. The two armies then closed in the shock of battle, and for hours the result hung in suspense. The Prince performed prodigies of valour, fighting on foot like a simple soldier, and the apprehensions of his friends were raised to the highest point when he and a small body of troops threw themselves into the midst of the enemy, and remained for a long time cut off from support in the masses of the foe. Nor did Chinyong evince in any less degree all the qualities admirable in a soldier; and when the long day's battle ended it left him master of the field. More than 30,000 of the flower of Yen's army encumbered the ground, and among the slain was his best and favourite general, Changyu.

To a struggling Prince or an embarrassed Government Fortune often gives a respite when on the eve of seeming destruction; and so did this gleam of success, transitory as it proved, carry gladness to the heart of Wenti. But seldom, indeed, has there been granted to those who have brought about their own ruin by their imprudence sufficient wisdom and sense to avail themselves of the grateful offering and to turn it to such account as to avert their fall; and this Chinese Emperor affords another instance of the established truth of the illustration. Wenti's first act on the news of his general's victory was to recall two of the most objectionable of his ministers and to reinstate them in their offices. This conduct

inflamed the resentment of the Prince of Yen, who devoted himself with renewed ardour to the task of recovering the ground he had lost.

The war continued during the two following years with indecisive fortune, although victory generally inclined to the side of the Prince. Moreover, the area of his operations was steadily growing larger, and he was gradually drawing nearer and nearer to the capital. After a single reverse Wenti repented of his having replaced the two ministers who were recognized as Yen's principal opponents, and he again summarily dismissed them, confiscating their property at the same time. An attempt was made after this apparent return to a wiser line of conduct to effect an understanding between the combatants, and to put an end to a war which was devastating the fairest provinces of the realm. But although the Prince of Yen expressed his willingness to accept fair terms, and to conclude a pacific arrangement, the Emperor was so ill-advised that, in the persuasion that the season was too far advanced for military operations, he broke off negotiations when they promised a successful issue.

The year 1403 witnessed the outbreak of hostilities afresh and on a larger scale than ever. Both sides had apparently come to the resolution that it would be well to make a supreme effort to terminate the struggle by a final appeal to arms, and to accept the consequences of defeat. For a new bitterness had been imported into the contest, and the civil war, which originally possessed little more than a local character, threatened to involve the whole country. The Prince of Yen was denounced on all hands as a disturber of the public peace. His promises of reform were forgotten, and it was only remembered of him that he was breaking that law of obedience which it was one of his principal vaunts that he wished to enforce. The adherents of the two parties turned again with renewed fury and energy to the arbitrament of arms for a decision of the dispute.

The first encounter after this further resumption of hostilities was disastrous to the arms of the Prince, for in a great battle fought on the banks of the Imperial Canal, he was repulsed with heavy loss by Wenti's generals, Tingan and

Su Weitsou. The consequences of this reverse threatened to be more disastrous than the actual loss in men and officers, for his troops were so much disheartened by the defeat that they refused to march any longer against their foe, and clamoured for an immediate return to their own country. But the Prince evinced the fortitude of a hero, and strove to animate his soldiers with his own courage by exclaiming that he knew only how to advance, and not to retreat. His bold words failed to dissipate the effects of disaster, and although he remained several days without changing his armour, he had gained few over to his views, when an error on the part of Wenti's Government averted the disbandment of his force, and played the game into his hands just as it seemed almost lost.

The Imperialists owed their victory to the opportune arrival of Su Weitsou with a strong reinforcement, but no sooner had this success been obtained than orders were sent for the return of Su Weitsou and his corps. The morrow of their great victory found Wenti's generals incapacitated from following it up by this withdrawal of some of their best troops, and the blunder of their master furnished their opponent with the opportunity of retrieving his fortune. Both armies constructed fortified camps, and remained vigilantly watching each other's movements in order to seize any favourable opportunity that might present itself of attacking the other unawares. Neither side obtained any advantage until the Prince, whose spies kept him well-informed concerning the plans of the Imperialists, succeeded by a stratagem in drawing them from their entrenchments, when he fell upon them with his whole force. This battle was as short as it proved decisive. Wenti's army was completely overthrown. Many thousands of prisoners, including the generals in command, and all the spoil of the camp remained in the hands of the victor. With the defeat of this veteran army, and the capture of Tingan, the fate of the war was virtually decided. From that day the result was never in doubt.

In this moment of distress conflicting counsels were pressed upon the unhappy Wenti. Some advised him to withdraw into the southern provinces, and there continue the

struggle, while others suggested coming to terms with the conqueror on the basis of a division of the empire. But the counsels of incapable men do not acquire decision in times of great peril, and while Wenti's ministers were advocating a leaden-winged policy, the Prince had crossed the Hoangho, traversed the fertile plains of Honan and Anhui, and planted his ensigns on the banks of the Great River, in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. Emissaries from the Emperor were then sent, in the guise of suppliants, to the camp of the conqueror, but they failed to find in eloquence the means of reaching his heart. Thrice they beat the ground with their heads, but they were unable to do more than fill the cup to overflowing of humiliation and self-abasement. The Prince ironically apologized for causing them so much trouble, and also announced that he had not come so far to secure a division of the empire for himself, but to ensure the punishment of those who had outraged the honour of his family.

Some vain attempts were made to place Nankin in a position to stand a siege until the garrisons of the south, already summoned to its aid, could arrive; but the soldiers who had long fought the battles of their unworthy master with courage and fidelity were not to be replaced, and many of them had joined the service of their conqueror. The Prince did not leave the supporters of the Emperor much time to complete their plans. Little beyond forming a municipal guard had been done towards defending the city, when the Prince of Yen delivered his attack against three of the gates. In a few hours all was over, and the capital was in the hands of the soldier prince who had waged a civil war during more than four years, not, as he protested, for a personal object, but for the honour of his family and the benefit of his country. The sequel will show how far his protestations were sincere.

In the mean time, the reign of Kien Wenti had closed by his voluntary abdication. Unlike the traditional Chinese monarch, he clung to life when he had lost the station to which he had been called. He hesitated so long about seeking a place of shelter in the south that he was soon deprived of the chance of making a dignified exit; and when the news that the Prince of Yen held possession of the gates reached

him in his palace, there remained to him only three courses to pursue. Between suicide, surrender, and a hurried escape in disguise, Wenti might still, at this eleventh hour, make his choice. But the fear both of death and of his enemy reduced him to the last expedient. He and a few chosen comrades shaved their heads and put on the garb of priests, resigning the cares of worldly life with the capacity to meet or support them. The rumour was spread about that Wenti had perished by his own hand, while as a matter of fact he was wending his way to Yunnan, where he passed in retirement the last years of his life. Wenti survived his fall nearly forty years. Long afterwards, in the reign of Yngtsong, an aged priest published a book of verses describing the misfortunes of Wenti. By some accident the author was identified as that ruler, when the authorities at once relegated him to honourable confinement in the palace at Peking, where he died shortly after he had been deprived of his liberty. History contains few more striking examples of happiness being long enjoyed in a private station by one who could not obtain it on the throne.

The Prince of Yen, in possession of the capital, and with all cause of embarrassment removed from his path by the supposed death of his nephew, turned his first attention to the punishment of those whom he regarded as the aspersers of his family honour. During several weeks he pursued them with relentless vigour, and, not satisfied with wholesale executions of ministers and officers, he endeavoured to extirpate their race by massacring the other members of their families. The victor forgot in the hour of triumph that clemency is the most creditable quality in an irresponsible and supreme ruler, and indulged a terrific and inexcusable cruelty. But at first he evinced a seeming reluctance to assume the reins of power, although the bent of his thoughts was sufficiently indicated by the displeasure with which he received a proposal to place Wenti's youthful son upon the throne. At last, yielding to the importunity of his friends, or apprehensive of some rival supplanting him, he allowed himself to be forced into accepting what he wished, and then his measures to mark the commencement of his reign were thorough enough. By an

autocratic decree of unprecedented force, he ordered that the years of Wenti's reign should be blotted out from history and added on to those of Hongwou, so that he might figure as his father's immediate successor. His early acts as king were thus in striking contradiction to his promises and proclamations as prince ; but neither his summary proceedings, nor the executions with which he never failed to follow them up, availed to obliterate the events of the preceding four years, or to remove the brief reign of his unfortunate nephew from the country's annals.

The new ruler took the title of Chingtsou, but he is best remembered as Yonglo, from the name given to the year of his accession. His first act was to remove the imperial residence from Nankin to Peking, although the former retained the position and rank of capital ; and his earliest cares were caused by his northern neighbours, who had not remained indifferent spectators of the internecine strife which threatened to wreck all the results of Hongwou's wisdom and success. Among the Mongol tribes, who were again becoming known under the general term of Tartars, there had arisen leaders desirous of establishing some form of central authority and of reviving the title and position of the Khakhan. One of these desert chiefs, Kulitchi, who had assumed something of the style and privileges of royalty, incurred the resentment of the members and supporters of the old Mongol royal house ; and although Yonglo extended to him marks of his approval and pledges of his support, he either fell a victim to the machinations of his enemies or was unable to maintain his position against them. Whatever hopes Yonglo may have entertained of ensuring the tranquillity of his northern frontier by means of an understanding with an adventurer glad to hold his position under the protection of a Chinese Emperor, were speedily destroyed by Kulitchi's overthrow.

This cause for vigilance, if not of anxiety, existing on his northern frontier, Yonglo can have found little pleasure in the prospect which presented itself to him in the far south, where a critical state of affairs in the tributary kingdom of Tonquin called imperatively for his attention. With that interest in the condition of countries in their immediate

neighbourhood, which, combined with supreme indifference to occurrences in lands beyond their sphere, has always been characteristic of the Chinese, Yonglo heard of a series of palace plots and crimes there, which had resulted in the deposition of the ruling dynasty, and in the elevation of an ambitious statesman to the throne. At first Yonglo, misled by the artful messages of this minister, Likimao, was disposed to overlook the means which he had employed to gain supreme power, and this inclination was strengthened all the more because Likimao reported that he had placed a child of the royal house upon the throne. The Imperial ratification of the appointment was sent in the belief that these representations were true, and Likimao congratulated himself on having attained his ends without having provoked the wrath of his powerful suzerain. But his self-gratulation did not long continue. The ministers of a just revenge were already at work to ensure his fall.

Likimao soon sent another envoy to China to prefer some requests of a personal character, but on his arrival he found there an unexpected guest in the person of a fugitive, who declared that he was the rightful prince of Tonquin. From him Yonglo soon learnt all the truth as to Likimao's proceedings and crimes; and the recital roused in him not only a natural detestation of the wickedness committed, but also a feeling of pique at having been so easily cajoled by Likimao's specious representations. The identity of the prince was clearly demonstrated by the respectful salutations of Likimao's own emissary, and Yonglo at once resolved to champion the cause of one who had been so cruelly injured. The unfortunate princes of tributary kingdoms and dependent states have ever found in the ruling family of China a sympathetic friend and willing supporter.

After the repulse of the small force sent to escort the rightful prince, Chintien Ping, back to his dominions—for when Likimao found that his schemes were discovered, and that he had no choice between the loss of the position he had acquired and a rupture with China, he resolved to adopt the manlier course and fight the matter out—Yonglo despatched a larger army to put down and punish the insolent usurper. A

campaign which included several encounters marked by great carnage followed, and Yonglo's commanders effected their purpose. Likimao was taken prisoner, and the authority he hoped to establish obliterated. As no eligible prince could be found for the throne, Tonquin, in deference to the prayers of the people, was incorporated as the province of Kioachi with the rest of the Empire. To Likimao was granted as a favour permission to serve in the army as a private soldier.

The Chinese authority was not generally recognized in this new region until the more turbulent races in the country had been disheartened by two unsuccessful risings. Changfoo became known not only as the conqueror, but also as the pacifier of Tonquin. The interest of this petty struggle is but slight, nor does any greater importance belong to the desultory warfare in which Yonglo was engaged with the tribes of the northern and western deserts. In this he obtained some successes, and met with a few reverses; but the result left matters practically unchanged.

It was while on his return from one of these expeditions, which had been carried across the steppe to as far as the upper course of the Amour, that Yonglo was seized with his last and fatal illness. This event occurred in the year 1425, when he was sixty-five years of age, after he had reigned during twenty-one years. His eldest son, whom he had passed over in the succession, had been the cause of some trouble by forming intrigues against him, but his discontent having been discovered, he was placed under arrest. Another of Yonglo's sons, who had some time before been proclaimed heir-apparent, succeeded him without disturbance or opposition, and reigned for a few months as the Emperor Gintsong. His virtues gave promise of a happy and prosperous reign; but the fates were not propitious, and his early death again cast the bark of state on troubled waters.

With the reign of Gintsong the first stage in the history of the Ming dynasty may be considered as reached. Its authority was firmly established, and the dangers which threatened it in consequence of the Yen civil war had been passed through in safety. Both on the northern and on the

southern frontiers the Emperor's sovereignty was successfully asserted ; and envoys came from the distant states of Bengal and Malacca to bring presents from their rulers to the Chinese potentate. The Chinese themselves were well-pleased with these recognitions of their power, and regarded the elephants sent from India as omens of happy import. The internal condition of the country was prosperous, and its external affairs were directed with sagacity and confidence as to its mission.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE MING DYNASTY (*continued*).

THE accession of Gintsong's son, Suentsong, to the throne was not attended by any event of importance. For the time the clashing of arms had ceased throughout the land, and no more formidable contest presented itself for decision than a wordy war between the lettered classes of the nation. Yet that in its way was serious enough, and might have been fraught with grave consequences, because the grievances of a class so powerful as the literary body in China always has been, constituted a subject to which no ruler could be indifferent. The matter came home to every family in the kingdom and affected their worldly interests very closely. In the competitive examinations held throughout the country, students from the southern provinces carried everything before them, and threatened to monopolize all the honours. Not content with restricting their sphere of activity to their own native districts, they ventured beyond them, and were beginning to gain many of the prizes in the schools and academies of the north. Suentsong promptly answered the numerous petitions addressed to him on this subject by appointing a Commission of Inquiry, which found an easy and efficacious remedy by restricting competitors for literary honours to their native districts. The whole official and literary body was divided into three principal classes, one confined to the north, another to the centre, and the third to the south.

This difficulty happily solved, another presented itself in the discontent and ambition of the Emperor's uncle, Kaohin,

who had been created Prince of Han, but whose ideas soared above a provincial governorship. In a short time he adopted a menacing attitude towards his nephew, and, making extensive military preparations, boasted that he held the Empire as much at his mercy as his father the Prince of Yen had done in the days of Kien Wenti. But Suentsong showed courage and capacity; and, assuming the command of his army in person, marched against his rival. The promptitude of his measures paralyzed the plans of Kaohin, and none thought of resisting a monarch who showed that he knew so well how to claim his rights and to assert his authority. Before it was generally realized in the country that Kaohin meditated revolt, he was under conveyance to a state prison at Peking.

The latest Chinese province, Tonquin, proved anything but an easily governed possession. The hill-tribes and a large section of the settled inhabitants were in a constant ferment, and the Chinese garrison was kept continually on the alert and under arms. This state of things soon grew intolerable, and it became a question whether the province should be abandoned, or whether recourse should be had to extreme measures in order to stamp out the national disaffection. After several of his detached corps had been cut in pieces by the mountaineers, the governor sent urgent messages to request reinforcements, saying that without prompt aid he would be unable to maintain his position. On the receipt of this bad news a council was held by the Emperor in the palace, when, after anxious deliberation, it was decided to withdraw the Chinese garrison. Changfoo alone, who had gained his reputation by its conquest, was averse to its surrender, but his advice was either ignored or over-ruled. Thus came to an end in A.D. 1428, after the brief space of ten years, the direct exercise of Chinese authority in Tonquin. The significance of the event was further enhanced by the deposition of the Prince left on the throne by Suentsong's lieutenant, and by the elevation to supreme power of an intriguing minister and popular leader. Notwithstanding this flagrant violation of the agreement upon which he had withdrawn his troops, Suentsong did not conceive it to be prudent to renew his grandfather's interference in the affairs

of this state. The conquest of Tonquin had not indeed been attended with much difficulty, but its retention and administration had been only effected at the cost of a great effort. There was nothing in its position to repay the bloodshed it entailed, and Suentson was wise to relax his hold upon it at the first opportunity and with the least affront to his personal dignity.

The tranquillity of Suentson's life was no more disturbed by foreign wars, and the internal affairs of his country continued prosperous and raised no ground for anxiety. But in one respect he shocked the national sentiment, although he appears to have been led to do so by the desire of considering the necessities of the state. Shortly after his accession, he had proclaimed his principal and at that time favourite wife Empress, but time went on without his having an heir. This naturally caused considerable disappointment to a monarch desirous of retaining the throne in his own immediate descendants, and when one of his other wives presented him with a son the Empress's fall in his affections was assured. The child was proclaimed Heir Apparent with all the solemnity due to the auspicious occasion, and his mother was elevated to the rank of Empress, from which rank the Emperor's first wife was deposed. This unusual step, contrary to established rules, was received with murmurs on the part of the people, but the Emperor would not be diverted from his path. He might, perhaps, have been less determined on the subject had he known that the boy was not his. A substituted child, if we may accept the authority of the Emperor Keen Lung, was thus put in the place of the heir to the Chinese Empire.

Suentson seems to have varied the monotony of reigning by periodical expeditions into the region north of China, which partook of the double character of the chase and the foray. During these he succeeded in inflicting some punishment upon the nomad tribes, and exhibited capacity in the conduct of irregular warfare by the manner in which he surprised the scattered forces of his opponent. A reign of assured internal peace and much national prosperity was brought suddenly to a conclusion in 1435. Suentson showed

during his reign of ten years the possession of many of the kingly virtues, and during his leisure hours he cultivated the Muses with attention and success. This amiable prince left the throne to the son whose doubtful birth he had hailed with such delight eight years before.

As Yngtsong, the new Emperor, was only a child of eight years of age, it was necessary that some one should assume the active responsibility of authority during his tender years; and, as is usual under such circumstances, the opportunity was afforded the princesses of the reigning family to put themselves forward and assert their rights in the matter. The strongest willed and the most influential among them did not, however, prove to be the wife who had successfully imposed upon the late Emperor, and who had thereby obtained the supreme position in the palace; but it turned out to be Changchi, Suentsong's mother. Her son was hardly dead when she seized the reins of power, and, proclaiming herself Regent, gained over the adherence of the most influential of the ministers by taking them into her confidence and by forming them into a council. This new governing body consisted of five members, who acted in co-operation with the Empress Regent. They possessed their offices, however, by her favour, and they appear to have been as little able to resist the tact of her advances as to oppose the schemes and policy which she propounded. They served as a useful screen for her ambition, and in bidding her grandson follow their example and accept their advice, she knew she was really directing him so as to best promote her own ends.

Her desire to exercise the authority of ruler being thus easily attained and gratified, it was only natural that she should look about to discern what persons there were who might threaten her undisturbed tenure of the position she had usurped, and whom she might count her friends and whom her enemies. Among the latter, as she conceived, none was more formidable and more to be dreaded than the eunuch Wangchin, who had gained a great ascendancy over the young Emperor Yngtsong; and with the promptitude of an unscrupulous mind she resolved to compass his death. Before the assembled ministers and in the presence of the whole

court, she denounced him as an enemy of the state, and as one whose crimes rendered him deserving of death. But the young Emperor implored that the life of his favourite might be spared, and all present supported what he asked as a personal favour. The Empress felt constrained to yield, but she warned Wangchin that on the next occasion he must expect no mercy. She little thought at the time that she would never again have so much as the inclination to decree his punishment.

The exact character of Wangchin's crime is not known, but probably he possessed no fault greater or more disastrous in its consequences than his incapacity. Having thus been marked out in a public manner as the enemy, and consequently as the object also of the Empress Regent's resentment, he set himself to the task, difficult though it was, of removing the insecurity of his position by ingratiating himself into her good graces. In this he succeeded beyond his hopes, and in a degree that might appear to be incredible, although we know how much a handsome face, a ready tongue, and a plausible address may accomplish. Within three years after the scene described, Wangchin had not only gained a seat on the council, but his influence was all-powerful with the Empress Regent. She, who had been his bitterest, indeed, so far as we may judge, his only foe, was now his warmest friend and staunchest supporter. Without him nothing was done, and the Empress practically resigned to him the functions of authority.

The consequences of this diversion of the ruling power from the hands of the Empress and her council into those of this ambitious individual proved most disastrous and unfortunate, for his incapacity was boundless. Having displaced the experienced ministers of the Empire, he advanced to the front-rank of the official-service-creatures of his own, but all had to retain office by humouring his whims and obeying his commands. The administration of the country was carried on after a certain fashion without any evil consequences becoming apparent, but when Wangchin selected his favourites or his creatures for commands in the army he imperilled both his reputation and the national interests by inviting defeat.

Even here his better fortune seemed at first likely to save him from the natural consequences of his impolicy, for a revolt in Yunnan was summarily repressed and the Emperor's authority promptly reasserted. But the natural consequences of human incapacity are not to be ultimately averted. They arise sooner or later; and their advent was not long deferred in the case of Wangchin.

Among the Mongols of the northern frontier there had at this time arisen some fresh sense of union, and Yesien, Prince of Chuning, who succeeded to his father's place and name about the time when all Wangchin's designs had apparently been crowned with success, was possessed with the ambition to renew the incursions into China that had formerly been the prerogative and practice of his race. The border governors soon reported that Yesien was actively engaged in military preparations, and that his emissaries and spies were exploring the frontier of the Empire for the purpose of ascertaining its weak places. But for the time Yesien took no active steps against the Chinese authorities, and duly sent the usual envoy and presents to the capital for the purpose of announcing his accession to the chiefship of his people. He also made the customary request to the Emperor for a Chinese princess as his wife. Yesien's moderation removed the apprehensions which his military preparations were beginning to arouse, and both Yngtsong and the more experienced of his officials were in favour of a gracious compliance with the requests of the Tartar prince. But to Wangchin the occasion appeared to be one not for arranging in a satisfactory manner a difficulty that might imperil the national interests, but for exalting his own position and for gratifying his personal vanity. Wangchin appropriated for himself the presents sent by the Tartar chief, and haughtily refused to entertain the request for a bride. The messengers returned to the camp of Yesien to inflame his indignation by the rejection of his overtures, and by the relation of their discourteous treatment.

The desert chieftain took this conduct on the part of the Chinese Government as an affront to his person, and as a slight upon his honour. According to the code of honour among his race, the insult thus publicly offered could only be

atoned for in blood ; for the instincts natural to man raged, uncontrolled by the lessons of civilization, in the hearts of the children of these northern steppes. Yesien's reply to Wangchin was to collect his fighting men and to harry the border districts of the Empire. The boldness of his policy greatly disconcerted Wangchin and his advisers, for Yesien marched against the strongly fortified and strategically important town of Taitong in Shansi, and even proclaimed his intention of attacking Peking.

Wangchin, alarmed at the storm which he had so heedlessly raised, called out all the troops stationed in the northern provinces, and he also compelled the courtiers to take up arms and join the active army in the field. Five hundred thousand men were assembled, and, to increase the confidence of the soldiers and to make victory doubly assured, as he thought, Wangchin insisted on the young Emperor placing himself at their head. But, as the event turned out, these extensive preparations and this presence of the sovereign contributed not to make a victory more signal and illustrious, but to render a defeat more crushing and ignominious.

The eunuch general was ill-able to direct the unwieldy machine which he had found it so easy in the Emperor's name to create, and, ignorant of the way in which it was necessary to provide for the requirements of so vast a body of men, his troops had not taken the field many days before they were reduced to extreme straits by the breaking-down of the transport and commissariat services. In face of an enterprising enemy this mismanagement soon produced the greatest confusion in the ranks of the Imperialists. Divided councils also presented themselves in the Cabinet to increase the disorder ; but although many sought to expose the folly of Wangchin, and to cause his removal from office, yet he remained supreme in the affection of his Sovereign and in his own effrontery.

Meantime, Yesien was actively employed in the endeavour to take the superior army of his opponent at a disadvantage, and at last the favourable opportunity offered itself when Wangchin pitched his camp in a false position at a place called Toumon. The error of the Chinese commander was

so glaring that Yesien imagined that it must conceal some deep-laid stratagem, and accordingly sent one of his officers nominally to discuss the terms on which an arrangement might be concluded, but really to examine the military position. The envoy hastened back as soon as he could to urge Yesien to deliver his attack without delay, as fortune had given the Chinese army into his hands. The Tartar prince acted with the promptitude the occasion required. The Chinese, cooped up in a narrow space and surrounded on all sides, fought with desperation, but with little judgment. They broke in every direction, and were pursued with vigour by the Mongol horsemen. The battle in a few hours became a rout. The Tartars gave no mercy, and more than 100,000 Chinese perished at their hands. Nor had the calamity ceased there. The Emperor himself, the youthful Yngtsong, remained captive to his savage foe, and it seemed but a trifling consolation in the midst of the surrounding misfortune to find that Wangchin had paid with his life the penalty of the ruin entailed by his imprudence and temerity.

Large sums of money were offered for the ransom of Yngtsong, but Yesien was loth to part on easy terms with so distinguished a captive. After his great victory at Toumon, the Tartar chief did not meet with as many successes as he might have anticipated, for the border garrisons stood resolutely to their posts, and at last Yesien resolved to return to the Toula, taking back with him his state prisoner, Yngtsong. His parting message to the ministry at Pekin was to fix the ransom of the Emperor at 100 taels of gold, 200 taels of silver, and 200 pieces of the finest silk.

The departure of Yesien rendered it necessary for the Empress to take steps for the conduct of the administration during the enforced absence of the Emperor. At first there had been only a council of regency, but when it became known that Yngtsong had been conveyed to the north, his younger brother, Chinwang, was placed upon the throne in the year 1450, and he took the style of Kingti. The seven years during which he filled the throne were marked by the consequences of the rude shock which the rout of Toumon had produced throughout the whole country. That single

defeat had almost sufficed to undo all the fruits of the policy of previous years, and to even render the task of preserving internal order one of no slight difficulty, so easy a matter is it to destroy compared with the labour required to create.

The eight years during which Kingti ruled in his brother's place were marked by a fierce but intermittent war with the Tartars, during which Yesien carried terror and desolation through the border districts of Shansi and Pechihli. During one of these expeditions Yesien, who carried his imperial prisoner about with him, laid siege to Peking, but, as his force was composed mostly of cavalry, he was unable to do more than to beleaguer it and make feeble attacks on the gates. The arrival of fresh troops from Leaoutung enabled the Chinese to assume the offensive, when Yesien was glad enough to be able to make an orderly retreat back to his native districts with his captive. Yesien returned on several subsequent occasions; but the Chinese, who had had the good fortune to discover a capable general in Yukien, more than held their own.

The one disturbing element in the situation was the continued captivity of Yngtsong, whom neither the wealth nor the force of China could ransom. A feeling was gaining ground that not much harm would be done were Yngtsong left to his fate, and this was encouraged and strengthened by Kingti, who, having tasted the sweets of power, felt loth to lose them. For reasons which must have had force at the time, but the memory of which has not been preserved, Yesien came to the determination to release Yngtsong, and to permit his return to his country. This decision was suddenly formed, and was little expected by either the court or the people of China, and when the unfortunate Yngtsong reached his native country he found none prepared to receive and few to welcome him. His imprisonment had lasted little more than twelve months, but it had continued long enough to provide him with a successor, and to completely change the aspect of affairs at his capital. When he entered Peking the few hopes he had entertained of a restoration to the throne were abandoned, and he calmly accepted the apartments assigned

him in the palace by his brother Kingti. The shadow of the rout at Toumon still hung heavily on his mind.

But although Yngtsong thus waived all his rights in favour of his brother Kingti, his son had been proclaimed Heir Apparent, and it was generally understood that the succession would lie with him. Having fared so well in his first design of retaining possession of the throne, Kingti not unnaturally turned his attention next to the task of preserving it in the hands of his own branch of the family. In this plan he was on the point of succeeding, although success might have entailed a civil war, when the death of his only son marred his prospects. No other event occurred to redeem the memory of Kingti's brief reign from oblivion, but on his death in 1458 Yngtsong was brought forth from his seclusion and restored to the throne. The hope was indulged that under Yngtsong the national prosperity might revive; for Kingti had been a cold and unpopular ruler, whereas Yngtsong had shown that he possessed virtues and qualities well suited to the fulfilment of the duties of his rank, although, through the evil influence of the eunuch Wangchin, they had been obscured by the faults of his minister and by the catastrophe in the war with Yesien.

Yngtsong's return to power was not followed by any of those remarkable events which his friends had anticipated. He was restored to the throne by an intrigue not very dissimilar to that which had resulted in his temporary deposition, and his reappearance in public life was signalized by his supporters ordering the execution of their rivals. Yngtsong reigned for eight more years, but during these no event of greater moment occurred than the petty intrigues of a court presided over by a prince without force of character or any definite views of his own. At first the object of their lip-loyalty, and then, when their aims had been attained, regarded with indifference, Yngtsong's supporters soon began to either fall away from him or to plot his fresh deposition, for to the stormy petrels of politics a settled state of things is irksome and tranquillity impossible.

One plot among the eunuchs of the palace was on the point of succeeding, and only the faithful valour of the body-

guard thwarted their plans and put down the seditious movement in blood. Another, promoted by the prime-minister, Cheheng, was fortunately discovered in time, and its authors were promptly arrested and executed after being stripped of their rank and honours. Cheheng avoided some of the ignominy of his sentence by taking poison. It was only through such anxieties as these that Yngtsong could make good his claim to reign in China, nor did the condition of the country afford much room for rejoicing, despite the fact that the Tartars left for a season the borders undisturbed. Earthquakes and inundations caused considerable loss to the country, and spread terror among a superstitious people accustomed to see in natural phenomena the measure of their faults and the anger of the celestial powers.

Yngtsong's death occurred in the year 1465, when he was thirty-eight years old, and he left his throne to his eldest son Chukienchin. In his will, which contained nothing else that was remarkable, he ordered that none should immolate themselves on account of his death, and by forbidding this mistaken practice he manifested some fellow-feeling towards his subjects. Yngtsong's later reign did not come up to the expectations formed about it before it began, but, at the least, it was not marked by any disaster similar to that of Toumon. When Yngtsong died, he could fairly say that he left to his children the heritage he had received almost intact, and in nearly the same condition as when he received it.

CHAPTER XXX.

THREE MING EMPERORS.

HIENTSONG promptly gained popular acclamation by the religious manner in which he obeyed his father's last instructions. The prescribed interval of mourning was kept with due observance, and the young ruler selected as his Empress the princess whom his father had designated for him. In great acts, not less than in small ones, he strove to imitate his predecessor, and to copy his virtues without repeating his vices. The harsh treatment and ingratitude shown towards the illustrious Yukien had been one of the darkest spots on the reputation of Yngtsong's later years. Hientsong had both the discrimination and the resolution to remove, so far as he could, this reproach to his family by publicly paying honour to the memory of that minister and general. The ceremony of rehabilitating the character of this worthy man, and of restoring his original honours, was performed with scrupulous exactitude, but in any other country than China this would seem but a useless and unnecessary proceeding. The Chinese have, however, continued to attach importance to this posthumous practice, partly because it may be held a tribute to truth, and also because it must be considered some redeeming feature in the hard conditions of their official service, which bestows comparatively few rewards, and which always calls for severe hardships.

During the twenty-two years that Hientsong occupied the throne, many questions presented themselves for his consideration, and, so far as may be judged, he endeavoured to, and did, fulfil his duties in a creditable and conscientious

manner. This period was one also of almost incessant warfare, not only on the extreme frontiers, but also in some of the more inaccessible districts of the interior. Yet no campaign on a large scale, signalized either by some great triumph, or by some equally decisive reverse, was fought to redeem the memory of these small wars from oblivion. When it has been stated that there were insurrections in Hupeh and Szchuen, seditious movements in Leaoutung and Yunnan, that there were disturbances among the fierce Miaotse, and the tribes of the Tibetan border, enough has been said to illustrate the condition of the country, and to show the vicissitudes of empire. None of these wars attained serious dimensions, and in all the encounters necessary to vindicate the authority of the Government, the arms of Hientsong were crowned with victory.

One contest, and one alone, threatened to assume a larger aspect, and may fairly claim brief description in this place. In the bleak region round the sources of the Hoangho, where scattered tribes have found it difficult, from the remotest ages, to gain a sustenance for themselves and their flocks, the chief Patan had gathered into his hands some of the power of supreme authority. His town or permanent camp, with its mud rampart, appeared in the eyes of his simple race as good a symbol of kingly power as the more pretentious buildings of the greater capitals seemed to a people of higher culture. The first ruler of Chechen, as this district was called, was quite satisfied to recognize the supremacy of the Chinese Emperor. Patan had been the faithful ally and dependent of the later princes of the Yuen dynasty, and when they were displaced and vanished from the scene he transferred his allegiance without hesitation to the new ruler Hongwou.

Time went on, and the arrangement, which had seemed natural and prudent to Patan and his son, assumed an irksome character in the eyes of the ambitious Mansu, the grandson of the former chief. The Chinese declared that he availed himself of his favourable position to make his town the refuge-place for all the evil-doers on the western borders, and certainly he adopted the attitude of a man who conceived that he had some more profitable and distinguished work to

do than to guide the fortunes and sway the councils of a pastoral tribe. His first collision with the Chinese authorities was caused by a dispute over the collection of the small tribute for which he was liable, and the removal of this difficulty was not facilitated by the existence of a sanctuary controversy. A small body of troops received directions to march against him, but Mansu was on his guard. He succeeded in taking them by surprise, and overwhelmed this detachment in the narrow approaches to his capital. This victory invested his party with a more formidable character than had yet been attached to it, but it also entailed the grave peril of marking him out as an irreclaimable foe of China. Fresh troops were sent against him; his followers, dismayed by the sight of the extensive military preparations brought to bear on them, deserted him, and at last Mansu himself fell into the hands of his enemy. His fate was intended to act as a warning to any who might aspire to imitate him, and on his arrival at the capital he was forthwith executed as a rebel.

Two measures of domestic policy carried out by the Emperor Hientsong attracted considerable notice, and both excited almost universal condemnation. The first of these was the creation of a Council of Eunuchs, into whose hands were placed all matters of life and death. At first it seemed as if this creation of a new administrative body aimed only at humouring a whim of the ruler, and it was not seriously anticipated that this tribunal would exercise much influence over practical affairs. It soon became clear, however, that its functions were more than honorary, and, as a body of troops was specially set apart for the execution of its behests, the new council rapidly became an engine of tyranny. The part taken by its members in the work of administration was most important, and the character of its charter also absolved it from responsibility. No one knew what decrees it passed, but none could escape the malice of a private enemy who happened to be a member of this Chinese Star Chamber. During five years this palace conclave was the terror of the land, but at last the public outcry against it became so loud that Hientsong had to suspend its functions, although he still

hesitated to destroy the work of his own hands. The nation was little satisfied with this inadequate reparation, and after its members had been formally denounced as enemies of the state, several of the principal of them were sentenced to death. Hientsong's popularity thereupon revived, and his subjects charitably attributed to weakness and amiability his having so long condoned the criminal and tyrannical proceedings of this section of his most intimate courtiers.

In the second measure, of which the consequences did not become immediately perceptible, will be found one of the chief causes that operated towards effecting the early overthrow and destruction of the Mings. The members of the reigning House, and all who had contributed to its elevation, naturally expected some reward for their position or their services; and it became their first ambition to obtain territorial grants from the Sovereign, and to found an estate which could be handed down as a patrimony to their descendants. The feudal practices and system had died out in China many centuries before, and it was not to be supposed that a people, like the Chinese, strongly imbued with the principles of equality, and only recognizing as a superior class the representatives of officialdom and letters, would look with much favour on any attempt to revive an order of territorial magnates with whom they had no sympathy. Hientsong himself felt no strong interest in the matter. He knew the people's mind on this subject, and he was aware that the authority of the King is rather diminished than enhanced by the presence of a powerful and warlike nobility, who have always been prone to see in the ruler the highest member of their order rather than the "divinely elected" guide of a people. On the other hand, he was not sufficiently cold to resist the importunities of his friends. In the matter, therefore, of making territorial grants to the more prominent of his supporters he vacillated from one side to the other. The representations of one of the censors led him to pass an edict against any territorial concessions, but within a very few weeks of this firm and wise decision he was so far influenced by his relatives that he conferred several grants of land on members of his family. The rule once broken was seldom afterwards rigidly

enforced, and gradually the scions of the Ming family became territorial magnates to the great discontent of the people. It was in the eyes of the latter a flagrant interference with the laws of providence to "assign to one man a district which could supply the wants of a hundred families."

While this cause for discontent not only existed but was acquiring fresh force throughout the country, the extravagance of the court had resulted in grave pecuniary embarrassment, and, as some possible means of supplying urgent wants, orders were given to resume the working of all the gold mines in Central China upon which operations had been long discontinued. More than half a million of persons were employed, but the result was next to nothing. Many lives were lost from fever, and the total sum which the Emperor derived from this desperate expedient and experiment amounted to no more than thirty ounces. The search for gold was then abandoned in despair, but we are not told whether the Emperor sought the true remedy of his embarrassment in retrenchment and economy.

On the other hand, several undertakings of great public utility must be placed to the credit of Hientsong, and among these not the least important was the cutting of a canal from Pekin to the Peiho, sufficiently deep to admit of large junks laden with grain proceeding to the capital both from the Yuho and from the Gulf of Pechihli. The transport of grain from the central provinces, in order to supply the wants of the capital and of the northern districts, where a large garrison was permanently stationed, was always very extensive, and a regular organization was required to maintain it in an efficient state. At first it had been placed in the hands of the civil authorities, but eventually it was transferred to those of the military, by whom the work was performed with remarkable success. In this measure may be seen the germ of an efficient military field transport, although it must be remembered that here the great difficulty of all was much simplified by the existence of a convenient water-way throughout the entire route.

Another enterprise of a dissimilar but not less useful character was accomplished in the repairing of the great wall

of Tsin Chi Hwangti. In 1474 it was reported in a memorial to the throne that this structure was in a state of great disrepair, and that the flourishing condition of the Empire afforded a favourable opportunity for restoring it. The necessary sanction having been obtained from the Emperor, the work was prosecuted with energy. The local garrison supplied the labour, and in a few months the wall had been renovated throughout a great portion of its length by the efforts of 50,000 soldiers. A large extent of territory within this wall was then parcelled out among military settlers, and while there was increased security from without, greater prosperity prevailed within.

The closing years of Hientsong's reign witnessed the achievement of several brilliant successes over the Tartars. The town of Hami was taken by one of his lieutenants, and again subjected to Chinese authority. But on the northern frontier near Taitong the Imperialists suffered a reverse, which the unlucky commanders represented in their official bulletins as a success. The latter misadventure was exceptional, and the capture of Hami more truly represented the condition of the Empire, when Hientsong's death left the throne vacant. (A.D. 1487.)

His son and successor, Hiaotsong, was a youth of eighteen when he was called upon to assume the grave responsibility of governing the Empire, but his youth does not appear to have led him into any greater indiscretion than to show a marked partiality for the doctrines of Buddhism. In China, although such a tendency has long been common, and although Buddhism now holds an important part in the religious ceremonies and belief of the court, a leaning towards Buddhism has always been denounced as a kind of infidelity. The moralists of the palace and the petitioners of the throne have ever seized the opportunity thus afforded them to dilate upon the virtues of the great men of a primitive era, and to protest against the immorality of these later days. So it was in the case of Hiaotsong; but whatever his errors of opinion, his acts as ruler appear to have been founded in wisdom, and marked by generosity towards those who disagreed with him.

The presence of a young prince upon the throne always affords the opportunity for rival ambitions to assert themselves in the arena of public affairs. The first few years of Hiaotsong's reign were not free from this cause of irritation, and several ministers were banished and decapitated in expiation of their crimes or misfortune before the Emperor felt sure that he had found in Mawenchin a man in whose integrity he might place the same faith as in his ability. Mawenchin held throughout Hiaotsong's reign the foremost place in official life, and the country benefited equally by his sagacity and his valour. Although the records are always too meagre, and sometimes too contradictory, to invest the subject with any of the interest which at the time it claimed in the eyes of the Chinese, we cannot pass over the one question which occupied the attention, roused the apprehension, and employed the talent of Mawenchin and his colleagues.

In remote Central Asia, where the exciting game of ambition has oft been played by ephemeral conquerors, whose fluctuating fortunes have been marked by the overthrow of dynasties, the Chinese had now for almost a century maintained their supremacy intact, if frequently disputed, and their strong position at Hami enabled them to foil the spasmodic attempts of their rude assailants. The governor of this town naturally became a personage of great importance on the north-west frontier, and at no other place did good service receive its due reward more promptly than at this gate of the Empire. One of Hiaotsong's first acts had been to raise Hanchen, the governor, who had retaken it in the last year of Hientsong's reign, to the rank of prince, but Hanchen's new honours did not bring good fortune to him in the matter of his onerous charge. For the very year following his elevation, Hahema, a Tartar chief who reigned at Turfan, attacked him suddenly, and, having slain the commandant, drove out the Chinese and set up his own authority. With the loss of Hami, all the possessions beyond Gobi also fell into the hands of tribes who, always hostile to the Chinese, had grown doubly inimical to them since they adopted the tenets of Mahomedanism. On this

occasion Hahema, concerned to defend his western frontiers against neighbours not less aggressive than himself, withdrew from his conquest, and consented to pay to the injured dignity of China the reparation Mawenchin required.

But Hahema's moderation did not last long. Mawenchin placed in the vacant seat of Hami a young prince called Champa or Hiapa, who came from Manchuria, and who represented in direct line the old-reigning House of the Mongols; but this appointment seemed to Hahema an affront of a personal character. He accordingly marched against Hami, which he seemed resolved to prevent falling into the hands of anybody else, as he could not keep it for himself. Hami surrendered without any attempt at resistance, and Champa, instead of enjoying his new principality, became a prisoner in the hands of a malignant foe.

It was impossible for the Chinese to put up with this second and flagrant insult. The deposition of Champa reopened the old sore caused by the murder of Hanchen, and rendered it incumbent on Hiaotsong's ministers to take steps to inflict a summary punishment on the ambitious Hahema. It is always easier to decree the punishment of a vassal whose security consists in the remoteness of his district than it is to carry out his chastisement, and Hahema continued to enjoy the security of his position. After this second triumph, he proclaimed himself Khakhan, and he continued to make Turfan his principal place of residence. Hami he was content to leave in the charge of two of his lieutenants with a small garrison of two hundred horsemen.

The confidence shown in these arrangements provided the Chinese with the opportunity of striking a prompt blow against their opponent. An attack on Hami did not promise to be a very hazardous undertaking, although it naturally proved more difficult to keep secret the preparations for such an enterprise. Hahema's officers soon heard of the approaching force, and by a rapid retreat ensured their own safety and converted the Chinese success into a barren victory. The presence of a Chinese army at Hami sufficed to bring Hahema to a proper sense of his position. He then surrendered his prisoner Champa, sent in a fresh expression of his dependence

on the Chinese Emperor, and acquiesced in the installation of Champa as Prince of Hami. Peace was thus given to a region which the ambition of Hahema had threatened to disturb.

The rest of Hiaotsong's reign was uneventful so far as its external relations went, but an insurrection on the part of the natives of Hainan* called attention to a remote portion of the Empire which seldom received much notice from the magnates of Peking. The blacks of Hainan, as they were designated, had had the misfortune to be placed under the authority of a governor who ground them down with harsh usage, and when, on some rumour of his tyranny reaching the ears of his superiors, he was removed, his successor continued with still greater violence the course he had adopted. The Hainanese, unable to make their complaints in any form likely to receive attention at the capital, began to plot how they might effect their deliverance from an oppression which weighed so heavily upon them, and they found a popular chief in the person of Founancha, ready and willing to lead them against their Chinese masters. In the disturbances that followed in consequence of this effort towards freedom, the small Chinese garrison was unable to do much towards the maintenance of order, and the natives under the leadership of Founancha long baffled the attempts made to reduce them to subjection. It is possible that the struggle might

* The island of Hainan is of very considerable importance. It is attached to the province of Kwantung. At present little is known of the actual condition of this island, but its mineral wealth is believed to be considerable. Timber forms its staple trade. The Chinese authority was first established there in B.C. 111 by General Lupoteh, but for many centuries it has been a reality only in a few districts adjoining the coast. The capital is Kiungchow, and it is also the principal seaport. The inhabitants are divided into three races—the Chinese, the Shuli, who appear to be a cross between the natives and the Celestials, and the Shengli, Black Li, or aborigines, referred to above. The population is estimated at about two and a half millions. Hainan, which in the past has often been a mere piratical nest and a source of trouble to the Chinese Government, is probably destined to play a considerable part in the development of European trade with China (see, for an interesting description of Hainan with references, vol. xi. "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th edition, 1880).

have continued for an indefinite period had not the Chinese raised a corps of native troops who were able to engage the Hainanese insurgents on more equal terms. This plan of proceeding answered extremely well, and when Founancha was slain in a skirmish his followers either disbanded or gave in their formal surrender.

With the pacification of Hainan the last important event of Hiaotsong's reign is recorded. That prince was still young, but his strength appears to have been feeble, and it had long been evident that his end was approaching. His death occurred in A.D. 1505, when he was only thirty-six years of age, and he left the throne to his son, who became the Emperor Woutsong. It is difficult to form a clear opinion as to the character of these princes of the House of Ming, who succeed each other on the stage of history without performing any deed calculated to impress the mind or to inspire the pen. Hiaotsong showed something of the care a great prince should exhibit towards his people by providing public granaries in which corn could be stored for years of dearth and famine. Into these each district of ten hamlets was obliged to send annually a quantity of grain until there were stored up 100,000 bushels in each granary. The wisdom of this precaution was undoubted, and in a land in which large provinces are so frequently desolated by famine, as is the case in China, the people had good reason to laud the forethought of their ruler.

The reign of Woutsong proved prolific of misfortune both for the prince and also for the nation. His accession to the throne served as the signal for a clique of courtiers to begin machinations which had the double object in view of advancing their own fortunes and of gradually usurping the functions of the sovereign. Eight eunuchs figured in the front rank as the leaders of this seditious movement, but Liukin was the most prominent of them all. To his ambitious mind the part even of chief minister appeared small and scarcely worthy of his claims, and, while feigning to be content with a position which left him the dispenser of the Emperor's favour, he was really plotting how to oust Woutsong and the Ming dynasty, and to place his own family on the throne. These

schemes long failed to arouse the suspicions of a too-confiding prince, but they very soon attracted the indignation of the people.

They also served to stir up ambitious dreams in the breasts of some who without an example of infidelity would have been satisfied to remain the dutiful subjects of the Emperor. In Szchuen the latent dissatisfaction found vent, as has often been the case in that great province, in a popular rising, but elsewhere throughout the country—at Nankin and in Shensi in particular—the Emperor's uncles took the lead in intrigues for the deposition of Woutsong. Of the fortunes of these cabals, and of the practical result that followed, it will suffice to briefly say that Liukin was on the eve of attaining his objects, when a quarrel with some of his confederates led to the divulgence of his plans and to his immediate arrest. In his palace proof was found, in the vast quantity of treasure and of military weapons he had collected, of the ambitious plans which he had entertained. His execution put an end to the designs of this Chinese Wolsey.

The Emperor's relatives, the princes of Ting and Ganhoa, did not stop their preparations because of this purification of the palace. The Prince of Ning was first brought to reason by one of Woutsong's lieutenants, and then his kinsman of Ganhoa was likewise reduced to a sense of good order. Within a very short period of the time when the machinations of Liukin and the ambitious plans of these princes threatened both the disintegration of the Empire and also the ruin of the Ming family, internal tranquillity was restored by the Imperial troops. Woutsong owed the recovery of his authority more to his good fortune than to the excellence of his arrangements. His natural indifference seems to have prevented his realizing the gravity of the danger to which he had been momentarily exposed, and from which he had been happily rescued.

The insurrection on the part of the common people in Szchuen, of which little had been thought at the time, proved more formidable and difficult to put down than the plots of courtiers and the agitation of self-seeking potentates, for in their case they were actuated by a real grievance and by an

overpowering sense of wrong. The inhabitants of that province, who have long been remarkable for their courage and love of liberty, qualities which they may have derived from their native soil, famed alike for the beauty of its scenery and for its productive character, collected in considerable force in the northern valleys, and bade defiance to the local authorities. Fresh troops had to be brought from the neighbouring provinces, and a large army was placed in the field before there seemed to be any good ground for believing that the insurgents would be dispersed. Even when assailed by an overwhelming force, they withdrew into the neighbouring province of Kweichow sooner than make their formal surrender to the officers of an unjust prince. In Kweichow they were joined by the Miaotze and others, but as soon as it was seen that depredation represented their principal object they were doomed. Never again did they become formidable, and the embers of this once popular rebellion were gradually and effectually stamped out.

The errors of the Government entailed a punishment still nearer home. In the metropolitan provinces of Pechihli and Shantung bands of mounted robbers collected, and they became, under the designation of Hiangma, the terror of a large tract of country, covering hundreds of square miles. Pekin itself was not safe from insult and attack. In 1512, Liutsi, their principal leader, pillaged its suburbs, and for a moment it looked as if he were about to secure the person of the Emperor and to become the arbiter of the state. A large army arrived opportunely from Leaoutung, and Liutsi was compelled to retire. Having thus held complete success almost within their grasp, the Hiangmas lost ground as rapidly as they had gained it. Reverse followed reverse, and the same year which beheld Pekin imperilled also saw the final overthrow of Liutsi and the complete dispersion of his band.

Although these numerous troubles might well have suggested caution in his actions to Woutsong, his last years were marked by much of the recklessness of the earlier ones. In defiance of the strict etiquette of the Chinese Court, he passed his later days in expeditions beyond the northern frontier,

which partook of the double character of hunting tours and of forays against the Tartars. Memorial was presented after memorial in the hope of inducing the monarch to see the error of his ways, but he regarded the matter from his own point of view, and was not to be turned from his path. A fresh revolt on the part of the Prince of Ning failed to disturb his serenity, but the energy with which he devoted his attention to its repression showed that he was at least resolved not to omit any measure of precaution in grappling with his enemies. A short time after this incident Woutsong was seized with a malady which proved mortal. His death, in the fourteenth year of his reign,* was the signal for much confusion, as he neither left children nor had he selected an heir. The consequences of the misfortunes which distracted the realm, but which left his position and equanimity undisturbed, were to be reaped by his successors.

* The most important event by far of Woutsong's reign was the arrival at Canton of the first European who landed on the shores of China. Raphael Perestralo sailed from Malacca to China about the year 1511; and in 1517 Don Fernand Perez D'Andrade, a Portuguese officer, arrived off the coast with a squadron, and was favourably received by the Canton mandarins. He visited Peking, where he resided for some time as ambassador. The commencement of intercourse was thus effected in a most auspicious manner, and it might have endured, but that a second Portuguese fleet appeared in Chinese waters and committed there numerous outrages and acts of piracy. Upon this D'Andrade was arrested by order of Woutsong, and after undergoing six years' imprisonment was executed by command of the Emperor Chitsong in A.D. 1523. The termination of the first act in the history of intercourse by sea between China and Europe was therefore less favourable than its commencement had promised.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE MING DYNASTY—*continued.**Chitsong and Moutsong.*

THE throne being thus left vacant and no heir existing whose claims could be held to be indisputable, there was every prospect of a period of trouble ensuing upon the death of Woutsong, and only the promptitude and resolution of the Empress Changchi averted such a catastrophe. She at once summoned all the principal officials to a secret council, and dwelling upon the critical nature of the situation, insisted on the absolute necessity of choosing some scion of the reigning House and proclaiming him Emperor. Their choice fell upon the grandson of the Emperor Hientsong, a youth of some fourteen summers, who ascended the throne under the style of Chitsong. A glimpse is obtained of this young prince before he had accepted the responsibility of power in his parting interview with his mother. Although fortune was about to raise him to so brilliant a station, we are told that he parted from her with reluctance. "My son," she said, "you are about to accept a heavy burden; never forget the few words your mother has addressed to you, and always respect them."

His first act was to proclaim a general pardon, from which Kiangping, an ambitious official who had risen by the personal favour of Woutsong, and who even aspired to the purple, was alone excepted. Neither the Empress Dowager nor her ministers would allow this measure of oblivion to apply to so formidable an opponent, and Kiangping was accordingly executed after his estates had been made forfeit to the Crown.

In a very few months, therefore, the dangers of a disputed succession were happily averted, and the most formidable enemy of the public peace had been removed without difficulty or strife. Chitsong's long reign could not well have opened under fairer auspices.

The incursions of the Tartar chief Yenta had formed a principal element of disturbance throughout the lifetime of Woutsong; they became still more frequent after his successor occupied the throne. Indeed, hardly a year elapsed without witnessing some of his depredations either in Shansi or Pechihli, and his raid formed the annual event along the northern frontier. Nor was Yenta the only chief who troubled the borders, or whose acts weighed down weak-kneed ministers at the capital with the cares of government. Mansour, of Turfan, had succeeded to the authority and power of Hahema, and he had again established at Hami a delegate of his own. In 1522 he advanced across the desert and laid siege to Souchow, but in this he had miscalculated his strength. The town was stoutly defended, and Mansour was in turn attacked by a relieving force. From the battle which ensued, he was glad to escape with his life and the relics of his army. After this reverse, Mansour gave little more trouble, and in 1528 he thought it better, on account of the defection of several of his allies, to send in his surrender and to admit the supremacy of the Emperor.

Nor were these the sole quarters whence danger emanated. The district included in the loop of the Hoangho, and bounded on the south by the Great Wall, was inhabited by the assemblage of tribes known then and now under the name of Ordus or Ortus.* These, although settled within what may be called the geographical frontier of China, were really as independent of her authority as if they had been a tribe in a

* A full but uninteresting description of these tribes is given in "Mailla," vol. x. pp. 300-3. They still constitute one of those semi-subdued people—an *imperium in imperio*—whose existence mars the symmetry and completeness of the Chinese Empire according to the notions of Europe. Reference may also be made, for information about these tribes, to Timkowski's interesting "Travels," vol. ii. pp. 266-8; and to Huc's "Travels," vol. i.

remote portion of Central Asia. They had owed this happy immunity from interference on the part of the Chinese tax-collectors and officials as much to the excellence of their conduct as to the natural difficulties and barren character of the region they inhabited. During the reigns of some of Chitsong's predecessors disturbances had arisen on this border, and the second year after his accession was marked by a raid on a more than usually large scale. The Ordus were doubtless encouraged in their depredations by the example of their eastern as well as by that of their western neighbours, although in comparison with either they were a source of small anxiety to the Peking authorities.

Chitsong felt little disposition to devote himself to the cares of government, and preferred to relieve his superstition in religious ceremonies and to indulge his inclination by cultivating a taste for poetry. His advisers deplored the attitude of their prince, and remonstrated with him on the consequences that his indifference to the duties of his high office must entail. But their counsels were poured into ears that did not heed, and Chitsong continued the even tenor of his way. A mutiny among his troops at the northern post of Taitong did not avail to rouse him from his torpor, but when, after the birth of an heir, he expressed a desire to retire from the throne into private life, and made some preparations towards carrying his intention into execution, his courtiers all joined to urge upon him the necessity of abandoning it in order to save the realm from the numerous calamities of a long minority or disputed succession.

Three principal subjects alone were of absorbing interest in the reign of this Emperor, and it is the common fortune of great empires that they should relate exclusively to foreign affairs. But it must not be supposed that they exercised little or no effect on the material condition of the country, or on the development of the national resources. These three questions were the wars with Yenta the Tartar, and with the Japanese, and the progress of events in Cochin China. Each of these topics occupied a most important place in the annals of the time, and they contributed to swell the tide of difficulty that was already accumulating round the Ming dynasty. It

might be more instructive to trace the growth of thought among the masses, or to indicate the progress of civil and political freedom ; yet not only do the materials not exist for such a task, but those we possess all tend to show that there has been no growth to describe, no progress to be indicated during these comparatively recent centuries. It is the peculiar and distinguishing characteristic of Chinese history that the people and their institutions have remained practically unchanged and the same from a very early period. Even the introduction of a foreign element has not tended to disturb the established order of things. The supreme ruler preserves the same attributes and discharges the same functions ; the governing classes are chosen in the same manner ; the people are bound in the same state of servitude, and enjoy the same practical liberty ; all is now as it was. Neither under the Tangs nor the Sung, under the Yuens nor the Mings, was there any change in national character, or in political institutions to be noted or chronicled. The history of the Empire has always been the fortunes of the dynasty, which have depended in the first place on the passive content of the subjects, and in the second, on the success or failure of its external and internal wars. This condition of things may be disappointing to those who pride themselves on tracing the origin of constitutions and the growth of civil rights, and who would have a history of China the history of the Chinese people ; although the fact is undoubted that there is no history of the Chinese people, apart from that of their country, to be recorded. The national institutions and character were formed, and had attained in all essentials to their present state, more than 2000 years ago, or before the destruction of all trustworthy materials for the task of writing their history by the burning of the ancient literature and chronicles of China. Without them we must fain content ourselves with the history of the country and the Empire.

The disturbances in Cochin China, which were the direct consequence of those previously recorded in that portion of the Empire, do not call for the same detailed notice as the two other matters referred to. When Lili had consolidated his position in that kingdom by his amicable convention with

the Chinese, he reigned for several years in tranquillity, and left his throne to his children. That family was still reigning at the time of Chitsong's accession, but he had not long occupied the Dragon Throne when the House of Lili began to experience the same misfortunes as those by which it had risen to the purple at the expense of another. An ambitious minister named Mouteng Yong ousted the reigning prince, and made his way by a succession of crimes to the throne. Secure of his main object, the exercise of unquestioned authority, he feigned moderation by placing on the throne one of his sons, while in the background he wielded the attributes of power without much of its responsibility. The path of the new despot was not free from trouble, as the royal house continued to find many supporters, but it still looked as if he would succeed in his plans when the Peking Government suddenly came to the resolution to interfere and support the expelled family. Mouteng made some preparations to resist the Chinese army of invasion, but his heart misgave him at the critical moment, and he thought it better to accept terms by which he surrendered the throne he had usurped but retained the office of first minister. Thus for a further period the kingdom of Cochin China, through the intervention of the Chinese, secured internal tranquillity.

The Tartar chief Yenta, whose marauding attacks on the Shansi frontier had for some time caused the Chinese considerable trouble, represented a more serious danger to the Empire, for the governorship of Taitong, which was the principal scene of his activity, was situated within a short distance of the capital. He began in the year 1529 a series of incursions into Shansi, which continued throughout this and the following reign. Sometimes he varied the excitement of his pursuit by combining with his brother Kisiang, the chief of the Ordu, in raiding the western district of Ninghia across the Hoangho; but, as a rule, the neighbourhood of Taitong witnessed his exploits. Never, wrote the Imperial historian, were the frontiers of China more disturbed than they were by Yenta.

In 1541, Yenta carried his activity still further than he had yet done, for, under the guidance of a traitorous Chinese

monk, who wished to avenge himself for some slight that had been offered him, he in that year made his way through the Great Wall, and passing the garrison town of Taitong, marched against Taiyuen, the principal city in Shansi. The expedition, in which Kisiang and the Ordus also took part, was a complete success, and the invaders returned with a vast booty to their encampments. Impunity brought increased audacity, and thenceforth the interior of Shansi was not more safe than its borders from the attacks of this daring leader. Kisiang's death, caused by the effects of a debauch, left his brother supreme among all the Tartar tribes, and this event increased their formidable character for war, as it tended to promote union. Despairing of success in the open field, the Chinese hoped to obtain their object by the removal of their principal enemy. A price was set on Yenta's head, and 1000 taels, with an official post of the third rank, was promised to the bold man who should have the courage and the good fortune to slay that formidable chieftain.

This personal threat served only to inflame the animosity of Yenta against the Chinese. In 1542 he again entered Shansi, and inflicted a crushing defeat, as far south as the town of Pingyang, on the garrisons of Honan and Shantung, which had been ordered to march against him. The consequences of this success were most disastrous, for a large territory, which had been prospering by the absence of all strife for nearly two centuries, was handed over to the mercies of a fierce and reckless barbarian. Thirty-eight districts were ravaged by his followers, and the Tartars made good their way back to Mongolia with 200,000 prisoners and an incalculable quantity of plunder. The Chinese historian records that after this expedition Yenta remained quiet for twelve months.

In 1549, Yenta experienced his first reverse in this frontier strife. The encounter took place during one of his periodic raids near the town of Taitong, and Yenta was compelled, after sustaining the attack of superior numbers, to beat a hasty retreat with the loss of some of his best troops. That the reverse was far from being crushing, his return the very next year clearly showed, when his successes were greater

than ever. On this occasion he marched in the direction of Peking itself, to which he was resolved to lay siege. The arrival of fresh troops sent from Leaoutung and other provinces to succour the capital compelled him, however, to draw off his force. But he executed his retreat with skill, and succeeded in getting back without having suffered much loss.

Yenta desired for some reasons to come to an amicable arrangement with the Chinese Government, even though he neither expected nor wished the conditions of any understanding to be long observed. But these later years were occupied as much by the discussion of possible terms of peace as by active campaigning, and many thought that the hostility of the Tartar would be disarmed by the establishment of the horse fairs, which he asked for. Yenta kept his paid spies at Peking, and he numbered among those in his hire Yensong, one of the most trusted of Chitsong's ministers. Yensong's intrigues were discovered, and their author punished with death, and it may perhaps have been in consequence of this that Yenta's overtures were rejected. But no remedy was applied to the evil. The Chinese troops remained uniformly unsuccessful, the Tartars were persistently aggressive, and much of the northern frontier lay desolate.

Meanwhile, a new enemy appeared on the scene to add to the embarrassment and difficulty of the Peking Emperor. The Japanese had neither forgotten nor forgiven the unprovoked invasion of their country by the Emperor Kublai. It had become with them a traditional justification for any attack they might feel disposed to organize against the Chinese mainland. As soon as the Mongol power was seen to be on the wane, the Japanese began to make descents on the coasts of Fuhkien and Chekiang, and these had continued during the century and a half which the Mings had held the throne up to the time of Chitsong. These attacks were little more than semi-piratical expeditions, annoying enough in their way, but constituting no serious danger. Various precautions were taken to defend the coast. Towers were erected at intervals, and a militia was raised and trained for the purpose of resisting the descents of the Japanese. But no attempt was made to carry on the war on the other

element, and the Japanese naval superiority remained uncontested.

While this quarrel was in process of slow development, other and more promising relations had been formed between the two peoples. Both nations, by natural disposition, were keen in the pursuit of trade, and a very considerable commerce had sprung up between them. But this was carried on by smuggling, as all articles were contraband save those imported by the tribute embassy once in ten years. The Japanese traders landed their goods on some of the islands off the coast where the Chinese merchants met them for purposes of trade; and the profits must have been very considerable, as the average value of a ship's cargo amounted to 1000 gold taels. But although they derived many advantages from this traffic, the Chinese appear to have desired to acquire the monopoly of its benefits, and they were not always either fair or prudent in their business transactions with the foreigners. A flagrant act of injustice was the immediate cause of the troubles which arose towards the close of Chit-song's reign, and which continued under many of his successors; and it served to extenuate the unfriendly conduct of the Japanese * during previous years.

The refusal of a Chinese merchant to give a Japanese the goods for which he had paid provoked the indignation of the islanders, who fitted out their vessels to exact reparation for this breach of faith. In 1552 they effected a landing in Chekiang, pillaged the country round Taichow, and maintained themselves in a fortified position for twelve months against all the attacks of the Chinese. They were ill-advised to attempt so obstinate a stand in face of the overwhelming odds that could be brought against them, and they paid the penalty of their foolhardiness by being exterminated. This reverse, if it can be called one, seeing that only a few men

* The Chinese historian, translated by Mailla, describes the Japanese as "intrepid, inured to fatigue, despising life, and knowing well how to face death; although inferior in number, a hundred of them would blush to flee before a thousand foreigners, and, if they did, they would not dare to return to their country. Sentiments such as these, which are instilled into them from their earliest childhood, render them terrible in battle."

perished after inflicting vast loss on the Chinese, did not deter other Japanese from undertaking similar adventures, and at the very time when the mariners of England were trying to earn the supremacy of the seas in the school of Hawkins and Drake, another race of islanders was gaining the same celebrity in the Far East.

In the five years between 1555 and 1560,* the Japanese made frequent descents on the coast, and even laid siege to Nankin. But they were beaten off in their last attempt, although all their minor enterprises succeeded, and the Chinese suffered as much at the hands of the Japanese on their eastern coasts as they did from Yenta on the northern borders during the dark days of the reign of Chitsong the Indifferent.

In 1563-4, piratical bands, who have frequently infested the coasts and estuaries of China, had gathered to a head under the leadership of a chief named Hwangchi, and how considerable their power was may be inferred from the fact that they could place one hundred war-ships in line of battle. In face of their flotilla the local garrisons were helpless. The Japanese formed a temporary alliance with them, and in both the years mentioned they jointly made a descent in force on the coast. At first they carried everything before them, but when it came to serious fighting the Japanese found that the valour of their confederates speedily evaporated. The Chinese collected a large army, and attacked the invaders with resolution. Their commander Tsikikwang showed considerable talent, and the Japanese were driven back to their

* In 1553 died, on the Island of Sancian, near Macao, Francis Xavier, the celebrated missionary, who was canonized after his death. He had gone to China for the purpose of converting the Chinese, but died within sight of land and on the threshold of his enterprise. The Portuguese still monopolized the European intercourse—a fact most unfortunate for the happy development of friendly relations with China. "*The Portuguese have no other design than to come under the name of merchants to spy the country, that they may hereafter fall on it with fire and sword,*" said the Chinese. In 1560 they obtained, however, the loan of the site on which stands their settlement of Macao, and in return for a rent of 500 taels per annum they were allowed to make it their principal station on the coast. The glory and the prosperity of Macao have both long departed.

ships with loss. The pirates also suffered, and their power did not soon recover from the rude shock inflicted by Tsiki-kwang's activity.

The long reign of Chitsong, which extended over a period of forty-five years, was now drawing to a close; but the general opinion as to his personal qualities and capacity for reigning may be gathered from the fact that memorials were presented to him at this late period of his life and reign on the necessity of his devoting closer attention to affairs of State. The first impulse of the Emperor was to punish their authors, but time brought reflection. At the eleventh hour he might have reformed and become a model prince had his life been spared, but his death shortly afterwards, in 1566, dissipated that prospect. His last will, written on his death-bed, was a confession of fault, and a plea of extenuation to be favourably received by those who would have to judge his place in history. "Forty-five years," wrote the Emperor, "have I occupied the throne, and there have been few reigns as long. My duty was to revere Heaven and to take care of my peoples; yet, actuated by the desire to find some solace for the evils from which I have continually suffered, I allowed myself to be deceived by impostors, who promised me the secret of immortality. This delusion has led me to set a bad example to both my magnates and my people. I desire to repair the evil by this edict, which is to be published throughout the Empire after my death." The confession of fault is a graceful weakness, or it may be the commencement of better days; but it is an ineffectual remedy for the embarrassments of either an individual or a state.

Chitsong's third but eldest surviving son succeeded him, and assumed the title of Moutsong. At the time of his accession he was thirty years of age, and his first acts showed that he had not been an indifferent observer of the discontent produced by many of his father's acts. He released several mandarins who had been imprisoned for having remonstrated with Chitsong on the folly of his conduct, and he imprisoned those who had encouraged him to persist in his search for the elixir of life. His private character was above reproach, and the promise of his earlier years seemed indicative of

a more prosperous era for China. The shortness of his reign afforded no time for the realization of these hopes and anticipations; but if it did not allow of great achievements being performed, it could not prevent the memory of Moutsong's brief reign passing into a national regret.

At the least this reign would have been remarkable for the settlement of the long-standing dispute with Yenta the Tartar, who, although an old man, had not lost the energy of his youth, and whose reputation among his own race had been established and extended as his experience matured. In 1570 the defection of his grandson, who deserted to the Chinese, roused the apprehension of Yenta, and he presented a formal demand to the Emperor for his compulsory return. The only reply he received was to the effect that he must first restore those Chinese subjects whom he held in his power, and when, after some hesitation, Yenta complied with this condition, his grandson was sent back to him. This successful negotiation proved the precursor of an amicable arrangement between these hitherto bitter foes, and Yenta accepted the title of a Chinese prince, and went through the form of making his submission to the Emperor. This long-existing feud was thus happily settled for this occasion, at all events, if not as a permanent question of frontier policy.

Moutsong was suddenly seized with a malady which proved fatal, and the realm was thus left to be afflicted by a recurrence of those evils from which it appeared to have escaped. Moutsong feared the consequences that might ensue after his decease, and in his last will he implored his officials and subjects to unite in assisting the young heir apparent and in promoting good government. His fears proved only too just, for the long reign of his son Wanleh was to witness the culmination of the misfortunes which had been accumulating for some time.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE LONG REIGN OF WANLEH.

AS the young prince Chintsong, better known in history as the Emperor Wanleh, was only six years old at the time of his father's death, his mother assumed the functions of Regent, and summoned to her council prudent and trustworthy ministers. In this latter respect she showed a laudable resolve to follow and carry on the policy of her husband Moutsong; and if her good sense did not avail to avert misfortune, the result must be attributed more to the impression of weakness produced by the minority of the sovereign, and to an accumulation of foreign complications, than to any shortcomings on her part. The young ruler himself was apparently actuated by the most laudable intentions, and showed himself very desirous of following the advice of men of experience. With touching simplicity he placed his person and the fortunes of his family in the hands of the ministers whom his father had most trusted.

The tranquillity which happily prevailed at the time of Moutsong's death was not disturbed during the first years of the reign of his successor. Yenta, who had been for more than a generation the scourge of the northern frontier of the Empire, had either learnt moderation with growing years, or had found friendly relations with the Chinese authorities to be more profitable than the uncertainties of an arduous war. And with Yenta passive there was no other border chief bold enough to disturb Chinese territory.

The results of this season of tranquillity were soon shown by an increase in the revenue and by a proportionately full

exchequer; and, as one of Wanleh's ministers observed, it was only necessary that care should be exercised in the national expenditure to preserve the finances in their flourishing condition. But it does not appear that either Wanleh or any of his ministers possessed the necessary forethought to closely supervise the daily expenditure of the palace and the government, and the gradual accumulation of external difficulties left them little or no leisure to devote to the dry and unattractive precepts of a sound financial policy.

Wanleh had not long occupied the throne when the Miaotze of the Szchuen frontier broke loose from the slight control maintained over them by the local officials, but none of the incidents of this rising have been preserved. A revolt on the part of some military colonies in the North-West assumed larger proportions, and at one time appeared to threaten the security of even the Emperor's seat upon the throne. Popai, a soldier of fortune of Tartar origin, had risen high in the Chinese service, and among the officers to whom was entrusted the onerous task of guarding the north-west frontier few ranked higher than he did. It would seem that Popai's good fortune and distinctions had brought him the envy and dislike of the officers of Chinese race, and, as his position was too secure to be easily shaken, these latter resolved to gratify their spite by injuring those of his relations who were also in the Imperial service.

A slight offered to Popai's son led to a quarrel that soon developed grave proportions, and these aliens, whose example of seeking their fortunes under the auspices of the Mings had been imitated by many of their kinsmen, imagining that there was a scheme afoot for their destruction, took up arms in their own behalf and declared against the Government. This extreme act was committed in a moment of either temper or panic, and was unquestionably ill-judged. Had there been a prudent viceroy at the head of affairs in Shensi, this misconception might have been easily removed, and the ruin of a few brave men averted, with much saving to the exchequer and to the Emperor's peace of mind.

Popai and his followers easily overcame the opposition of the local Chinese officials and their soldiers. They then

exacted a summary revenge on those who had insulted them. After this open defiance of Wanleh's authority, they established their head-quarters at the important and favourably situated town of Ninghia, the capital of a prefecture, and one of the chief cities in Western China at this period. Nor did Popai's success stop with these achievements, for he captured, one after another, all the strong places on the upper course of the Hoangho. This bad news carried dismay to the Chinese Court, which at once ordered the despatch of a large force to Shensi to attack these audacious rebels. Before it reached the scene of action many reverses had been sustained and much suffering had been inflicted on the people. On the arrival of the Chinese troops, however, Popai no longer felt able to keep the open field. He shut himself up in Ninghia, resolved to hold the place to the last.

The Chinese concentrated as much determination upon the capture of Ninghia as Popai did upon its defence. Round its walls were soon collected all the available forces of the Emperor in the North-West; but Popai did not lose heart at the sight of the superior numbers of his foe, although he could find no prospect of succour from without. The siege was prosecuted with both vigour and audacity. Several assaults were delivered, and at one time the Chinese had gained a footing on the rampart. But the besieged showed equal courage, and these desperate attempts to carry the place by storm were all repulsed with great slaughter. The Chinese troops continued to blockade it, and their commander, Li Jusong, foiled in his endeavour to capture the place by the sword, turned his hopes and energies in the direction of engineering science for the accomplishment of his purpose. In this design he fared better, for by means of a trench or dyke he diverted the waters of the Hoangho against the wall of the town. All the efforts of Popai and his lieutenants to prevent the completion of this work were baffled, and the waters were rolled against the fortifications. The Chinese thereupon promptly delivered their attack, and overcame all resistance. Popai threw himself into the flames of his residence; but his body was rescued from the fire, and a soldier cut off the head and took it to Li Jusong. This siege had

entailed the loss of many brave lives to the Emperor, but when it closed it left the insurgents completely crushed. The rebellion, which had assumed such formidable proportions under the leading of Popai, thus happily terminated.

This episode in the fortunes of government had hardly closed when a more interesting and a more important complication distracted the attention of the Emperor and his advisers to the opposite quarter of the state. Beyond the sea the Japanese had reached a point of some material prosperity and considerable national greatness; and their growing activity had found a relief in adventures against the Chinese mainland, which have already been mentioned. Wanleh had not been long upon the throne when the career commenced of probably the greatest ruler and conqueror whom Japan has known. He appeared at a moment when the Japanese were in the fit mood to turn a sympathetic ear to any proposal of adventure against either China or any of its dependencies; and his fame is principally associated with the exploits which he performed when he identified himself with this great national aspiration.

Fashiba owed little to fortune. From the condition of slave to an individual of no high-rank he raised himself by his own assiduity and resolution to be the despotic ruler of a brave and intelligent people. The story goes that he first attracted the attention of a Japanese daimio, whom the Chinese named Sinchang, by his neglect to pay the obeisance due to his rank. The daimio was on the point of inflicting summary punishment for the slight offered to his person, when Fashiba pleaded his case with so much eloquence that the daimio's attention was soon obtained and his favour won. Fashiba then entered his service, and showed such excellent zeal and discretion in advancing his interests that in a short time he made his chief the most powerful among the lords of Japan. One success led to another, and Fashiba did not rest content until Sinchang had become, by his aid, the virtual sovereign of the country. It was not until after the death of this master and benefactor that Fashiba came forward in person as the arbiter of the nation's destiny; and then, whether instigated by a desire to divert public attention from

his own doings in the excitement of a foreign war, or impelled by his natural ambition, he resolved to prosecute an enterprise which would have the effect of extending both the influence and the power of his country, still young as an independent kingdom among the states of Eastern Asia.

It was in the year 1592 that Fashiba availed himself of the disorder prevailing in Corea from the weakness and incapacity of its king, Lipan, to begin his schemes of foreign conquest by seizing the important harbour of Fushan, which was the most conveniently situated landing-place for troops coming from the Japanese archipelago. Fushan offered no resistance, and the hold which the Japanese then obtained on it has never since been completely relaxed. Having thus secured a gateway into this kingdom, Fashiba poured troops through it with the object of overrunning the country, and of adding it to his dominions. The Japanese continued their advance opposed, but not retarded, by the rude forces of the Corean king, and the capital itself surrendered without a blow. The Japanese are said to have behaved with great brutality; all who attempted opposition were put to the sword, and the ancient burial-place of the Corean kings was desecrated. Lipan fled before the invaders to China, where he implored the assistance of the Ming Emperor to drive out this fierce people, who might fairly be regarded as a common foe.

There was no hesitation at the Chinese Court in arriving at the decision that this unprovoked act of aggression on the part of the Japanese must be resisted at all costs. It acquired double force from the remembrance of unpunished descents on the Chinese mainland, and it needed only common sense to perceive that the presence of a numerous and fairly disciplined army in Corea constituted a standing peril of the most serious character to the peace of mind and security of the Emperor at Peking. An army was, therefore, at once assembled in compliance with the request of Lipan, and sent through Leaoutung to encounter the Japanese.

Flushed with its easy success, the Japanese army marched rapidly northwards, and, undeterred by the report that the Chinese Emperor had resolved to support the cause of Lipan

with all his power, it reached the town of Pingyang, which opened its gates without any attempt on the part of its garrison to stand a siege. By this time the first detachments of the Chinese army had entered Corea, and were marching towards Pingyang from the north. The Japanese went out to meet them, and a general action soon commenced. In this encounter the Japanese were victorious, but it does not appear that the loss of the Chinese was more than nominal. The latter attributed the reverse to the impetuosity of one of their commanders, who crossed a river in his front without support. The Japanese at once fell upon his brigade when it was separated from the main body, and they declared that they almost exterminated it.

This victory only served to show more clearly the serious character of this Japanese invasion, and to nerve the Peking Government to make greater sacrifices. A lull ensued in the campaign; for, while the Chinese were hurrying up more troops, the Japanese, either from the deficiency of supplies, or in the hope of obtaining reinforcements from Fushan, retreated for a short distance. For one moment the peace party at Peking, which was led by Chesin, the President of the Tribunal for War, obtained the upper hand, and the despatch of the large reinforcements demanded by the general commanding in Corea, and required by the occasion, was deferred. An attempt to carry on secret negotiations, and to arrange the terms of an amicable settlement of the quarrel by means of an emissary who had volunteered for the work, failed to attain its object, or only had the effect of revealing the exorbitant nature of the Japanese pretensions.

Then the despatch of fresh troops was no longer delayed, and the army which had distinguished itself at the siege of Ninghia, and against the rebel Popai, was ordered to march against the Japanese. The charge of the war was entrusted to Li Jusong, the same general who had pacified the North-West; and Wanleh's commander, advancing by way of Kaichow, crossed the Yaloo river, which the Japanese had demanded as a frontier. The Japanese army was commanded by a general named Hingchang, under the immediate orders of the King Eashiba in person. Hitherto the Japanese

had always been prompt to act on the offensive ; but now, in face of a force so superior to their own, they felt compelled to stand on their defence. Li Jusong was not the man to waste time in unnecessary delays when the task entrusted to him was one of such vital importance, and immediately after his arrival he began his attack on Pingyang. The Japanese fought well, and repulsed the first onset of their opponents. By a feint, however, the Chinese commander attracted the attention of the defenders of Pingyang to one portion of the wall, while he delivered his main attack on the opposite quarter. The Japanese continued to make a brave defence, but availed themselves of the coming on of night to evacuate the town, and to withdraw across the Datong river. The Chinese pursued them for a short distance, but the Japanese made good their retreat without serious loss.

The remainder of this campaign was occupied in desultory fighting, the result of which was generally favourable to the Chinese. In one skirmish, however, the successes of the war were nearly all lost by the narrow escape of Li Jusong from capture. He only succeeded in extricating himself from his perilous position by the prodigies of valour performed by himself and his chosen body-guard. Shortly after this affair the Chinese army was withdrawn from the neighbourhood of the capital to which it had advanced, and took up its quarters at Kaiching, where it awaited the arrival of further reinforcements and the abatement of the floods, which had rendered the low-lying country impassable for troops.

The following campaign commenced with a brilliant achievement, of which all the credit was due to Li Jusong. The Japanese had collected vast stores of grain and other necessaries in a small town near the capital, and Li Jusong succeeded in surprising the place, and in burning all the stores on which the Japanese commanders mainly depended for the support of their troops. This great disaster necessitated their withdrawal from Hangchang or Seoul, which the Chinese immediately occupied ; but the Japanese still showed a bold front, and Li Jusong did not consider it prudent to attack them. They continued their retreat unmolested to

the harbour of Fushan, where they were in direct communication with their fleet and their own country.

Both sides were now tired of the war which had brought no practical benefit to either, and which had entailed an immense amount of loss and suffering on both. The Japanese first gave signs of a desire for peace by releasing the Korean magnates who were prisoners in their hands; and Chesin, the Chinese President of War, at once despatched an order from Peking for the suspension of hostilities. Alone among the members of the Imperial Council, Chesin was in favour of recognizing Fashiba as King of Japan, but his influence was so great that he carried his point. As soon as this important matter was settled in favour of Fashiba's pretensions, the negotiations progressed at a rapid pace. Gifts were exchanged. A Japanese envoy was honourably received at Peking, and another Chinese official visited the Japanese camp. Fashiba expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the concessions of the Chinese, and returned the courtesy of their recognition of his sovereignty by the despatch of costly presents, which the recipients accepted out of vanity, or from deep motives of policy, as a form of tribute. But although the main current of these negotiations flowed on satisfactorily enough, the actual relations of the two armies and their commanders in Corea were far from being equally satisfactory; and they were further complicated by the wiles of the intriguer, Chin Weiking, who had again been entrusted with the task of personally conducting the progress of the negotiations.

All might yet have ended satisfactorily, for the self-seeking aims of Chin Weiking were beginning to be realized at Peking, when an unfortunate step on the part of the Korean king undid everything that had been accomplished, and reopened the whole question. The envoy whom he sent as a messenger of peace to felicitate Fashiba on the assumption of the royal title of Tycoon of Japan, was discovered to be an official of very inferior rank, and Fashiba showed no hesitation in resenting this act as a personal affront, and as a slight cast upon his dignity. In 1597 he ordered a fresh fleet of two hundred sail to proceed to sea, and made other open preparations for the renewal of his enterprise

against Corea. These measures arrested the progress of the negotiations, and roused the indignation of the Chinese cabinet. Both Chesin and Chin Weiking were disgraced and placed in confinement; and preparations were made for the prosecution of the war on an extensive scale.

Li Jusong was not, however, entrusted with the command, and, although a very large army was concentrated on the Yaloo river, nothing was effected. The Chinese and Japanese remained facing each other without being able to gain any advantage or willing to risk the consequences of a reverse. But if the balance of superiority remained doubtful on land, there was no uncertainty at sea; there the Japanese superiority was incontestable, and their navy swept the China seas and plundered the coasts of Fuhkien and Chekiang with impunity. The whole of the year 1597 was passed in desultory fighting, but the differences and jealousies of the Chinese commanders prevented their deriving any advantage from their greater numbers. Indeed, they suffered a distinct reverse at the siege of Weichan, a small town on the coast; but this untoward result was due to the sudden appearance of the redoubtable Japanese fleet. Although reinforcements were repeatedly sent from China, the incapacity of the commanders was so great that the Japanese were able to keep the field, and to all appearance possessed the advantage over the Chinese. The end of the struggle, which had continued during the winter of 1597-8, was apparently as far off as ever when the news came of the sudden death of Fashiba. This put a summary end to the contest, as the Japanese troops* were immediately withdrawn. The Chinese army also evacuated the country, and, with the restoration of the native dynasty, the kingdom of Corea returned to its primitive existence, and sank again into a state of semi-darkness.

One further act alone remained to mark the termination of a war which, so far as practical results went, had been literally barren of achievement to all concerned in it; and

* The Japanese returned with an enormous quantity of booty, and, Mr. Mounsey ("Satsuma Rebellion," 1880, pp. 56, 57) says, with the ears of 10,000 Coreans. They also retained their hold upon Fushan.

the closing scene reflects no credit on the Chinese. The fortune of war had placed two Japanese officers, near relatives of the King Fashiba, in their power. They were sent with other prisoners to Peking, for their fate to be there decided. By some line of tortuous reasoning difficult to understand and impossible to approve, Wanleh's ministers decreed that Fashiba was a rebel, and that his kin must suffer death. With the murder of these unfortunate prisoners, the seven years' war in Corea closed. The motives of the Chinese in defending that state were alike prudent and honourable, and the commencement of the war promised them military success; but, as it continued, the incapacity of the commanders ruined all these favourable prospects. Its concluding stages were marked by lying bulletins of victories that were never won, and it was consummated with a disgraceful crime.

Misfortunes never come singly, and they descended rapidly on the devoted head of the unfortunate Wanleh, who was dearly paying for the faults of his predecessors. The revolt of Ninghia had been followed by the protracted war with Japan, and that contest had hardly concluded when a rising, destined to prove of a troublesome character, broke out among the tribes in the western mountains of Szchuen. A hereditary chieftain there, named Yang Inlong, had gathered a considerable military force together under his orders, and, knowing the embarrassment of the Imperial Government, thought the time was opportune for putting forward his claims to independence. He raised a number of troops, with which he harried the borders and captured several towns from the Chinese. Thirty or forty thousand men were reported to obey his orders, and the Government attached so much importance to the movement that several of the generals and most of the troops who had been employed in Corea were directed to cross China and march against this new enemy of the State. The rebels fought with great bravery, and the difficult nature of their country rendered the task of reducing them one of time. Thanks mainly to the courage and skill of Liuyen, the Imperial troops succeeded in forcing their way through the hills to

the fort where Yang had established his head-quarters. Terrified at the approach of the Chinese, Yang wished to surrender, but Liuyen refused to hold any communication with a rebel. With apparently no place to flee to, Yang resolved to commit suicide, but his son conceived it to be more honourable to be taken sword in hand. The execution of the latter, and the placing of a garrison in the captured hill fort, marked the close of this rebellion, which had been crushed with commendable promptitude. Its importance must not, however, be lightly judged because the victory was so easily attained. In estimating the significance of this and other similar insurrections, the effort necessary to restore order must be remembered. Here we see that a rising among a petty people in the South-West required the despatch of soldiers who had already borne the hardships of several campaigns in the North-East. The consequences of this inadequate military power became very perceptible when the Mings were assailed by a formidable foreign foe.

During these years of disturbance there had been a remarkable development in the intercourse between the Chinese and the nations of the West. The Portuguese had as early as the year 1560 obtained from the local mandarins the right to erect sheds for their goods at a place near the mouth of the Canton estuary, which became known as Macao. Some years later this place had attained so much importance, that between five and six hundred Portuguese merchants, it is stated on good authority, resorted thither annually for purposes of trade. This settlement continued to develop both in size and in the amount of its commerce, notwithstanding the precarious conditions under which it was held; and by the regular payment of their rent to the Government, as well as by a system of judicious bribing, the Portuguese long enjoyed the practical monopoly of the external trade of the great mart of Canton with the West.

About the same time that the Portuguese were thus establishing themselves on the mainland of China, the Spaniards had seized the Philippine* Islands, to which they gave the

* Manila was declared the capital of this new possession by the Governor Legaspi in the year 1571.

name of their king. They were not long in possession of these fertile islands before they came into contact with the Chinese, who had been in the habit of resorting thither from Canton for purposes of trade from a time much anterior to the Spanish occupation. In the train of Canton merchants came Chinese settlers, and the prosperity of Manilla was due as much to the latter's thrift and capacity for labour of all kinds, as it was to the profits of the commercial dealings with the former. The number of the Chinese settlers increased with startling rapidity, and soon the Spanish officials and garrison began to see in these tillers of the soil, who so far outnumbered them,* a formidable foe and a possible source of peril. The southern imagination having once entertained the possibility of a rising on the part of the Chinese immigrants, did not suffer the fear to slumber, and magnified into an immediate danger what was only a conjectural contingency. The arrival of three mandarins in the year 1602, with some indefinite mission from the Emperor, seemed to confirm these suspicions, and, after they had been as summarily dismissed as circumstances allowed, the Spaniards formed their plans for achieving another St. Bartholomew at the expense of the helpless and unoffending Chinese. In this design their fire-arms enabled them to succeed, and after a butchery which lasted several months it was reported that most of the twenty thousand unarmed Chinese had been slaughtered. The Spaniards attributed the success of this first massacre of Manilla to the presence of their national saint, St. Francis; but, while they congratulated themselves on their triumph, they had nearly ruined their colony, which owed all its prosperity to Chinese labour.

The Chinese Government was then, as now, indifferent to the fate of those of its subjects who went away to foreign states, and the Spanish explanations were accepted without any difficulty being raised, or even without many inconvenient questions being asked. Fresh Chinese colonists again flocked to those pleasant islands undeterred by the fate of their countrymen, and their numbers soon increased to a greater extent than before. The Spaniards had recourse to

* In 1602 there were 20,000 Chinese and only 800 Spaniards.

the same violent remedy as on the former occasion ; but this event belongs to a later period. The successive massacres of Manilla show, however, that the same principles of government which were carried out by the Spaniards in America against the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru were enforced in the Philippines. In estimating the policy of the Chinese towards Europeans, much of their national dislike must be attributed to the impression produced by these massacres, and all other countries have had to suffer in this matter from the brutal and cowardly cruelty of the representatives of Spain * in the Chinese seas.

While these events were in progress for the establishment of commercial relations, individuals, urged by a laudable zeal to spread the truths of Christianity, had succeeded in gaining admission into China, where they were received with more consideration than would have been shown in Europe to any who came to teach the doctrines of Sakya Muni, or to explain the ethics of Confucius. The advent of these foreigners attracted little notice, and they appear to have been regarded with the complacent satisfaction which a great people always finds in the arrival of strangers from remote countries, whose very presence is an implied compliment to their own fame. Of these missionaries, charged by the Pope to convert the heathen in China, the first to arrive in the year 1581 was Michel Roger, a member of the Order of Jesuits. He was followed, two years later, by Ricci, who gained a ready way to the Emperor's favour by the presents of a repeating watch and a clock. Of Matthew Ricci it may be said that he possessed all the qualities necessary to convey a favourable impression both of his religion and his race ; and to his tact

* The Dutch did not appear on the scene until some years later. In 1624 they arrived off Macao, but the Portuguese drove them away. They then established themselves on the west coast of Formosa, where at a later period more will be heard of their doings. The French did not arrive till a much later period (reign of Kanghi), except as missionaries. In 1596 Elizabeth wrote a letter to the Emperor, but it did not reach its destination. Other attempts were made, but English intercourse did not fairly begin until 1634, when Captain Weddell's voyage, which was chiefly remarkable for the discovery of the mouth of the Canton river, and for the valour shown by our sailors and the ability evinced by the commander.

during a residence of twenty-eight years must be attributed the solid footing which the French missionaries obtained at Peking, and which they retained, with rare intervals, for nearly two centuries. Others followed in their footsteps, and of these the most notable were Adam Schaal and Verbiest.

The Chinese authorities seem to have regarded with a tolerant and half-amused curiosity these attempts to convert them ; but, although two high officials at least were baptized, and extended their protection to the foreign priests, very little progress could be reported in the work they had undertaken. On the other hand, the missionaries were, in a worldly sense, most useful. They reformed—on the recommendation of a Chinese official Li-Chitsao, or Peter, President of the Tribunal of Rites at Nankin—the Chinese calendar, and corrected several astronomical errors. The Imperial Observatory flourished under their direction, and more correct maps of the provinces were drawn under their supervision. In short, they placed at the disposal of the Peking ministers their superior information, and, in return for the practical benefits they were able to confer, they received the rights of residency and fair treatment. But the Chinese* remained cold in any advances towards Christianity.

Wanleh's difficulties had proved unceasing since the first days of his accession to power. Even the Miaotze, those savage and unconquered hillmen of Kweichow, would not spare the anxieties of this unfortunate prince. As early as the year 1586 they had given the authorities much trouble, and obliged them to have recourse to extreme measures. More than thirty years later, in 1617, they broke out afresh, when the disturbances on the northern frontier were embarrassing the Government, and under a leader named Mongchang they committed numerous depredations in the plains. This quarrel was apparently arranged, but the Emperor's representative accepted the amicable expressions of the mountaineers, and did not push the matters with them to extremities.

These petty risings were of very small moment in com-

* As M. Huc, himself an ardent missionary, has put it—"A melancholy trait is it in the character of this people, that Christian truth does but glide over its surface !"

parison with the great struggle which was going on in the North with the Manchu Tartars, and which was to give a fresh turn to the destinies of China. We have to consider this important contest in detail; but although it began while Wanleh was still reigning, the other final incidents of his reign may be here briefly summed up.

One of the principal sources of anxiety to Wanleh's ministers was that, having no legitimate children, he had postponed the selection and proclamation of an heir. In 1590 he had been entreated to recognize one of his illegitimate sons as his heir, but his inclinations did not point in that direction. He accordingly rejected the proposition. Eleven years later the popular feeling on this subject had become so strong that Wanleh did not feel able any longer to run counter to it, more especially as there was then no hope of the Empress having a son. In 1601, therefore, Wanleh proclaimed Chu Changlo, the eldest of his children, Heir-Apparent, and on the second, whom he secretly favoured, he conferred the title of Prince Fou Wang. This act of decision did not, however, bring the Emperor that domestic peace for which he may have hoped.

The Prince Fou Wang, whose ambition had been raised by his father's preference for him, did not conceal the dissatisfaction with which he regarded an arrangement that consigned him to a place of secondary importance. His party was composed of men who felt little scruple as to the means they employed to compass their ends so long as they were attained; and the Prince Fou Wang himself appears to have been an accomplished intriguer. He doubled the guards attached to his person, and he spread abroad calumnies about his brother. At last he caused a proclamation to be issued affirming that the Emperor had only chosen Chu Changlo as his heir in consequence of the importunities of the ministers. This announcement excited great agitation, and the ministers insisted on its authors being discovered and punished. Accordingly, Wanleh published an edict to the effect that they should be dealt with according to their deserts, and without regard to either their quality or rank. Several arrests were made, and one courtier, although his innocence

was clearly established, was executed; but the real culprits escaped. In 1615 an accident revealed the truth, and the ambitious schemes of Fou Wang and his mother, the Queen Chingchi, were laid bare. Even Wanleh's partiality could not overlook so flagrant a wrong, and all the guilty would then have been punished with death but for the intervention of Prince Chu Changlo. To the man whom above any one else they had desired to injure, they owed their lives and the condonation of their crimes.

Wanleh continued to reign until the year 1620, when he died as much from the consequences of mental distress as from any bodily ailment. The perils which had beset him from the first days of his accession to the throne had culminated in the invasion of the Manchu Tartars, and when he died he left his realm exposed to the assaults of its northern foe. The standards of the enemy, to use the words of the historian of the dynasty, were already metaphorically, if not actually, at the gates of his capital. Several emperors of the Ming family, indeed, ascended the Dragon Throne before the final overthrow of the reigning house was completed, but with Wanleh's death a formal invitation to the Manchus to invade the country as conquerors was issued.

Were there no other event to mark out the reign of Wanleh as a distinct epoch in history, the first introduction of Europeans into the country in a character independent of the Government would suffice. Then began that contact with the nations of the West which has resulted in the present vast commercial intercourse of China with the foreigner, and which has not, as yet, proved destructive to either the institutions or the power of this Empire. That intercourse has now been freed from many of the restrictions which hindered its development, and will yet attain proportions far in excess of those that it has reached. Its origin has been recorded, and the description of its growth will afford one of the most difficult problems in connection with the modern history of the country. We have again to turn our attention to the consideration of that Tartar invasion which was to be marked by another transfer of the ruling power, and which was followed by the accession to the throne of the family that now guides the destinies of the Chinese Empire.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE MANCHUS.

WHEN the Mongols overthrew, in the thirteenth century, the Kin dynasty in Northern China, many of the fugitives retired northwards into the solitudes beyond Leaoutung, where they found themselves secure from pursuit. With the loss of imperial title and position, they lost also the name which their great conqueror Akouta had given them, and resumed the earlier one of Niuche, by which Chinese writers had been in the habit of designating them. The Niuche occupied most of the country stretching from the Chinese province of Leaoutung to the Amour on the north, and their settlements dotted the banks of the Songari and the Usuri. The Niuche were divided into innumerable small clans, none of which possessed either great numbers or much authority; and their management presented to the Chinese officials few of the difficulties that were of such frequent occurrence in their dealings with the Mongols or any other of the Central Asian tribes. Of these small clans, only that which was ruled by the ancestors of the Manchu (the clear) family claims our consideration; but upon its success the other clans assimilated themselves with it, and became merged in the military confederacy headed by Noorhachu.

The clan which was destined to rise to so lofty a pinnacle of power originally occupied a small district on the Soodsu stream, situated some thirty miles east of Moukden. The principal camp or stockade—for, after all, it was little more—of this family was in the valley of Hootooala, which lies below the Long White Mountains and between the

Soodsu and Jiabo streams. The scene has been praised for its rugged beauty; and from the description of this remote valley, protected on three sides by water, and on the fourth by the heights of a lofty range, we can imagine that it was well adapted to be the cradle of a race of conquerors. In many respects it corresponded with the original home of the Mongols on the upper course of the Amour, but its two radical differences were that it was on a much smaller scale, and that it was close to the Chinese frontier. The valley of Hootoala was as much the object of the veneration and affection of the Manchus as that of the Onon had been of the Mongols.

In this particular district, which was surrounded by numerous others of similar character, there appeared as chief, about the middle of the fourteenth century, when Hongwou was busily engaged in his war with the Yuens, a man whose name has been handed down to us as Aisin Gioro. Aisin Gioro was to the Manchus all that Budantsar had been to the Mongols. He is said to have owed his birth to a singular and miraculous intervention of Providence. A magpie had dropped a red fruit into the lap of a maiden of the Niuche, and she having eaten of it conceived a son, who became Aisin Gioro. Calumnious writers have affirmed that this mythical hero was nothing more than a runaway Mongol, but at all events there is no question that he ruled as lord in the small and secluded valley of Hootoala. Five generations in descent from him came the old chief Huen, or, as his friends more boastfully called him, the Emperor Chintsu, and during Wanleh's life he ruled over the same territory, of which the dimensions may be inferred from the fact that its length did not exceed twelve miles. This state preserved amicable relations with the Chinese, who did not exact any tribute from it, and who allowed its inhabitants full and free commercial intercourse during the time of the fair or market held at Neuchang.

In the year 1559 an heir was born to the son of this chief Huen, whose name was destined to rise high on the list of great conquerors as Noorhachu. Great anticipations were formed as to the glorious future in store for this boy. His

personal appearance was remarkable, his strength enormous, and his determination of character attracted attention from an early age. When he was nineteen, his step-mother gave him a small sum of money and sent him out into the world to gain his fortune, but her sympathy having been won over by his exceptional talent, she speedily repented of her harshness. She wished him to return to her house, or at the least to accept further assistance ; but he resolutely refused to avail himself in any way of her aid.

Feuds existed among these Manchu clans, and contests between them were far from infrequent. But it was not until the close of the sixteenth century that this inter-tribal strife attracted the attention of the Chinese, and then apparently it was as much in consequence of the importunity of one of the combatants as from any interest taken in this trivial matter. About this period, too, the ambition to unite the scattered clans and to weld the Manchus, or more properly the Niuche, into a single confederacy began to take form in the minds of several of these petty chieftains ; and we may feel sure from his subsequent acts that such schemes were not foreign to the mind of the young Noorhachu. Neither his youth nor his opportunities allowed him to take the lead in this enterprise, and, indeed, his first appearance on the scene of public affairs was as the opponent of the man who took the initiative in the national cause.

In 1583, a chief named Nikan Wailan, or Haida, who ruled over a small district south of Hootooala, induced the Chinese commander in Leaoutung to assist him in an attack upon one of his neighbours. The Chinese appear to have also had some grievance against the victim of this onslaught, and lent a small body of troops with the greater readiness for the purpose of his chastisement. The main object of their undertaking having been thus successfully performed, the Chinese soldiers would have been withdrawn, but that Nikan succeeded in persuading them to remain to assist him against another of his neighbours, whose overthrow he also meditated. Now it happened that this neighbouring chief had married the cousin of Noorhachu, and when the news of the approaching army of invasion reached Hootooala, the old chief Huen

and his son and heir, the father of Noorhachu, at once set off with such force as they could assemble to succour their kinsman the chief of Goolo. At first they showed a wish to merely convey their relative to a place of safety until the cloud on the affairs of Goolo had blown over; but the chief would not allow the removal of his wife, probably for fear that he would then lose the support of Huen and his companions. They all, therefore, remained together to defend the place against Nikan and the Chinese.

The latter did not dare attack the town when they found it prepared for a resolute and protracted defence, but they had recourse to an act of treachery to gain their end. Simulating a desire for a pacific arrangement, they enticed a large number of the garrison outside the walls, when they fell upon and massacred them all. Among the slain were Huen and his son. Nikan had thus far accomplished much towards the attainment of his object, and he flattered himself that he held ultimate success within his grasp. The brutal and cowardly murder of both his grandfather and father roused the indignation of Noorhachu to the highest point, and he swore to exact a bitter revenge for it from Nikan and also from the Chinese. Vengeance became the principal object of his life, and to the murder of his kinsmen must be attributed the origin of that danger which eventually cost Wanleh's successors their throne.

Nikan remained in possession of his first conquest, but Noorhachu was known to be making strenuous preparations to march against him in order to dispute the prize he had acquired by the aid of the Chinese. Noorhachu had already assumed the rights of the chiefship in his valley, and at his request the Chinese had restored the bodies of his father and grandfather for burial. Some compensation had also been allowed him by the Leaoutung officials, who disclaimed the main responsibility for the slaughter of his parents; but Nikan still flourished on his crime, and the prominence of his position kept him in view as the mark of his rival's vengeance. Noorhachu's principal object now became to get Nikan into his power, either by force or by negotiation with the Chinese. He signally failed in his latter plan, and the Chinese

authorities, who pinned their faith to the designing Nikan, not only ignored his requests, but created Nikan chief of all the Niuche districts. By this step Noorhachu was virtually stripped of his authority, and became one of the vassals of his hated rival. The measure of the Chinese was extreme, but its very boldness might have ensured success, had they provided the necessary force to secure its execution. Li Chingliang, the Governor of Leaoutung, who made this creation of a new potentate, could at first congratulate himself on the success of his experiment, for on the Imperial proclamation becoming known among the Niuche many of Noorhachu's own people left him and attached themselves to the side of Nikan. Noorhachu himself still stood haughtily aloof, and fixed in his resolve to slay his father's murderer.

The Chinese did not support their nominee with any degree of vigour, and Noorhachu continued to carry on his plans for securing the person of Nikan. So persistently did Noorhachu pursue him that Nikan did not feel safe from his attack even in the interior of his stockaded camp at Toolun. Several times he made his escape only by a precipitate retreat into Leaoutung, and the Chinese at last grew tired of supporting a man who was apparently unable to defend himself. In 1586, therefore, they handed him over to Noorhachu, who at once killed him. The success which thus marked his plans, and which attended his performance of a sacred duty, raised Noorhachu's reputation to a high point among his countrymen; while, on the other hand, the fluctuating policy of the Chinese tended to diminish theirs and to weaken their authority. Noorhachu was still a young man when he thus accomplished the first object of his life. There yet remained for him to attain the purpose for which Nikan had striven—the supremacy over a Niuche confederacy.

His first care was to establish his place of residence at a spot well situated in the plain where water was abundant, and, having selected the site of his capital, he surrounded it with a triple wall. He also drew up a code of regulations adapted by their simplicity to the requirements and intelligence of his subjects; and he devoted all his leisure to the disciplining of

his small army. With the Chinese he renewed the amicable arrangements that had long been in force, and accepted at their hands the titles and money gifts which the Leaoutung officials were willing, and indeed eager, to bestow upon him. While he thus secured the neutrality of the Imperial governors, he resolutely pursued his schemes for uniting the clans of the southern Niuche under his sway. In this he encountered less difficulty than might have been thought possible, but his triumph over Nikan had produced a far greater effect than the real extent of that victory justified. In 1591 he began the second portion of his career by the annexation of the Yalookiang district, which, suddenly attacked, offered little or no resistance to his arms.

The success which attended this act of spoliation roused the apprehension of all Noorhachu's neighbours. Up to this they had passed their time in rivalries which led to petty wars, barren of result ; but Noorhachu's well-prepared and vigorous measures were evidently directed towards the attainment of some higher object than the gratification of a feud. These measures constituted, therefore, a common danger to all the other chiefs. When there went forth a voice among the common folk of Manchuria that Noorhachu was a wise and valiant ruler who gave his followers a share in the benefits of his own elevation, there also passed through the courts or camps of the other chiefs of the Niuche the fear that this energetic chief, with his new-fangled ideas, aimed at their annihilation. What had been a vague apprehension or a mere suspicion before the seizure of Yalookiang became a settled fear and a complete conviction after that event.

Seven of the neighbouring princes combined and declared war upon Noorhachu. Thirty thousand Niuche and Mongols invaded his territory, and threatened to upset all the young chief's plans and calculations by his conclusive overthrow. Noorhachu was not himself appalled at the greatness of the approaching storm, but his followers and people had less faith in their leader's capability to repel the invaders. In this crisis of his fortunes, the care which he had bestowed on his fighting force stood him in good stead, for in each man who followed his banner he possessed a faithful and well-trained

soldier. The odds against him were apparently irresistible, for when he drew up his forces at the foot of Goolo hill he had but four thousand men with which to oppose the onset of thirty. Their superior discipline and the resolution of their commander supplied to some degree this deficiency of numbers; but the confederated princes had every reason to feel elate. The battle began with a furious charge against the front of Noorhachu's line. Although Yeho and the principal of the Mongol captains headed it, the charge miscarried. Yeho fell from his horse and was slain, while the Mongol captain, having experienced a similar mishap, remounted his horse and galloped away. Noorhachu's opportunity had come, and he delivered home his attack. The large force of the confederates broke into disorder, and in the pursuit 4000 of them were slain. Several chiefs were taken prisoners, and among the spoil several thousand horses and plaited suits of armour were counted, which came as an opportune help to Noorhachu in his schemes of army organization.

The victory of Goolo consolidated the position which Noorhachu had gained in the valley of Hootooala, and in 1599 he followed it up by the conquest and annexation of Hada, an extensive and fertile district on the northern border. These signal successes excited the alarm of the Chinese who were beginning to protest against the rapid progress of Noorhachu's power. Noorhachu took this grumbling in ill part, and discontinued paying a tribute which he had engaged a few years before to send to the Leaoutung governor. The adjoining state of Hwifa shared the fate of Hada in 1607, and the following years were employed in deciding the destinies of the Woola district which skirted the banks of the Songari. The chief of this territory, Boojantai, made a resolute defence, but his forces were no match for the cotton-mailed warriors of Noorhachu. Several minor engagements were fought before the decisive action came off, and then Boojantai, who had incurred the extreme displeasure of Noorhachu for an insult offered to his daughter, fled away and disappeared, never more to be heard of, in the mists of the northern region. These campaigns were but preliminary to the main attack on

Yeho, the most powerful of the late confederates ; and in 1613 Noorhachu began his operations against this territory, whose ruler had foolishly remained inactive while he was collecting in his hands the power to crush him.

His success on this, the first, occasion did not reach his expectations, for the people of Yeho retired into their towns, and, assisted by the Chinese with money and arms, they were able to hold out until Noorhachu's followers, disappointed at the slow progress made against their foe, were withdrawn. In two other districts, those of Hoorha and Doonghai, he fared better, for both either submitted to or recognized his authority. These successes resulted in the firm establishment of Noorhachu's power along the whole of the northern frontier of Leaoutung. The Chinese thus saw that central authority set up among the Niuche which they had always affected to desire, but it had been no part of their plan that the man to wield it should be one who owed nothing to their support, and who it was shrewdly suspected nursed a latent hostility towards themselves. The dispensation of authority, which seemed natural enough to the Chinese when vested in the person of a puppet ruler like Nikan, assumed quite a different aspect when exercised by the vigorous chief Noorhachu.

After the repulse of his first attack on Yeho, Noorhachu devoted more attention even than before to the improvement of his army. Not content with dividing his forces into companies, several of which were composed of picked men, he also collected engines of war, which showed that he meditated some more extensive and difficult enterprise than any he had yet undertaken. And such indeed was the case. For reasons which the geographical position of the states will not sufficiently explain, he came to the decision that he could not conquer Yeho until he had first overthrown the Chinese authority in Leaoutung. It was in 1617 that he came to this important resolution, and when his military arrangements had been completed he drew up a formal indictment against the Chinese Government. His army, which had originally consisted of no more than one hundred men, now mustered over forty thousand strong, and these troops had been drilled under his own eye, and were individually known to him. The

Manchu archer and man-at-arms were both famed for their skill and intrepidity; and their equipment left nothing to be desired. The Manchu bow was a formidable weapon, and the cotton-plated mail of the horseman was proof to the shaft or the spear. Noorhachu's indictment of the Chinese took the form of a list of grievances, termed "the Seven Hates," against their border lieutenants, but the peculiarity of the proceeding was in the accompanying ceremony. Instead of forwarding this document to the Chinese Court, he burnt it in presence of his army, so that Heaven might judge the justice of the cause between himself and his enemy.

Thus were the slight power, insignificant resources, and scanty population of the Manchu districts raised to so high and vigorous a point by the thrift and ability of Noorhachu that the invasion of the great empire of China became a possibility. Notwithstanding the skill shown in husbanding and developing their strength, they could not have possessed any conceivable chance of victory had the Mings shown the smallest capacity; for the Manchus, unlike the Mongols, were very few in numbers, and their recruiting-ground was extremely limited. While this war-cloud was gathering portent on his northern frontier, the Ming Emperor Wanleh was congratulating himself at paltry successes over rebel hillmen in the remote south; and he remained indifferent to the pressing danger at his very door. Noorhachu's invasion of Leaoutung awoke him from his delusion, while it also revealed the most formidable of the enemies who threatened the Ming dynasty with overthrow, and the Chinese people with the horrors of invasion.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WARS BETWEEN THE MINGS AND MANCHUS.

THE Manchus, under their great leader Noorhachu, crossed the frontier into Chinese territory in the year 1618, and they first advanced against the border town of Fooshun, where an annual fair used to be held for the Tartar tribes. This open invasion of the Empire took the local officials by surprise, and the slight preparations they had made to resist such raids as it was alone thought possible that the Manchus might organize appeared insignificant in face of Noorhachu's well-appointed army. The governor was slain while attempting to defend Fooshun, and the town surrendered to the Manchus. After this encounter, Noorhachu sent to Peking, through the governor of Leaoutung, a list of his grievances, and it was said that he even promised to lay down his arms on his just demands being satisfied. The Peking Government did not appreciate the situation, and turned a deaf ear to the protests and minatory language of a petty Tartar chieftain, of whose name even the Court chroniclers pretended to be ignorant. Far from showing the least disposition to comply with his terms, the Chinese despatched an army to retake Fooshun and to expel the invader. Its movements were marked by little prudence, and the over-confidence and want of skill of the commanders were justly punished by their complete overthrow on the field of battle. The charge of the Manchus proved irresistible, and carried everything before it.

Noorhachu passed a portion of the summer in inaction, to see whether the Celestial Government would make any move towards coming to a pacific arrangement with him, and while

he remained in his quarters the report of his first successes over the Chinese brought him many fresh recruits to swell the numbers of his already elated soldiery. But when the autumn came without any sign of concession from Peking, Noorhachu broke up his camp and resumed his advance into China. This time he marched in an opposite direction from that which he had taken on the first occasion, and laid siege to Tsingho, where some preparations had been made for a siege. The place was in fact resolutely defended, and the Manchu assaults were several times repulsed. But a traitor opened one of the gates to the foe, and the Manchus thus succeeded in capturing the town when they seemed on the point of failure. More than 6000 of the garrison and 10,000 of the townspeople fell by the edge of the sword. Other successes should have followed from this signal victory, but the clamour of his soldiers, who were anxious concerning the security of their homes, because of the presence in their rear of the hostile state of Yeho, obliged Noorhachu to return to Hingking for the purpose of dealing with this neighbour.

The invasion of Leaoutung had, therefore, little more than commenced when Noorhachu found himself compelled to turn aside from it, and to resume his operations against the last of the independent Niuche districts. The campaign against Yeho had only entered upon its first stage, when tidings reached Noorhachu that a large Chinese force threatened his own capital, and he had to hastily retrace his steps for its defence. The successes of the Tartars at Fooshun and Tsingho had at last roused the lieutenants of Wanleh to some idea of the formidable character of the chief with whom they had to deal, and of the military force which he had created. When they heard, therefore, that Yeho was about to feel the full weight of the Manchu attack, they resolved to hasten to its assistance, and to assail Noorhachu before he had crushed his last opponent among his own race.

Yangkao, the viceroy of Leaoutung, realized the full significance of the situation at a glance, and placed in the field an army of more than 100,000 men according to the lowest computation, but it was unfortunate that he assumed the command in person, for his incapacity in the art of war

was notorious. His very first step showed that he had not learned one of the simplest traditions of military science both in his own and other countries, to the effect that victory generally goes with the big battalions; for he at once nullified the advantage he possessed from superiority of numbers by dividing his army into four divisions without any secure means of communication between them. The advance of the Chinese naturally produced a great panic among the Manchus and their allies; but Noorhachu's confidence, if it was ever shaken, returned as soon as he detected the fatal blunder of his opponent. The Manchu army consisted of about 60,000 trained soldiers, but it is doubtful if on the field of battle it would have proved a match for a well-equipped Chinese army of double its numerical strength. That point never arose, however, for practical decision, as Yangkao voluntarily surrendered his advantage by the distribution of his army in divisions, each of which was inferior in numbers as well as in other respects, to the Manchu force that could by rapid marching be brought against it.

Noorhachu proved his claims to be considered a great general by the skill with which he turned his central position to the most advantage. His tactics emulated those practised at epochs long after his by the two great European captains of modern times, Frederick the Great and Napoleon, who, in the crises of their careers, supplied the want of numbers by the rapid movement and concentration of their troops; and on the occasion we refer to the same strategy thoroughly disconcerted the torpid measures of the Pekin commanders. Yangkao had entrusted the command of the western and most important detachment to Tousong, an officer who craved to distinguish himself, and who set little value on his foe while he held a high opinion of his own abilities. His division was instructed to advance direct from Fooshun on Hingking, but the enterprising Noorhachu perceived that could he disperse it the flank and line of retreat of the other portions of the Chinese army would be exposed to his attack. Tousong moved by forced marches, but exact information of his approach reached Noorhachu's camp; and the Manchu advance to meet him was so timed as to make the meeting

on the banks of the national stream of the Hwunho. Tousong, anxious to secure for himself all the glory that would accrue to the man who gained the first victory over the Manchus, hastened to cross that stream without reconnoitring the further bank. The passage was not effected without difficulty, as the waters were swollen, and neither bridges nor boats were available. Yet, notwithstanding the inadequate means of regaining the western side in the event of a reverse, the Chinese commander recklessly continued his advance; but he had not much farther to march, for the Manchu army was drawn up in battle array close to the Hwunho.

Tousong entrenched himself on Sarhoo Hill, while Noorhachu, whose disposable force comprised almost the whole of his army, made his final preparations for attack. Tousong, apparently ignorant of the impending storm, further weakened himself by detaching a small force from his main body to attack the neighbouring town of Jiefan. Here also the Manchus had been too quick in their movements and too well-informed for the Chinese, whose assault was repulsed with some loss. Noorhachu then no longer deferred his attack upon the position round Sarhoo Hill, and after some hours' desperate fighting he drove the Chinese in irretrievable confusion into the Hwunho, where most of those who had escaped from the arrows and swords of the Manchus met with a watery death. Tousong paid the penalty of his rashness with his life, and, instead of being the first to obtain fame by the overthrow of the Tartars, his defeat contributed more than any other achievement to spread their military fame.

Noorhachu then hastened to attack the other divisions in turn. That under the command of a general named Malin was the next to receive the brunt of his onset. At first Malin remained on the defensive in a position situated between two hills which he had fortified. On each of these heights he placed a strong detachment, and his main body was drawn up in the valley behind a triple tier of waggons. The position was chosen with judgment, and considerable art had been expended in rendering it more formidable. But

the Imperialists had not yet learnt the habit of standing on the defensive, and the sight of the enemy outside their entrenchments proved too irksome to be endured. Malin left his position and advanced to meet Noorhachu in the open. So vigorous was the charge of the Chinese general that for a moment the Manchus recoiled, and Noorhachu himself was in danger; but the superior discipline of his soldiers restored the day. The Imperialists suffered a severe defeat, and Malin was able to rally only a very small portion of his troops at Kaiyuen after the combat had concluded. The cup of Chinese misfortune was now full to overflowing, but yet another battle was to be lost before the disasters of the year 1619 were to end for the unhappy Wanleh. The third Chinese division under Liuyen, the officer who had distinguished himself by the prompt punishment of the Miaotze, had obtained a few successes while Noorhachu had been overthrowing his colleagues in the west. The turn of Liuyen to be attacked at last arrived, and his defeat, despite his valour, was not less complete and crushing than those of his brother generals already described. The Manchus triumphed in this battle as much by means of a stratagem as by their own courage. They dressed a portion of their army in the clothes taken from the dead bodies of Tousong's soldiers, and Liuyen's troops admitted them into their ranks in the belief that they were friends. In this they were soon undeceived, and, attacked on all sides, Liuyen's followers fled in utter rout after the fall of their gallant commander.

Signal as were these victories, and great as was the effect they exercised on the destiny of the Manchus, Noorhachu did not waste much time in idle ceremonies at his capital. Within a month of these triumphs, which astonished even the Manchus, and which terrified the Chinese, Noorhachu again took the field. His first object of attack was the fortified town of Kaiyuen, whither Malin had retired with the relics of his force. Kaiyuen was carried by assault, and the Chinese had to mourn the loss of a large number of prisoners besides many officers, including their commander Malin himself, and soldiers slain in the fight. The Manchus then pressed on to fresh conquests, of which the last and

principal of this year's campaign was that of Yeho, the overthrow of which state had been one of the principal objects of Noorhachu's original policy. The annexation of Yeho to his dominions completed the reunion of the Niuche, who, since the downfall of the Kin monarchy, had only been a collection of disunited and scattered tribes. It also supplied him with a fresh means of increasing his army, which the Yeho clan augmented by the addition of at least 30,000 men. This extraordinary development in the power of the Manchus had been effected partly by their material progress under the instigation of Noorhachu, and partly by the collapse of the Chinese authority under a succession of military disasters unparalleled in its history in this quarter of the Empire. When Wanleh died in 1620, Noorhachu had firmly laid the foundation of the subsequent power of his race, and was already meditating the invasion of Leaoutung, if not the capture of Peking itself.

Yet almost the very last act of the Emperor Wanleh had been one calculated to undo much of the evil of previous years of mismanagement. The measure was nothing more striking than the appointment of a competent general to the command of the army garrisoning Leaoutung. Hiung Tingbi, who was now sent with all despatch to restore the sinking fortunes of the Empire, was gifted in a high degree with those qualities of patience and resolution which, if Yangkao and his lieutenants had possessed them, would have saved the realm, and checked Noorhachu's power in its growth. But even he could do little towards openly opposing the Manchus with the demoralized fugitives of the armies which they had routed. So great was the confusion throughout the north-east that Tingbi determined to devote all his attention to the defence of Leaouyang, the capital of the province, and for several months he left the Manchus to pursue undisturbed their marauding expeditions throughout the rest of Leaoutung. Tingbi succeeded at last in restoring some degree of order to affairs, and his vigilance and energy raised the confidence and discipline of the Chinese soldiers. When he had fully provided for the safety of Leaouyang, he proceeded to the other towns nearer the border, and set himself to work

to restore their fortifications and to place in them sufficient garrisons. In a very short time he succeeded in arraying along the frontier a force of 180,000 men, and in establishing a chain of fortified posts through which it would be difficult for any Manchu force to cut its way. In two years Tingbi had accomplished so much that the Chinese authority was again established throughout Leaoutung, and Noorhachu did not consider it prudent, so long as Tingbi remained in command, to attempt any fresh enterprise, although the greatness of his means in comparison with what they had been would have seemed to most men to justify a contempt for the Chinese power.

Wanleh had, in the meanwhile, been succeeded by his son Chu Changlo, who took the style of Kwangtsong. The new monarch during the brief period of his reign gave many proofs of the amiability and gentleness of his character, but it is doubtful if he possessed the resolution and sternness necessary to cope with the difficulties which he inherited. His death was caused by an attack of exhaustion from overwork, aggravated by the use of unsuitable medicines. The evidence is not clear whether we must assign his early death to the incapacity of his physician or to the machinations of his brother's mother. The suspicion of foul play was strong, but only slight proof in support of it could be produced; and if there were any criminals in the case they escaped the penalty of their misdeed. Neither did they reap any advantage from it, for the magnates of the capital assembled in solemn conclave and insisted on the elevation of Kwangtsong's son, a boy of sixteen years, to the throne. The boy, without their few redeeming virtues, possessed, unfortunately, the weaknesses and irresolution of both his father and grandfather; and the hesitation he showed in accepting the offer of the crown fitly represented the character of his reign. The new Emperor assumed the name of Hitsong, but he is best remembered in history as Tienki the Unhappy.

Tienki had not been more than a few months upon the throne when he was weak enough to sanction the recall of Tingbi, to whose energy and talent alone was due the Empire's preservation of its hold over the Leaoutung province.

Tingbi was essentially the architect of his own fortunes, and having been always distinguished as a man of independence, standing aloof from palace intrigue and court factions, there were none among the corrupt ministers of the Ming to espouse his cause. His appointment had been some slight sign of returning prudence on the part of Wanleh, and it was reserved for that prince's grandson to greatly contribute to the fall of his dynasty by its reversal. Tingbi was removed from his post in deference to the clamour of the eunuchs, and Yuen Yingtai, who had never heard a shot fired, nor seen the flight of the Manchu arrows, was sent to take his place, and to defend an extensive border against the most warlike people and the best trained army at that time existing in Asia.

While Tingbi remained in command Noorhachu had abstained from undertaking any enterprise; but no sooner was it known that he had been disgraced and that an inexperienced man of letters had been sent to take his place, than the Manchu leader saw that his opportunity had again come. He accordingly set out in the early spring of the year 1621, at the head of his forces, which had been strengthened in numbers by some Chinese deserters and by many Mongol adventurers from the West. His march was directed in the first place upon Fanyang or Moukden, where the large garrison left by Tingbi still remained to guard a town of much strength and importance. The commandant was a courageous man, but lacking in judgment; for when the Manchu columns came in sight, undeterred by the remembrance of former disasters, he at once marched out to encounter them. The step was doubly ill-judged, for not only did he thus lose the protection of the walls and towers of Moukden, but he thereby also deprived himself of the advantages of a superior weapon.* At this period the

* About this time the Chinese received, for the first time in their history, military assistance from a European people. A Portuguese envoy, Gonsalvo de Texeira, happened to arrive at Peking from Macao shortly after the Manchus had inflicted the first reverses on the Chinese. Texeira at once offered the Emperor the assistance of a small corps of Portuguese arquebusiers. The offer was promptly accepted, and 200 Portuguese were enrolled for the service. This corps was increased by

Chinese were just beginning to substitute the musket for the bow, but they had not attained much precision in its use, nor could a favourable opinion be pronounced on the excellence of their new weapons. The Manchus still retained the long-bow,* in the manipulation of which they were unrivalled, and in the open field their superiority as archers over the Chinese musketeers was necessarily much more marked than in the attack on fortified places.

In the engagement which ensued with the garrison of Moukden, Noorhachu inflicted a severe defeat upon them, and then his followers succeeded in entering the city at the same time as the fugitives from the field of battle. Notwithstanding that treachery within the town combined to facilitate Noorhachu's operations without, the Chinese fought stubbornly and well. Moukden was only taken after most of its garrison had fallen by the sword, but its loss proved the precursor of several other disasters to the Imperialists. Two relieving bodies of troops were cut up with heavy loss, and after a week's fighting the active army was reduced to less than half the dimensions it had reached under the fostering care of Tingbi.

The Chinese were loth to lose Moukden without making a vigorous effort to recapture it. Although their losses had been very heavy, they made one more attempt to drive the Manchus out of the city which they had just taken. But

the addition of an equal number of natives trained and disciplined by the Portuguese. This small army, magnificently caparisoned, travelled in state across China, but on reaching Pekin it appeared too weak in numbers to be able to accomplish anything of importance against the numerous and formidable Tartars. The Portuguese were, therefore, sent back to Macao without having been engaged. Their artillery might have availed to change the fortunes of the day in some of the engagements with Noorhachu; but either jealousy or pride prevented the Chinese availing themselves of a source of help which, had it proved efficacious, would have revealed the vast superiority of European soldiers over Chinese. The Portuguese cannon were, however, borrowed, and others were cast in imitation under direction of the Jesuits.—See Mailla, vol. x. p. 409; also Du Halde and Pauthier, *passim*.

* To supply the inferiority in the character of their weapon, the Manchus had framed and practised a military exercise closely resembling the Roman *testudo*, or the tortoise.

this, notwithstanding the valour of the commander, Tung Jungkwei, and the execution committed by his artillery, failed not less conspicuously than either of the two previous attempts. Another Ming army was in this manner almost annihilated, and the Manchus forced their way over its fragments to lay siege to the provincial capital, Leaouyang, where Yuen Yingtai exercised personal command.

Here again the Chinese commander resorted to the same tactics that had proved so unfortunate on previous occasions. Although the defence of Leaouyang represented after all his main object, Yuen Yingtai quitted the cover of its fortifications, and endeavoured to oppose the Manchus in the field. He was compelled to beat a hasty retreat, but by this futile and ill-judged assumption of strength he had lost many brave soldiers, and the survivors were discouraged by a further reverse. Similar efforts to retard the siege operations carried out under Noorhachu's own eye were repeatedly repulsed, and at last the Chinese garrison was completely shut up in the town. Either by an assault delivered across a road hurriedly constructed over the moat, or by treachery within, the Manchus gained a footing on the walls. The garrison made a brave but useless resistance, and perished almost to a man. Yuen Yingtai and most of the officers committed suicide, but those of the townspeople who were spared recognized the Manchu authority and shaved* their heads in token of surrender.

The capture of Leaouyang completed Noorhachu's triumph, for the remaining towns at once opened their gates. No further resistance was attempted, and the Manchu chief

* This is the first occasion on which distinct reference is made to the "pig-tail." After this period it became compulsory for all those who wished to avert death to shave their heads on the appearance of the Manchus, who were thus able to easily distinguish those Chinese who surrendered from those who did not. At the present time the custom is common to all parts of China with the exception of a few of the more remote or mountainous districts of the southern and south-western provinces. The origin of this practice has not been cleared up. It is not even an ascertained certainty whether it was a custom among the Manchus, or a happy device to distinguish the conquered Chinese from those who persisted in resistance.

marked the completion of the conquest of Leaoutung by the removal of his capital to the site of his latest victory. Thus rapidly did their first great military conquest at the expense of China follow the reunion of the Niuche tribes under a single head, and from his new palace in Leaouyang Noorhachu could speculate on how his next stride southward might carry him into the imperial city of Peking.

While the Manchus were thus arranging matters after their own fashion in the north, other enemies presented themselves in the south to cause anxiety to the Chinese Government. There is no evidence to establish a chain of connection between these two events, but it is only reasonable to suppose that the disasters in Leaoutung, by producing an impression that the power of the Mings was on the wane, encouraged the discontented and the turbulent in other parts of the country to resort to force for the attainment of their ends. In the mountainous tracts of Szchuen, which had often before nourished traitors and produced disaffected subjects, the clans had gathered round a local chieftain and assumed an attitude of covert hostility towards the Chinese authorities. Nor were the people of the cities and plains very staunch in their allegiance to the Emperor, although they looked with suspicion and apprehension on the movements of a race more prone to disregard than to respect the rights of property and the persons of law-abiding citizens.

The principal of the disaffected tribes in this province was that known as the Kolo, whose chief Chetsong Ming could raise an armed force of nearly 30,000 men, and in the time of the Manchu peril he had placed this body at the disposal of the Viceroy of Szchuen, either to relieve a portion of the local garrison, or to take the field against the Tartars. That functionary either formed a poor opinion of their military capabilities, or indulged the promptings of his own caprice, for he disbanded many of these would-be soldiers without awarding them the slightest compensation. Chetsong's followers thereupon broke out in open insubordination, and, having murdered the Viceroy, took possession of several of the most important towns in Szchuen. Chetsong immediately placed himself at the head of this insurrectionary movement,

and had the satisfaction of seeing his authority promptly established in Chentu and Chungking. Many of the people joined him, and the greater number of the mandarins put themselves to death in expiation of the disgrace of having found themselves unable to defend their posts.

The steps taken towards restoring Tienki's authority were necessarily slow, and the reduced numbers of the garrison rendered it a work of time to repress a rebellion that had been marked in its earlier stages by such decided successes. While on all sides there was abundant evidence of both treachery and incapacity, the noble conduct of Tsinleang, a woman who had inherited the chiefship of a small district, afforded some proof that the nobler virtues were not yet wholly extinct among the tributaries and vassals of the Empire. She had raised a corps of troops, and sent them to assist the Emperor in Leaoutung, where they had suffered great losses, and where her two brothers had been slain. And now, in face of this sudden emergency in her own province, she raised another large force, and hastened to combine with those who were endeavouring to maintain, or rather to reassert, Tienki's authority in the south-west.

The campaign fought with this object lasted throughout the greater portion of the years 1621 and 1622, and success was not assured until, after long sieges, both Chentu and Chungking surrendered to the Imperial arms. Chetsong escaped to the mountains, and, although baffled in his main undertaking, he could console himself with the remembrance of the infinite mischief which he had caused, and of what losses he had cost his conqueror. Chetsong's rebellion, however, did but apply the torch to the mass of disaffection which had long been seething in the south-west. In the neighbouring province of Kweichow a similar rising took place under the instigation of Ganpangyen, a local chief, who thought he saw in the embarrassments of the Chinese a short road to increased power. The successes obtained by this individual over the garrisons of Yunnan and Kweichow carried alarm throughout an extensive tract of country, and entailed the temporary subversion of the Emperor's authority in a great portion of these provinces. This insurrection might have attained much

larger proportions, but for the valour and resolution of the commandant of the principal city of Kweiyang. For nearly twelve months the rebel chief laid siege to it, but all his assaults were repulsed. He broke his strength against its fortifications, and his followers abandoned him when they found that he could not command victory. Ganpangyen was glad to be able to make a safe retreat to his own state, whither the Chinese were too exhausted to pursue him.

Much nearer the capital serious disturbances broke out in the province of Shantung, where a rebel leader named Su Hongju had gathered round him a military following of considerable numerical strength. He obtained several successes, plundered numerous towns, and for a time carried everything before him. But his successes happily proved ephemeral. The regular troops rallied, and returned to the attack. Su Hongju and his band were shut up in the town of Tenghien, where at length the rebels agreed to give up their arms and to surrender their leader. Su Hongju having thus run his brief career, was betrayed by his own followers and perished on the scaffold. In 1623 there was a renewal of the previous disturbances in both Kweichow and Szchuen ; but the Viceroy, Wang Sanchen, succeeded in rendering a good account of the rebels, although for himself these later operations had an unfortunate ending. He was enticed with a small body of followers into an ambushade in the mountains, where he and his comrades, overwhelmed by numbers, were all slain.

These numerous risings in different parts of the empire, which were of little more than local importance in themselves, possessed a very distinct and tangible significance from occurring at the crisis in the history of the Ming dynasty. They served to occupy a large body of troops who might have been employed against the foreign foe, and they also encouraged that foreign foe to proceed to greater lengths than he would otherwise have done, in the belief that the country was disunited within itself. The Ming dynasty had during these last few reigns failed to satisfy the popular expectation, and it could no longer count on either the hearty or the unanimous support of the people. The corruptness of the Court no doubt contributed most of all to the downfall

of the ruling family, which had enjoyed a brief, if exceptional, popularity ; but the Government had to apprehend as much danger from the supineness of its subjects as from their hostility. Yet even at the eleventh hour, if the Emperor had awoke to the gravity of the situation, China might have been saved from the Manchus, and the Mings might have preserved their throne. But the wisdom that had left them so long was not to be vouchsafed in the time of their extremity, and the sands in the hour-glass of Ming existence were running very low in face of dissension within, and of open attack from without.

During this interval the Manchus had been principally engaged in the task of consolidating their power in Leaoutung, and in preparations for a further movement in the direction of the capital. The river Leaou marked the border line, beyond which Noorhachu had not yet attempted to advance, and the defence or passage of that stream became the foremost object with either combatant. The misfortunes which had resulted in the fall of Moukden and the loss of Leaoutung had compelled the Pekin authorities to so far provide against the exigencies of the hour as to give Tingbi a fresh command on the frontier ; but unfortunately the influence of the eunuchs of the palace was so strong that the importance of this step was nullified by the simultaneous appointment of another general to an equal command. The latter, secure in the staunch support of the Palace, was able to ignore and override the decisions of his colleague, who had to stand by the aid of a weak, if well-meaning, king, and by the spasmodic and often inconsistent expression of popular approval. The plan of campaign suggested by Tingbi was simple and well-suited to the emergency. But his colleague would have none of it. His mode of operation was more pretentious and more audacious, and it might have succeeded against an inexperienced captain or a mob of soldiers ; but against the experienced Noorhachu and his well-trained legions it invited disaster. The Manchus crossed the Leaou, and drove the Imperialists, and with them a large number of the inhabitants, behind the Great Wall. But for the resolute defence of Ningyuen even the Great Wall would hardly have restrained the torrent of

Manchu attack. In face of this new discomfiture, some further victims had to be offered up for the satisfaction of the people, who were beginning to see in the Manchus no longer a marauding tribe of the frontier, but an invader occupying the threshold, and threatening the very existence of the empire. Tingbi, to whose wise counsel the nation might have owed a safe issue from its peril, but whose recommendations had been treated with indifference, was the first to feel the spleen of those who, in the safety of the capital, decreed what was right and wrong, what wise and foolish, in the command of armies in the field. The execution of Tingbi closed an honourable career, and it removed another of the few soldiers who might possibly have been a successful defender of the country. With Tingbi, who had kept Noorhachu at the height of his success for two years at bay, disappeared the only commander whose skill had given any promise of restoring the inequalities of the struggle; but it is only a sorry satisfaction to remember that the eunuchs suffered in common with the nation, and that all their influence failed to save Tingbi's colleague from a fate similar to his own.

The Chinese lieutenants fared better than might have been anticipated after so crushing an overthrow in improvising a defence of that portion of the Great Wall which approaches most nearly to the sea, and of which the town of Shanhaikwan * may be taken as the central point. Nor were their efforts wholly confined to this object, for, finding that the Manchus were fully occupied in disposing of the large population in their new province, a Chinese officer, named Chungwan, threw himself into Ningyuen with a small band to reinforce the garrison of that place. The courage shown by Chungwan, and the all-providing care and energy of the new viceroy, Chungtsung, served to again arrest the advancing tide of

* Shanhaikwan, meaning "sea and mountain barrier," the most eastern gate of the Great Wall. An interesting account of a journey in this quarter of China, from Tientsin to Moukden, will be found in Mr. George Fleming's "Travels on Horseback in Mantchu Tartary," 1863; later information on the same subject is contained in Captain Gill's "River of Golden Sand," 1880, vol. i., and also in Mr. H. E. M. James's "Long White Mountain."

Manchu aggression. For the first time, indeed, it was not merely arrested, but rolled back, as Noorhachu did not feel strong enough to retain the country west of the Leaou. He found it an easier and more grateful task to superintend the transfer of his capital from Leaouyang to Moukden.

Once more, when things were beginning to wear a fairer aspect, the Chinese ministers proved their country's worst enemies. The capacity of Chungtsung could not, in their eyes, atone for his indifference and dislike to the incapable statesmen who were driving China to her ruin ; and at last he too fell a victim, like Tingbi, to their snares and intrigues. A successor was appointed with different aims, and pledged to pursue another line of action. Chungtsung's reputation had been won by the recovery of a large territory from the foe ; his successor began his term of authority by its voluntary surrender, and by a precipitate retreat behind the Wall. Chungwan, the heroic commander at Ningyuen, alone refused to leave his post, and vowed that he would defend to the last the outwork of the Empire which had been committed to his charge. The intelligence of this general withdrawal reached Noorhachu, who at once recrossed the Leaou and proceeded to reoccupy the abandoned territory. The small garrison of Ningyuen represented the only hostile force with which he had to cope.

The Manchu conqueror paid but little heed to a place of such comparative insignificance, and continued to carry out his schemes for the annexation of the narrow but extremely fertile strip of country skirting the sea and extending up to the Great Wall. But he soon found that the garrison of Ningyuen, if unsubdued, would be a thorn in his side, and that the capture of that town was essential to his further progress. Round Ningyuen, therefore, the Manchus collected in their thousands, and their great leader spared no device known to his experience to effect his object. In Chungwan, however, he met an opponent worthy of his steel. That resolute soldier had, in the most solemn terms, registered a vow to shed his blood in the defence of Ningyuen, and all his men with laudable fidelity had followed his example. Strong in their own fortitude, they also possessed in their artillery an

invaluable source of material assistance; and Chungwan deemed it no disgrace to confine his efforts to the defence of the town without thinking of undertaking a foolish and useless offensive in the field. For the first time in their career, therefore, the Manchus had opposed to them a general who neglected no means of turning his position to the best advantage, and who was not filled with an overweening self-confidence and contempt for his adversary. The outcome of these changed tactics and different views was disastrous to the Manchus and highly creditable to the military fame of the Chinese.

Noorhachu delivered two assaults in force with the greater portion of his army, and they were made the more vigorously in proportion as the resistance encountered was unusual and unexpected. Their repulse appears to have been chiefly due to the European cannon, which, perhaps, caused more panic than actual loss to the assailants. For the first and only time in his career Noorhachu had to call off his soldiers and to raise a siege. Other successes elsewhere failed to compensate the aged warrior for this rebuff; and sick with disappointed pride he retraced his steps to his capital to die. His death occurred at Moukden in September 1626, when he was nearly sixty-eight years of age. His descendants dated their dynasty from the year 1616, although the conquest of China had not then so much as commenced; and with the vanity of a new family they assigned to their not very remote founder a semi-divine origin, while they gave to Noorhachu the posthumous and glorious title in Chinese eyes of Taitsou Hwangti.

Although Noorhachu was very far indeed from enjoying the reputation which he sought to acquire as the conqueror of China, yet there can be no doubt that he deserved all the respect and honour which his people and family could pay him. But for his energy and perseverance the small clan of which he was titular chief might never have risen to fame, and the titles of Tatsing and Manchu never been heard of or invented. In many respects he accomplished for the Manchus what Genghis did for the Mongols. It was not his fault if his sphere was a smaller one and more circumscribed. The credit of having emancipated himself from it may, indeed,

have been all the more conspicuous ; and it certainly seems that Noorhachu achieved a great exploit when he extended his sway from a small valley of a few square miles over a vast territory including two Chinese or quasi-Chinese provinces, and stretching from the Great Wall to the Amour. If much of his extraordinary success must be attributed to the blunders and folly of his opponents, cannot almost the same be said of every conqueror from the days of Alexander to those of Napoleon? Noorhachu had the strength of will, seldom given to mortals, to know when to stop. His victories are not more remarkable than the vigour with which he made the most of their results, and with which he consolidated his authority in the new possessions that fell into his power. He built up the edifice of his empire step by step, and his successors had to thank him that he sank its foundations very deep in the affections of his own people, and in the possession of a well-trained and valiant army.

Noorhachu was succeeded by his fourth son, who became known in history as Taitsong or Tienming ; and the accession of a new prince afforded the opportunity for the resumption of negotiations with the Chinese authorities. Whatever his motives, it seemed that the new ruler was disposed to pursue a more peaceful policy than his father, and a return to the old condition of amicable relations with China was for a moment anticipated by the sanguine. Chungwan alone, who had been rewarded for the heroic defence of Ningyuen by promotion to the rank of viceroy and chief commander, received the protestations and overtures of the Manchu ruler with caution and evident disbelief. There ensued the usual despatch of embassies and the accustomed interchange of compliments on the occasion of the death of a mighty and neighbouring potentate ; but no real sentiment of friendship existed behind these empty courtesies. The pretensions of Taitsong, who wished to treat with the Ming Emperor on terms of equality, were quite incompatible with those of Tienki, who still asserted all his claims to supremacy based on a remote antiquity, and on the recognition of no equal authority save that of Heaven itself. The correspondence became warmer as it proceeded, and the open court paid by the chief of the

Kortsin Mongols to Taitsonḡ flattered his vanity while it irritated the Chinese. Nor was the situation improved by the announcement that the Manchus were invading and rapidly overrunning the long faithful tributary kingdom of Corea.

Finding that nothing could be gained by a wordy war in which his Chinese opponent enjoyed the advantage, and with a large portion of his army released by the overthrow of Corea, Taitsonḡ resolved on renewing the attack upon Ningyuen, and he threw his whole force against that place in a desperate resolve to succeed. Once, if not twice, he sat down before its walls, and led his picked Manchu veterans to the assault in person. But Chungwan was still there, and Taitsonḡ's efforts ended in his signal discomfiture. Again, for a second time, the campaign closed disastrously for the Manchus, who retired behind the Leaou. The ramparts of Ningyuen constituted a secure bulwark for the Chinese capital, and might have long continued to do so had not Taitsonḡ been seized with one of those brilliant ideas which occasionally flash across the minds of great commanders.

Meantime, the occupant of the Chinese throne had changed. Tienki, of whom nothing else has been preserved save his misfortunes, had never been of robust health, and in 1627 his death made room for his younger brother, who is known to history as Tsongching. Tsongching was destined to be the last ruler of the once-great family of the Mings, and on his head was to descend with tenfold force the retribution for his predecessors' weaknesses and crimes.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE GROWTH OF MANCHU POWER UNDER TAITSONG.

FOR a brief space it appeared that the Chinese had found in the hour of extremity a bulwark of safety in the fortress of Ningyuen, and the Manchus after their several repulses were beginning to lose heart a little, and to doubt whether Tait-song was a worthy ruler, and able to carry on the schemes of his father. There was no reason why the whole vigour of the Manchu tribe or confederacy should not be shattered and broken to pieces before the walls of a fortress resolutely defended and well-equipped in artillery. Disappointed in his expectations of success by a direct attack, Tait-song was still resolved to succeed, and his hostility towards China was inflamed and increased by his personal antipathy to, and jealousy of, Chungwan. But, like a prudent man, he would no longer waste his strength by throwing his forces against Ningyuen. It was by some higher instinct than mere prudence, if not by a flash of absolute genius, that he came to the determination to ignore Ningyuen and to advance by another route straight on Peking. Tait-song kept his own counsel, but he gave orders to the chief of the Kortsin Mongols, who had been one of the first to congratulate him on his accession, to get ready his forces by a certain day. Tait-song then raised his own army to the number of 100,000 men, and moved into the districts of the Kortsin, which are situated west of Ningyuen and the Palisades, which "exist only on the map and in the imagination of the Emperor of China." Up to this point nobody knew anything of his design, but when he had gone thus far the necessity for

further silence was removed. The plan was too bold, for the reputation of China's power was still great, to obtain the general approval even of the Manchus, and all his officers and kinsmen endeavoured to dissuade him from a course of such extreme peril. But Taitsong saw that the time had come to strike a bold blow against the Emperor. In a few years the Ming would recover his lost vigour and overcome the Tartars by sheer weight of numbers. It was, therefore, high time, thought Taitsong, especially as he had as yet done nothing, for him to strike a conclusive blow while the Emperor was bewildered and knew not how to utilize his vast resources. Taitsong pressed on rapidly, and his course was not to be stayed by the counsels of the timid.

The Manchu army,* augmented by the fighting-men of the Kortsin Mongols, advanced rapidly through the Dangan Pass of the Great Wall towards the capital, scattering before it the small bodies of Chinese troops that were alone available to oppose them, and without being delayed for any time by the forts which had been constructed for the defence of this portion of the frontier. Taitsong had forced his way across the mountains and had reached Kichow on the high road to Peking before Chungwan became aware that he had been outmanœuvred and that all his defences had been turned. Then he hastened back with all speed, and, having the advantage of the better road, he succeeded in outstripping the Manchus and in throwing himself with a portion of his army into the capital before Taitsong had fully beleaguered it. The Chinese were further reinforced by a body of troops which arrived opportunely from Taitong.

Taitsong issued a proclamation to the people and officials of China, in which he again recited his injuries, and dwelt upon the shortcomings of the Mings. In this document he

* It was about this time that Taitsong first divided the Manchus into corps known as Banners. The Manchus proper were divided among the eight banners, and each banner followed its own leader and had a distinct military system. Each banner had a special flag and trumpeter attached. The Chinese who deserted to Taitsong were also arrayed under a single banner, but in their case the arrangement appears to have been one of military expediency rather than of any national significance.—See Mailla, vol. x. pp. 442, 494.

first made an effort to prepare the public mind for his becoming the successor of their Emperor, for, having dwelt upon the humble origin of Hongwou, the founder of the Mings, he then naïvely demanded whether it were not possible that "Heaven had chosen him to be the master of the Empire and to succeed the Mings." While this manifesto was being gradually circulated through the country, Taitsong took up his position near Pekin. He does not appear to have subjected it to any close investment, but contented himself with concentrating his troops in a single camp and with offering battle daily to the Chinese. His own headquarters he established at Haidso, a pleasure-house of the Ming princes. The siege languished, and the Tartars would soon have been obliged to beat a retreat from the dearth of provisions, and the gradual increase of the Chinese forces, without effecting any of their objects, when Fortune, which had so often smiled upon their enterprises, came again to their aid. Pekin was not taken, it is true, but the disgrace and ruin of Chungwan were equal to a great victory.

Chungwan, whose reputation and great qualities made him a host in himself, had so well supplied the deficiencies of the Chinese position at Pekin that it looked as if the balance of victory would incline to their side. Taitsong, foiled in the field, resolved to effect his purpose by compassing the ruin of his most formidable opponent, and the machinations of eunuchs who were bitterly inimical to Chungwan greatly facilitated his object. A plot was soon formed between the Manchu leader and a party in the palace to procure Chungwan's disgrace and removal from the command; and it succeeded only too well. The eunuchs found, and availed themselves of, the opportunity to poison the Emperor's ear against the general who was valiantly defending the country from a victorious invader; and, apparently on the theory that the more improbable the charge the more it will obtain a temporary credence, Chungwan was accused of holding secret communications with the enemy. Invited to visit the Emperor on a pressing matter of state, he hastily left his post for the palace, where he was seized and placed in confinement. Nothing more was afterwards heard of this brave soldier, and

his secret execution in the middle of the night removed another of the few men whose courage and ability might have availed to equalize the struggle with the Manchus.

Simultaneously with this event Taitsong drew off his forces for a short distance, and proceeded to invest several places offering fewer obstacles to speedy success than the capital. The removal of Chungwan from the command recalled him to his former post at Haidisu, and when he found that he was freed from further apprehension on the ground of his old and successful opponent at Ningyuen, he delayed no longer in making his dispositions for the assault. A fierce battle was fought outside the city, and a Chinese corps of forty thousand men failed to make any stand against the Manchus. Chungwan's successor, a brave but unskilful officer, was among the slain; and the fate of Peking seemed to be sealed. Taitsong himself had, however, difficulties of his own to contend against, although we are not cognizant of their exact nature. That they were sufficiently grave may be inferred from the fact that, when he seemed to hold complete victory within his grasp, he suddenly drew off his forces and retreated beyond the Wall. Peking was saved for this occasion from its northern foe.

Another lull ensued in the contest, and Taitsong resumed those proffers of a pacific arrangement which he had consistently made from the first days of his reign. Towards the Ming Emperor he adopted an attitude of equality tempered by the respectful expressions which he expected to have reciprocated; but his ulterior aims were foreshadowed in the persistency with which he recurred to the injuries of a misgoverned and oppressed people. Already he was putting himself forward in the guise of a champion of the subjects against the sovereign. While thus actively engaged in giving to his diplomacy an air of disinterestedness, he took other steps to attract to his side a certain amount of sympathy and regard from the Chinese people. The Manchus had before this adopted the Chinese character in their writing, and Taitsong continued the same line of policy by instituting schools and a course of examination similar to those existing in the Middle Kingdom. Nor did he stop at this point in the

measures which he was taking towards identifying his person and family with the traditions and customs dear to every Chinese subject. He had the sense to perceive that the conquest of China would be impossible for him unless he attracted to his cause the sympathetic support of a portion of its people. His proclamations, his daily life, were directed so as to produce the required result in the case of the multitude; but he trusted to other means to draw to his side those who had served in the administration, and who, knowing the corruptness and incapacity of the Ming system, might be the more readily induced to see in him the reformer of the morals of profligate court, and the Heaven-sent champion of an afflicted country. With these ends in view he drew up a list of military dignities precisely similar to those of the Chinese Empire, and by conferring on the officers who deserted to him a grade higher than the one they possessed under the Mings, he succeeded in inducing many to abandon their allegiance to the Chinese Emperor and to take service under him. But what he thus gained in actual numbers was small, indeed, in comparison with the impression produced among the Chinese by this close imitation of the conduct of the greatest and most popular of their former rulers.

During the four years following his first attack on Peking, Taitsong was engaged more in the working-out of this astute policy than in the conduct of military operations. True it is that little or no cessation occurred in the strife on the border, for the Chinese ministers, with singular obtuseness or out of a headstrong and uncontrollable prejudice, refused to so much as even reply to the numerous letters which Taitsong addressed to them. The retreat of Taitsong and a small success gained in a border skirmish, where one of Taitsong's brothers failed to sustain the reputation of his family, sufficed to restore the natural presumption of men who knew nothing of affairs and who had no acquaintance with the exigencies of a perilous situation. The eunuchs received all Taitsong's protestations with contempt, and did not deign to make any reply; but it would have been better for them had they assumed a less defiant tone and adopted a few simple precautions for the defence of the realm. Their pride was grand

and not altogether without justification, but their inaction was the measure of their incapacity.

While the state of affairs remained thus critical on the Manchu frontier, events of the very gravest importance were happening in other parts of the country. At an earlier period in the struggle the report of Imperial defeats had sufficed to raise up numerous enemies in different quarters of the wide-stretching territories of the Ming. They had fortunately been put down, but the assertion of the Emperor's power had not been effected with that degree of ease and rapidity which would alone have deterred the discontented in other parts from imitating these insurgents. The danger from the Manchus had increased instead of diminished, and it was only in the natural course of things that those who before had the inclination to rebel should find that impulse greatly strengthened by the embarrassment threatening the stability of the Empire.

The first of these internal troubles might by wiser action have been avoided, for it was caused by the neglect to pay a body of troops which had been sent to reinforce the army on the frontier. The soldiers broke into open mutiny, and their commanders might have fared badly had they not come to the resolution to take the lead in the direction which their men had marked out for them. Of these officers Kongyuta was the principal and the most active, and to him was entrusted the main part in leading the insurgents. The province of Shantung became the principal scene of their exploits, and for a time they there carried everything before them. One viceroy was executed, and his successor set out with loud vaunts of the rapidity with which he would quell the rebellion. The acts of the new governor fell far short, as is often the case, of his protestations; for while the insurgents held the open country, he was compelled to confine his operations to the defence of Laichow, a small port on the Gulf of Pechihli. Even in this restricted sphere he was not destined to attain any great success, for he was killed by a cannon-shot while conducting its defence. The siege continued, and the rebels, having enticed under a show of negotiation several of the principal officers of the province into

their camp, gained a momentary strength by arresting and then executing them. But this breach of faith, which for the time seemed to answer their ends, proved fatal to their prospects, not only because it excited the indignation of all honourable men, but also because it roused the Peking Government into a fit of energy.

A large army was sent against them, and all the resources at the disposal of the Empire were devoted to the task of crushing this rebellion. Several battles were fought and won. The insurgents, so lately rejoicing with all the arrogance of victory, were driven from one place to another, until at last there remained to them only the harbour of Tengchow, which also surrendered to the Imperial lieutenants. Most of the insurgents were taken alive, to suffer the fate of rebels; but Kongyuta, more fortunate than his supporters, made good his escape by sea to the opposite coast of Leaoutung, whence he hastened to pay his court to Taitsong, who gave him a hearty welcome.

In 1634 Taitsong commenced his next campaign with the invasion of Shansi at the head of an army composed equally of Mongol auxiliaries and of his own Manchu levies. The Chinese failed to make any stand against this invading force. No attempt was made to guard the outer wall save at Taitong which was too formidable to be lightly assailed, and Taitsong experienced little difficulty in capturing most of the towns adjacent to the inner wall. Although the Manchus thus transferred the scene of their operations to a province which had been comparatively free from the presence of an enemy for several centuries, and notwithstanding that the northern borders of Shansi present exceptional facilities for defence and difficulties to an invader, Taitsong met with little resistance from either the people or the local garrisons. One Chinese officer published a boastful report of a great victory which he declared that he had won; but Taitsong intercepted the letter, and at once sent off a challenge offering to match 1000 of his men against ten times their number of Chinese. The bold offer was not accepted, and the Manchus continued to carry everything before them in Shansi.

It was at the close of this campaign, in the year 1635, that

Taitsong assumed for the first time the style of Emperor of China. Events had long been shaping themselves in this direction, but an accident alone induced him to take the final step. The jade seal of the Yuen dynasty had at the time of its expulsion been carried beyond the wall, and lost in the wilds of Mongolia. More than two centuries later a Mongol shepherd had chanced upon it and handed it to his chief, whence in due time it was passed on to Taitsong. As soon as it became known among the Mongol clans that the Manchu conqueror was the fortunate possessor of this treasured gem they all hastened, to the number of forty-nine separate chiefs, to pay their allegiance to Taitsong. Strange as it may appear, they demanded, as a kind of ratification to their own act, that the King of Corea should likewise pay his court to the new Emperor. The king of that state having heard the nature of the letters from the Manchu capital refused to open them, hoping thus to extricate himself from what promised to prove an unpleasant dilemma. But the Manchus could ill brook this show of independence from one who had already proved unable to resist them. An army was accordingly sent to chastise this indifferent if not defiant potentate, and to exact from him at the point of the sword the allegiance which he had so haughtily evaded. Taitsong's lieutenants carried out their master's plans to the letter, and Corea followed the example of the western Mongol clans and recognized Taitsong as Hwangti.

The remaining years of Taitsong's life were passed in conducting repeated expeditions into the provinces of Pechihli, Shansi, and even Shantung, although he never again molested Peking, and the fortresses of Ningyuen and Shanhaikwan continued to form on the east insuperable obstacles in his path. The loss inflicted on the Chinese was immense, and the amount of spoil carried off incalculable; but so far as the Emperor and his Court were concerned the situation remained little changed. Taitsong was greatly assisted in his plans by the numerous internal troubles which were disintegrating the Empire, and at last he found himself again able to begin a forward movement in the direction of that Ningyuen which had hitherto baffled him. But before he

could reach the town it was necessary for him to capture Kingchow which was held by a resolute garrison, while the skilful general Wou Sankwei occupied the place of supreme command over the Quadrilateral of Leaousi.* Kingchow and Songshan were taken after several severe actions, and at the cost of a vast amount of bloodshed ; but Ningyuen, with its new commandant Wou Sankwei, remained defiant as of old.

Taitsong had, therefore, to resort in the year 1642-3 to his former tactics of despatching expeditions into Shansi, which carried everything before them, it is true, but which contributed only very slightly and indirectly to the weakening of Chinese power at Ningyuen. The return of the last of these expeditionary forces had hardly been signalized by the usual festivities at Moukden, when Taitsong was seized with what proved to be a fatal illness.

Before his death events yet to be described had brought the Ming Empire to the verge of dissolution. The days of Tsongching were numbered, and his capital was at the mercy of a cruel and relentless rebel. The Manchu, who had so long appeared the most formidable of his enemies, did not prove the instrument whereby his fall was effected. Taitsong was not destined to be the scourge of Providence to purify a corrupt court, and to reform a profligate society. Indeed, the Manchu chief's death preceded the suicide of the last Ming Emperor by some months.

Taitsong was only fifty-two years of age at the time of his death in September 1643, and when he died he left the main object of his life apparently as distant from realization as when he took up the scheme committed to him as a legacy by his father Noorhachu. The Manchus had inflicted an incalculable amount of injury on the Chinese, and Taitsong had enjoyed the empty honour of having laid unsuccessful siege to Peking ; but the conquest of China remained a feat for the accomplishment of which all the military power of the Manchus, aided by the great talent of their leaders, had as yet

* Cis Leaoutung. The Quadrilateral were Kingchow, Ningyuen, Songshan, and Shanhaikwan,

proved inadequate. On the very eve of its attainment the balance of chances seemed, humanly speaking, greater against the Manchu ambition than it had been at any time during the previous generation ; and by the irony of fate the triumph which had been denied to both Noorhachu and Taitsong was reserved for a child, the grandson of the former and the son of the latter.

Taitsong was buried at Moukden* in the midst of the people whom he had helped to make great. He had made his authority recognized among all the Tartars from the districts of the Eleuths to the waters of Japan. Corea was his vassal, and Leaoutung one of his provinces. Famous as a warrior, he deserved to rank still higher as the civilizer of the Manchus. It was not his lot to conquer China, but he at least indicated the only way in which it could be subdued. The Chinese themselves recognized in him a man who strove above all things to adapt his ways of government to the customs of those he aspired to govern. In Taitsong's hands the ambition of his family lost nothing of its dignity and grandeur ; and he passed it on to his successors in a more tangible and definite form. Taitsong may fairly be held to have directed, as well as quickened, the growth of Manchu power, and, but for his energy and good judgment, it may be doubted whether his race would ever have been elevated to the high position of occupying the Dragon Throne.

* Moukden is now known to the Chinese as Shinyang. For the eulogy of this capital of the Manchus see Keen Lung's poem in Amiot's "Mémoires Concernant les Meurs, &c. des Chinois," Paris, 1776. An account of modern Moukden will be found in Fleming's travels already cited. The tombs of the early Manchu emperors were then (forty years ago) reported to stand in need of repair. A dynasty totters on the throne when the monuments to its founders and progenitors are neglected.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE CONQUEST OF CHINA.

THESE long years of misgovernment had allowed so plentiful a crop of private grievances and public misfortunes to accumulate in China that no difficulty was experienced by adventurers in attracting to their fortunes large numbers of followers under one plea or another. An individual had but to give out that he desired to redress any one of the many national evils, and forthwith he found himself at the head of an armed force, which, if not very formidable against trained battalions, more than sufficed to overcome the small, unpaid, and semi-mutinous local garrisons. Several of these insurrectionary movements have already attracted passing notice while the Manchu danger seemed more pressing and immediate; but, as a lull ensued in the bitterness of that contest after Taitson's retreat from Peking, the internal peril thrust itself more prominently into view, and assumed larger and more formidable proportions. There were, no doubt, many who thought that the worst consequences of Tartar invasion had been realized, and that, although the end of the Mings might be at hand, the Manchus would not be strong enough to usurp their inheritance. Such a conviction was a direct incentive to the ambitious to seize the golden opportunity for finishing the Mings out of hand, and so it seemed, at all events, to Li Tseching, who now comes more prominently forward as one of the chief arbiters of China's destinies.

Li Tseching was the son of a peasant of Yen-an in the province of Shensi, and, at an early age, he betook himself

to the practice of arms, being renowned both as a horseman and as an archer. As early as the year 1629 he appears on the scene as one of a band of robbers, but at that time the Emperor's lieutenants were able to assert their master's authority, and Li Tseching was fortunate to make his escape from an encounter in which most of his companions lost either their lives or their liberty. The very next year, however, found him high in the command of a large force of rebels which assumed almost the proportions of an army. After a few years' service as lieutenant he succeeded to the command in chief on the death of his leader. In this capacity he gained many advantages over the Imperialists, and a large extent of country was subject to his exactions. Sometimes he acted in concert with Chang Hienchong, a Mahomedan chief, whose career closely resembled his own; but more generally he carried on his operations without the assistance or the cognizance of those having similar objects to attain. For it was the characteristic mark of his system that while he resorted to violence to carry his ends he often turned danger aside and extricated himself from a perilous situation by simulating a desire to come to terms with the authorities. Other insurgents obtained marked successes, and then after an interval disappeared. But Li Tseching remained, and the growth of his power was steady and sure.

The details of his career claim not our attention until, from the position of a robber chief in the mountains of Shensi, he raised his aspiring glance to the throne of Peking itself. In the year 1640, when it was computed that nearly half a million of men obeyed his orders, he first began to turn his thoughts in the direction of ousting the Ming. With that object in view he undertook the siege of the important city of Kaifong, one of the principal places in Honan, and once the capital of China. Before he could attack Kaifong he had first to besiege and take Honanfoo, where he was received with resolution, and long kept in check by the valour of the governor. Treachery within at last opened the gates to him, and the town of Honan no longer constituted an obstacle in his path. The place appears to have been handed over to the soldiery, when horrors that cannot be described are

reported to have been perpetrated. At Kaifong, which was at this period one of the strongest fortresses in China, he did not fare so well, for after laying siege to it during seven days he beat a retreat pursued by an army sent from Peking to the succour of the central provinces.

Li Tseching does not appear to have been much awed by the extensive preparations made against him, and although the Emperor placed four armies in the field he boldly assumed the offensive. The Imperialists, in dealing with the rebels, resorted to the tactics which had proved so fatal to them in the case of the foreign invader; and the consequences were similar. Li Tseching met their armies in detail and overthrew them. Many thousands of the soldiers refused to fight, and joined the ranks of their opponent. After these decisive successes, Li Tseching again invested Kaifong, and so greatly had the terror of his name increased that he might have captured it had he not been compelled to suddenly raise the siege in consequence of a severe wound inflicted by an arrow.

Several times after this second withdrawal Li returned to lay siege to Kaifong, and at last, towards the end of the year 1642, an accident placed it in his possession. The governor who had defended the town with such intrepidity had, among other precautions, flooded the moat by means of a canal from the Hoangho, and this extra barrier of defence had no doubt greatly contributed to the discomfiture of Li Tseching. But in the result it was to prove fatal to the Imperialists. The Hoangho, at all times capricious in its movements, and the source of as much trouble as benefit to the provinces it waters, rose suddenly to the dimensions of a flood, and, overflowing its banks, spread over the country. Li's camp was speedily under water, and many of his soldiers were drowned; but most escaped to a neighbouring eminence. The garrison was not so fortunate. The waters of the river bore down the walls and flooded the streets. Thousands perished at the time, and thousands more were slain by the rebels outside. The formidable defences of the city were levelled by the shock of nature, and of the once famous Kaifong there remained only the ruins left by this deluge.

The loss of Kaifong entailed the collapse of the Emperor's authority throughout the great province of Honan, for the prefectural city of Nanyang made no attempt at a resistance which it was seen would be futile. Numerous other successes followed, and recruits flocked in in thousands to join the great rebel leader. But some of these new allies were men whose support was of doubtful advantage, and who were actuated by ambitious motives of their own. Quarrels ensued from petty jealousies and rivalry; and, as might be expected from the character of the society in which they occurred, they ended as a rule in bloodshed. Li Tseching was not above suspecting the good faith of those in his service, and to incur his suspicion was tantamount to receiving one's death-warrant. Those he marked as his victims were always men whom he had reason to fear, and he issued from each trial of strength and authority with increased reputation and a more unquestioned command.

The first stage in his career closed with the capture of Kaifong; the second began with his attack on Tunkwan, the most famous of all Chinese fortresses. His fortune here stood him in good stead, for he might have been delayed by this fortress a much longer time than he had been kept at Kaifong, had he not succeeded in making his way into the city at the same time with a fugitive army which he had defeated outside. The fall of Tunkwan naturally produced great confusion and trepidation among the Imperialists, who then found themselves obliged to confine their operations to the defence of Singan, the metropolis of the West. The garrison wished to defend the place, but the inhabitants, terrified at the severity which Li had shown elsewhere, refused to stand a siege; and when the officers manifested an intention to hold out they rose and massacred them. Singan thus easily shared the fate of Tunkwan and passed into the possession of Li Tseching. The whole of Shensi soon succumbed to the attack of this determined chief, and even the distant Ninghia, on the remote north-western marches surrendered to the terror of his arms.

Thus secure in his rear, and with several strong places at his disposal, Li Tseching was able to turn his attention to the

east, where the Ming Emperor was fast succumbing under an accumulation of difficulties. Before turning his face towards the yet unsubdued province of Shansi and the capital, Li Tseching took the final and extreme step of proclaiming himself Emperor. Master of more than one-third of China, and feared throughout the rest, the leader of the biggest battalions in the realm felt justified in assuming the style of Emperor, which, but for the Manchus, he might have maintained as the founder of a dynasty.

The invasion of Shansi proved a promenade of bloodless and easy victory. Town after town opened its gates without attempting any resistance to the terrible invader, and the city of Taiyuen alone arrested for a few days the onward progress of the conqueror. The governor of Taiyuen stood to his post bravely, but he could do little without assistance from outside, and there was none to come to him. One body of troops under the minister Likintai had indeed been despatched from Peking, but the principal hope of its commander had been to raise an army on his own private estate, and to organise a defence among the people of Shansi. Long before his arrival on the scene of action he learnt how affairs stood in that province. His family had been massacred, his property was destroyed, the people of Shansi and their country were both at the feet of the rebel, and Taiyuen itself was on the eve of capture. Likintai had no choice left save to make a discreet retreat on the near approach of Li Tseching.

From Taiyuen Li Tseching, acting on the sound principle of making both his rear and flanks secure, proceeded to attack Taitong and the other fortified towns on the northern border of Shansi before marching on the capital. At Ningwoukwan fortune hung for a moment in suspense, and it was only by the lavish expenditure of some of his best men that Li Tseching found himself able to carry the place by storm. But one determined defence meant half a dozen voluntary surrenders. The fortress of Taitong was handed over to the victor of Ningwoukwan by a garrison more anxious for the safety of their lives than for the performance of their duty. With Taitong in his possession there remained no further

reason for Li Tseching to delay the advance on Peking, where by this time confusion and terror reigned supreme.

Tsongching, the Emperor, hastily summoned all his ministers and officers to consult with him how the Empire was to be saved and in what way they might yet be able to extricate themselves from their perilous position. Likintai, who still kept the field although he had not yet struck a blow, sent the advice that the Emperor should at once withdraw to Nankin and renew the war in the valley of the Kiang. This counsel was not merely the most sensible, but it was the only advice that could have been given by a conscientious man under the circumstances. Yet it was not followed. The fatuity not so much of the Emperor as of his ministers was extraordinary and unparalleled. They came to the conclusion, after much wrangling, that the Emperor should not leave Peking, and that they would all await there the progress of events. Well might Tsongching exclaim that it was the folly of his ministers which was responsible for the destruction of the Empire. A trust in Providence may be classed among the virtues, but in great crises it will hardly condone supineness or inaction. The councillors of the Ming could devise no remedy for the situation, nor did they take any energetic measures towards placing Peking in a fit state to sustain a long siege. Almost before they had realized that Li Tseching would not hesitate to attack the Imperial city, they found that their own troops could not be trusted, and that there were traitors, in their very midst. The tyranny and incapacity of the eunuchs and other Court officials had disgusted the people and the army, and in the hour of need there were none on whose fidelity the unhappy ruler could rely.

Li Tseching pitched his tent before one of the western gates of Peking, and sent an envoy to Tsongching demanding the surrender of his throne. If we are to form an opinion from the indignation shown by the Emperor at this request, we shall be justified in assuming that Tsongching only then understood the gravity of his position. He was still hesitating as to the course most becoming to his dignity, when the news was brought him that the guards of one of the city gates had deserted their post, and opened a way for the insurgents.

Then he saw that all was lost, and that his last chance of personal safety lay in immediate flight. In this moment of extreme peril the thought of Empire became subordinate to considerations of personal security.

Tsongching summoned round him in the palace the members of his family and the most faithful of his servants, and having called for wine, filled a goblet and passed it round. Then turning to his attendants he entrusted to their charge his sons, whom he desired them to convey with all despatch to their mother's kinsmen. He next exclaimed to his wife, "All is lost for us," and she, with the fortitude worthy of her race and her position, retired to her apartments where she hanged herself. Tsongching finally addressed his daughter, a girl of some fifteen summers, "Why were you born of a father so unfortunate as I am?" and with the words he drew his sword and struck her to the ground. She recovered from her wound and escaped. By his order, all the wives, princesses, and women of the palace were slain to save their honour; while he, to whom some faint hope of attaining a place of refuge still remained, hurried off to see if he could not make his escape from the city. Followed by a few guards, he sped from one gate to another; but wherever he turned his steps he found that the rebels were in front and in possession of all the avenues by which he could alone gain the outside country.

Baffled at all points, Tsongching retraced his steps to the palace, ignorant apparently of the fact that the brave Li Kweiching with a small body of troops was resolutely defending one part of the town. All had left the palace, whither it was feared that the conqueror would first make his way, and when Tsongching sounded the gong to summon his courtiers there was no reply. The Emperor then withdrew to the Wansui hill, a favourite spot of his beyond the north wall of the palace, and, having written out his last protest against the iniquity of his advisers and the harshness of fortune, he hung himself with his own girdle. One eunuch, more faithful than his class, shared these final perils and his master's death. With Tsongching disappeared the last ruler of the line of the Mings, and the end presents all the dramatic features that

comport with the fall of a great reigning family and with the dissolution of an empire. When Tsongching completed the last act in his sad history the condition of the country was such as to discourage all but the most fervent believer in its destinies. It might well have been with a sigh of relief that the last Ming Emperor, generally recognized as such, shook off the trammels of such a world as he had found it.

While these events were in progress in the interior of the palace, Li Tseching was fast making himself master of the capital. One officer, Li Kweiching, alone disputed for a time its possession with him, but he was soon overcome by superior numbers and taken prisoner. Brought into the presence of his conqueror, who praised his courage, he was invited to take service under the new Emperor; and this he consented to do on condition that Tsongching's body was given honourable burial, and that the surviving members of the Ming family were spared. Li Tseching granted him all his requests; but, at the funeral of the Emperor, Li Kweiching was seized with qualms of conscience and, sooner than serve under a rebel, committed suicide. Then Li Tseching, disappointed at the loss of an officer from whom he had expected useful aid, gave vent to his natural passions. The ancestral temple of the Mings was plundered and laid level with the ground, and all who had any connection with that family were summarily executed. Thus speedily ended the siege and capture of Peking, and the city which had defied Taitson and his Manchus passed, after a few days' attack, into the hands of a rebel, whose origin was most ignoble and whose principal object appears to have been plunder. For a time it seemed as if there was no force in the country capable of coping with his, and that he was the virtual master of China.

While most of northern China had fallen into the hands of the rebel Li Tseching, there still remained in the undisturbed possession of the Ming the strip of territory embracing part of Pechihli and Leaousi and extending to the Manchu border. Here the fortresses Ningyuen and Shanhaikwan offered an effectual bar to the invader, and the skilful general Wou Sankwei preserved the peace with an iron hand. In the moment of his extreme peril Tsongching had at last

yielded to the advice of those who had urged him to summon to the defence of the capital the troops stationed on the north-eastern frontier; and Wou Sankwei had been ordered to evacuate Ningyuen, leave a sufficient garrison at Shanhai-kwan, and march in all haste with his remaining troops to Peking. Wou Sankwei had little more than completed half the necessary arrangements when the news reached him that Peking had fallen into the hands of Li Tseching, and that the last of the Ming emperors had been slain. There remained for a faithful subject and soldier no master to assist, but only one to avenge. Li Tseching made overtures and sent lavish promises to Wou Sankwei for his support, but they were all rejected. Placed between two opponents Wou Sankwei had only a choice of evils, but he decided that it was preferable to ask the aid of the Manchus in chastising a rebel than to become a partner in the crime of placing the Empire at the mercy of a robber like Li Tseching.

The Manchus themselves, to whom the main interest in the story again turns, had watched with feelings of delight the retirement of the Chinese from the fortress which had baffled them for so many years; and Wou Sankwei's troops had not long quitted Ningyuen when their place was taken by Manchus sent across the Leaou. It was thus made evident that, although these Tartars had lost their prince and were under the nominal rule of a boy, they had not given up their old ambition, and also that they were as resolute as ever to take advantage of every symptom of declining vigour on the part of the Chinese. There was, therefore, no room for Wou Sankwei to flatter himself that the Manchus would remain passive while he tried conclusions with the robber Li. They were evidently determined to make the most of his embarrassments; and he could not hope to resist their attack on Shanhaikwan with the few troops that he could spare for its defence, should he undertake an active campaign against Li Tseching.

The Chinese general did not waste time in coming to a decision. The situation was urgent, and he at once sent off a letter to the Manchu court requesting it to send an army to join his in putting down Li's rebellion, and in restoring

peace and tranquillity to the Empire. The request was at once granted, for the Manchus saw at a glance that their opportunity had arrived. The man, who, more than any other, had kept them out of China during these later wars, had sent them an invitation to enter that country as his friends and as the champions of the oppressed. Not merely did they thus obtain his services and those of his brave troops, but they also gained an easy and bloodless possession both of the Great Wall, and of the two principal and only remaining fortresses constituting the famous Quadrilateral which had alone prevented their conquering those northern provinces of China that they had so frequently plundered and devastated under their leader Taitson. Wou Sankwei's letter was barely perused before orders were given for the march to Shanhaikwan of those of their troops who were already in the field, and for the immediate assembly of the whole fighting force of the nation. It was no longer for a mere marauding expedition, or for a trying and unsuccessful siege, that the summons went forth to the Manchus to gather round the banners of their chiefs. The campaign for which they were called to arms was one presenting every likelihood of success for the conquest of China, and in the towns and camps of these Tartars and their allies the cry was raised with a common voice, "To Peking!"

The first brunt of the fighting fell upon Wou Sankwei and his small but veteran force; for when he heard that a Manchu contingent was on the march to join him he delayed no longer, but set out for Peking. Li Tseching, who remained in the capital to enjoy the power and dignity which he had won, sent a portion of his army to meet Wou Sankwei, under an officer whose instructions were to negotiate rather than to fight. Against this corps Wou marched with all rapidity, and the superior discipline of his men combined with his own skilful dispositions turned the fortunes of the day in his favour. As is always the case with a body of men who are subjected to none of the restraints of a severe discipline, the instant Li's men, although accustomed to victory by a series of unbroken successes, found that the day was going against them, they lost all heart and broke into hopeless

confusion. The battle became a scene of butchery. Wou Sankwei's troops gave no quarter, and more than twenty thousand rebels encumbered the plain. The news of this preliminary disaster came as a warning to Li Tseching; but, as he still possessed an army greatly exceeding that of his adversary in numbers, there was no reason why he should yet despair of the result. So far as we are aware Li Tseching then knew nothing of Wou Sankwei's arrangement with the Manchus, or of the concentration and approach of a Tartar army.

Li Tseching left Peking in person at the head of 60,000 men, the pick of his army, and taking with him the two eldest of the Ming princes and Wou Siang, the father of Wou Sankwei. On the news of the advance of this formidable force, Wou Sankwei halted at Yungping, near the scene of his first victory, where he made all the preparations he could to resist the enemy, and whence he sent urgent messages to his Tartar allies to hasten their advance. The town of Yungping is situated only a short distance south-west of Shanhaikwan, and lies a few miles from the northern bank of the Lanho, a stream difficult to cross at certain seasons of the year. The details of the battle that have come down to us leave obscure the part which this river played in the fortunes of the day, but it must have been considerable. Wou Sankwei's army was greatly outnumbered, and it is probable that he had to meet threefold odds, while the Manchu troops although known to be near at hand had not joined him. Under these circumstances it was Wou's policy to defer the action, but Li was no less eager to commence the attack. The latter adopted the traditional tactics laid down in the standard military treatise of forming his line in the shape of a horn or crescent and overlapping the wings of the enemy. By compressing the extremities, the opposing force is not merely outflanked but almost surrounded. Wou Sankwei was no inexpert or craven captain to allow a foe to acquire an advantage which either skill or courage could prevent; but here he found himself unable to check the movement of his more numerous enemy, who had soon the satisfaction of perceiving, from the hill where he had taken his stand with

his state prisoners, that his army completely surrounded Wou Sankwei's small force. Victory seemed to be within his grasp, for, although Wou's troops resisted valiantly, it was clear that they could not long hold out against the very superior numbers of their assailants; when the fortunate arrival and impetuous charge of a Manchu corps carried terror into the ranks of Li's troops, and converted what promised to be a decisive victory into a signal overthrow. Li Tseching escaped with a few hundred horsemen from the fray, but thirty thousand of his best men had fallen. The defeat of Yungping destroyed at a single blow all the plans which Li had been forming for the consolidation of his authority throughout China. He escaped to Peking, where his authority was still recognized; but it was evident that he was in no position either to stand a siege at the capital or to risk a second battle in its neighbourhood.

After the victory of Yungping, the arrival of fresh Manchu troops was continuous, and Wou Sankwei, who still retained the principal command, was able to follow hard upon the traces of the defeated Li. Again did the baffled robber strive to induce Wou to detach himself from the side of the Manchus, but the latter received all his overtures with silent disdain. When Wou reached Peking and pitched his camp over against the eastern ramparts, he was greeted with the spectacle of his father's head upon the wall, Li having wreaked his vengeance and disappointment on the person of Wou Siang. From that time a new bitterness was imparted to the struggle, and thenceforth any reconciliation between these two leaders became altogether impossible.

Li Tseching made no attempt to defend the city which had witnessed his coronation and brief reign, but confined all his efforts to escaping from Peking with as much of the plunder which he had accumulated there as he could collect and convey. Li's flight was precipitate, but it was not conducted with sufficient rapidity to enable him to escape the attack of his vigorous and energetic opponent. Wou Sankwei pressed hard upon the retreating force, and, making a detour round the city, came up with Li Tseching's rear-guard at the bridge of Likao. The soldiers of Wou Sankwei and their

Manchu allies threw themselves with fury on those to whom the charge of the unwieldy baggage train had been entrusted, but the resistance they encountered was made with only a faint heart. More than ten thousand of Li's followers were then slaughtered to the manes of Wou Siang.

Li's line of retreat lay along the main high-road into Shansi, and, as he retired, his ranks were strengthened by the junction with him of the garrisons which he had placed in the different fortified towns of Pechihli. At Paoting in particular he was joined by a considerable detachment, but it was not until he reached Chingting, that he felt able to make a fresh stand and to face his pursuers. The reasons which induced Li to again tempt fortune on the field of battle, when he held in his possession so advantageous a scene for renewing the contest as the western provinces, were more probably due to disappointed vanity than to any fear of his force disbanding. The latter danger was the more remote, because his followers knew that little sympathy was felt towards them by the mass of the Chinese people, in whose eyes they were nothing more than marauders and swashbucklers. When Wou Sankwei discovered his enemy in position near Chingting, he was not grieved to find him ready and willing to accept battle, for his own army had been raised by the arrival of eighty thousand Manchus and by numerous Chinese levies to close upon two hundred thousand men. Li's troops began the battle by a desperate charge led by their chief in person, and then the contest became general. Both sides fought with extraordinary courage and marked bitterness, and even Wou himself was compelled to express admiration at the fortitude of his adversary, who, after three reverses, appeared as eager for the fray as ever. Night closed on the struggle without leaving to either party a decisive advantage over the other; but the loss of forty thousand men, among whom were numbered many of his bravest and most faithful officers, compelled Li Tseching to order a retreat during the night. From Chingting he retired with such rapidity that he and his exhausted troops gained Shansi without further molestation.

With his defeat at Chingting Li's fate was virtually

decided, and the closing scenes of his career need only be briefly touched upon. From Shansi he was driven into Honan, and from Honan into Shensi. Several times he ventured to engage his pursuers, but Wou Sankwei was ever at his heels, and always the victor in these encounters. The fortress Tunkwang, on the easy capture of which Li had been wont to congratulate himself, fell now not less easily into the hands of his opponent. These repeated defeats, and this rapid flight from one extremity of the country to the other, destroyed the confidence of his followers, and when Li wished to make a final stand in his western metropolis of Singan, to which he had given its historic name of Changnan, he discovered that his troops would not obey his orders, and that they were only anxious to obtain terms from Wou Sankwei. Li Tseching then fled to the mountains with a mere handful of men, and after having effected the overthrow of a dynasty, and for a time indulged a reasonable hope of establishing his own family as its successor, he was thus compelled to return to the old robber-life of his youth. Even in this fallen state he was not destined to enjoy any long lease of personal safety. An active pursuit was still kept up on the traces of the arch-rebel; and his band lost heavily in repeated combats with the pursuers. The necessity of procuring food obliged him to frequently quit the mountains, and it was while on one of these foraging expeditions that he was surprised in a village and surrounded by a superior force. Li Tseching was one of the first to fall, and his head was carried in triumph to the nearest mandarin. Such was the end of this remarkable man, who, with no other redeeming quality than courage, so nearly subjected the Chinese to his brutal and unenlightened rule. One of his sons attempted to revive his party, but the design fell through without meeting the slightest support. The Chinese might be divided in their predilections as to other parties, and might regard the Manchus with tolerance or aversion; but they were unanimous in their detestation of the robber Li. He had very nearly attained success, but it is most improbable that any mere robber chief, such as he was, with no redeeming motives and representing no party save that of plunder, will ever

again be in a position to so nearly menace the liberties and dearly prized privileges of the Chinese people.

Wou Sankwei had performed his task nobly. He had avenged the Ming, and had crushed the most formidable of public enemies. His invitation to the Manchus had been the means of attaining these results, but as soon as he found that Li had ceased to be formidable he began to show anxiety for the departure of his Tartar allies. The Manchus, it is hardly necessary to say, were fully resolved not to comply with his solicitations. They had taken possession of Peking, and they meant to stay there. On the other hand, they did not wish to give umbrage to Wou Sankwei, whose ability they respected, and whose co-operation would be invaluable to them in the task of extending and consolidating their authority throughout the Empire. All their efforts were, therefore, directed to the object of keeping Wou Sankwei in good temper, and they also sought to popularize their government with the people. In both these respects their tact and good judgment were conspicuous. Wou Sankwei, half won over by his animosity to Li, and gratified by the receipt of honours and titles—among which may be named that of Ping-si-Wang, or Prince Pacifier of the West—was rendered still more disposed to throw in his lot unreservedly with the foreign House, because he found so much in its conduct to approve. As a practical man and experienced administrator, he felt bound to ask himself the question—what preferable candidate could he name for the throne to the young Manchu prince, who was evincing a sagacity beyond his years, and who was surrounded by wise ministers and tried soldiers? Wou Sankwei had to confess that he knew of none; but deep in his heart there existed a patriotism too pure to leave him well satisfied with himself at having been the means of introducing the foreigner into the Empire. For the time he kept his peace, and confined himself to the duties of his government in Shensi; but his mind was evidently ill at ease. We shall hear much more of this gallant soldier later on; but for the present we can leave him resting on his laurels in his provincial capital of Singan while we describe the course of events in the eastern provinces of the country where the Manchus were rapidly extending their sway.

As soon as the leaders of the Manchu army felt themselves firmly established at Peking, orders were given for the removal thither of the capital from Moukden ; and their boy ruler, the infant son of Taitson, was summoned to take up his residence in his new city. The governing power was vested in the hands of Taitson's brother, Prince Dorgun, better known by the name given him by his nephew of Ama Wang, the Father Prince. One of the Regent's first acts was to proclaim * his nephew Emperor of China under the style of Chuntche, and to announce the event with all due solemnity to the neighbouring potentates of Mongolia and Corea. The Manchus, who up to this point had left their Chinese allies to perform most of the fighting, now commenced military operations in earnest, and they sent several armies into Shansi and Shantung to establish their authority on a firm basis in those provinces. This had become all the more necessary because a native ruler had been proclaimed at Nankin, and his sovereignty had been recognized by the inhabitants of all the southern and central provinces.

The choice of the Ming officials stationed in the south of China for a prince of the native dynasty to fill the throne fell

* Chuntche, although a mere child, delivered the following spirited address in the hall of the palace to the assembled ministers and commanders of his people : " Princes, my uncles, and you illustrious generals of my armies, you have seen me ascend with a tranquil and firm step the throne to which you have elevated me. Do I derive that sense of security, that degree of assurance, which I have exhibited, from my own virtue, from my own capacity, or from my own talents? I am only a child, and your suffrages alone have constituted me your master. Too young to have yet had an opportunity to justify your choice by some exploit worthy of you, I still feel myself superior to the weakness of my age, when I perceive so many heroes assembled round my throne. By your valour and wisdom you have raised our nation from obscurity to carry it to a height of power which all the kings, our neighbours, admire, and to crown the glory you have placed the Empire of China at the disposal of my family. Hence comes the confidence which you yourselves are perhaps surprised to find in a child. What may I not expect from your courage and experience? Already I can see myself master of all the provinces of this great empire. Do not think that I am ambitious, solely for my own ends, to possess these vast estates. I desire them only in order to give peace to the many peoples who have suffered much during these later years, and also to reward your zeal and services."—Mailla, vol. x. p. 504.

upon Fou Wang, a son of Wanleh's son of the same name, who, many years before, had been mentioned in connection with the crown. The character of Fou Wang was not one to inspire his adherents with much confidence. Before his elevation to power he had obtained a reputation for dissolute conduct, and his tastes were too confirmed when summoned to assume the paramount position to leave those who knew him best any hope that he would forego his accustomed license and devote himself with the requisite energy and determination to the difficult task that lay before him. Yet, such as he was, it was to his hands that the destiny of the relics of the Ming cause had been confided. Had the Chinese, even at this emergency, possessed a capable prince, who could have recalled Wou Sankwei to his allegiance, there can be no doubt that the Manchu tide of invasion would never have advanced south of the Hoangho, and it may even be doubted whether within a few years it would not have been rolled back beyond the Great Wall.

Just as Wou Sankwei had been the pillar of the state on the north-east frontier, so did the able and honest minister Shu Kofa prove the prop of the new throne at Nankin. His reputation for integrity stood so high that it supplied the deficiencies of his master, and his intense patriotism attracted to his person the enthusiasm of a people eager to support with their blood a native ruler, but cooled in their ardour by the weakness, indifference, and sensuality of the Ming. Shu Kofa laboured at this critical moment under the disadvantage of being a civilian, and not a soldier; and as all his efforts to induce Wou Sankwei to desert the Manchus and to declare for Fou Wang failed, he laboured under this disadvantage to the end. The Manchus, still bent on their policy of propitiating, rather than of attempting to crush, the people of China, made overtures to Shu Kofa; but that minister stood resolute in his allegiance to his native sovereign, although Fou Wang was making it clear by his daily life that, as a wise and just ruler, he was not to be compared with the boy Chuntche or the Regent Ama Wang. A pretty war of words ensued between the Regent Ama Wang and Shu Kofa, in which the former dwelt upon the necessity of uniting the

Empire under a single sway, while the latter contented himself with pointing out how long China had been divided between the Sung and the Kins. Although the doubtful honours of this verbal controversy may have remained with Shu Kofa, the Manchus could say that they had acted throughout with consistency and moderation. It was not they who were to be blamed if the obstinacy of a few ministers, who should have seen that their master's folly could end only in ruin, plunged provinces that had yet escaped the horrors of war into all the confusion entailed by a bitter and protracted strife.

When Ama Wang discovered that there was no hope of gaining over to his side by fair words or promises the minister Shu Kofa, he turned all his attention to the preparations necessary to effect the overthrow of the rival sovereignty at Nankin. While the Manchu troops were assembling from different quarters for the passage of the Hoangho, and while fresh levies were being raised among the northern Chinese, all was confusion at Nankin. Jealousies between the commanders, none of whom possessed much merit or experience, bickerings among the ministers, apathy on the part of the ruler, and bitter disappointment and disgust in the ranks of the people, all combined to precipitate the overthrow of the ephemeral throne that had been erected in the southern capital. Ama Wang waited patiently to allow these causes of disintegration time to develop their full force and to contribute to the ruin of the Mings; but in the winter of 1644-45 it was clear, from the tidings received from the south, that the time had come for the resumption of active military operations.

One army, which had been employed in pacifying Shantung, and which had distinguished itself at the siege of Sioochow, in Kiangsu, was directed to cross the Hoeiho and to march on Nankin. Its march was unopposed, and, making full use of the great canal, its approach to Yangchow was soon reported in the terrified streets of Nankin. Another army had entered Honan from Shansi in several detachments, which had been concentrated in the neighbourhood of Kaifong. Some preparations had been made for the defence of Honan,

but the feuds between the commanders were bitter. Nothing had been done to devise a common plan of action, and, when the Manchus crossed the Yellow river, the Chinese were wholly unprepared to receive them. Without any attempt at resistance the principal towns opened their gates, and within a few weeks the extensive and important province of Honan was added to the possessions of the Tartars.

The peril had now become so near and so grave, and his advice had so long fallen on unheeding ears, that the minister Shu Kofa determined to take the field in person, and to endeavour to oppose, with such troops as he could collect, the approaching Manchus. Brought in this practical way face to face with the invader of whom he had heard so much, but of whose military power he knew practically nothing, Shu Kofa soon came to the conclusion that with the troops he possessed little could be done to arrest their progress. His men unfortunately shared this conviction without the moral strength to subdue it, and before they had come under fire they were already half-defeated. Under these circumstances Shu Kofa resolved on retreat, and withdrew his corps behind the old course of the Hoangho, where he hoped to be able to make a better stand. In the idea of impressing the Tartars with a sense of the numbers at his disposal, he drafted a great many peasants into his force, and placed them with flags and other military ensigns along an extended line. The device, which may even appear puerile, did not succeed; for the Tartars were either so eager to engage, or had discovered the fraud, that they at once crossed the river and began the attack. The mere sight of the Manchus crossing in their boats was enough for this mob of untrained and probably unarmed peasants, who, breaking into confusion, carried in their flight Kofa's trained troops as well. Shu Kofa succeeded in reaching the fortified town of Yangchow with a few hundred men; all the rest of his army had either dispersed or fallen by the sword of the pursuing Manchus. Even at Yangchow Shu Kofa found neither safety from their pursuit, nor leisure to prepare for a protracted defence. With an army utterly dispirited, and without the smallest hope of succour from a Court too corrupt and selfish to trouble itself about the

misfortunes of even a faithful servant, Shu Kofa saw that the prolongation of the struggle so far as he was concerned was hopeless. He, therefore, came to the resolution to adopt the extreme course of killing himself sooner than afford his enemy the satisfaction of a further personal triumph. His example was followed by most of his officers, and Yangchow thus fell into the hands of the Manchus.

The loss to the Ming cause involved in the death of Shu Kofa was very considerable. Alone among Fou Wang's ministers he was actuated by pure motives, and his place could not be supplied. His public spirit and valour were equally conspicuous, and he probably only wanted experience to show himself a capable commander. His fellow-countrymen judged his loss rather by what they believed him capable of performing, than by anything he had actually done; and in their eyes the void left by his death seemed immense and not to be filled up. Wou Sankwei alone enjoyed anything like the same reputation, and he, whether heartily or with secret regret mattered little, was employed fighting the battles of the Manchus.

The capture of Yangchow was quickly followed by that of Nankin. Fou Wang abandoned his capital as soon as he learnt that the Tartars were close at hand, in the hope of securing his own personal safety by speedy flight. In this hope he was destined to be disappointed, for a Chinese officer, anxious to gain favour with the new rulers, undertook the pursuit, and promised to bring back the Ming prince, dead or alive. Fou Wang was discovered in the act of entering a boat on the Kiang, when, to avoid the disgrace of capture, he threw himself into the stream and was drowned. His victors, the Manchus, established themselves without further disturbance at Nankin, and completed their triumph in Central China by the occupation of Hangchow. The Chinese passed under their new rulers with less manifestation of dislike than seemed probable even so short a time before the capture of Nankin as the proclamation of Fou Wang, and all the officials who consented to recognize Chuntche and to shave their heads, a ceremony then proclaimed imperative on all, were reinstated in their offices. At Hangchow a Ming

prince, to whom the eyes of the people turned as Fou Wang's most natural successor, induced the Manchus to grant the city favourable terms by making a prompt surrender. The victory was easily obtained, but the victors sullied their success by a deed of inexcusable treachery. They spared the town and its inhabitants, indeed, but their first act was to execute the Ming prince with whom they had entered into this convention. Many of his officers, we are told, sooner than accept a favour of a people capable of such a crime, put an end to their own existence.

By this successful campaign, in which their losses were of the most trivial character, the Manchus had not merely obtained possession of the second city in the realm, but they had overthrown a rival potentate who had at one time seemed likely to gather round him the national forces. In the hour of distress the Chinese possessed the desire to give their own rulers one more chance of retrieving their reputation before they resigned themselves to the lot of accepting the foreign race who came with the sword in one hand, and the scales of justice in the other. But the events of Fou Wang's brief term of power were not of a character to encourage their hopes, or to strengthen their fortitude. They served only to discredit still further the Ming family, and to convince the intelligent that the best hope of the country lay in as speedy an agreement as possible with the Manchus. When Nankin opened its gates, and the dissolute Fou Wang fled to meet his death in the waters of the Kiang, all hope of the resuscitation of the Ming dynasty as the governing power passed away. It had been given another trial, and had been finally found wanting and condemned.

But even for the discrediting and disappearance of the reigning family the Chinese did not finally abandon all thought of further resistance, and, although with the overthrow of Fou Wang the triumph of the Manchus became assured, the efforts of Chinese patriotism flickered on for many years. A member of the Ming family, Tang Wang—who could, however, trace his descent no nearer to that family than Hongwou, its first Emperor—was the next to assume the leadership of Chinese patriots. He enjoyed in

the province of Fuhkien the hereditary dignity and estates of Prince of Nanyang. On Fou Wang's death many of the Chinese soldiers and leaders repaired to Tang Wang, who was proclaimed Emperor by them, and who took such measures as he could for continuing the struggle of independence. But even in his camp, and among the small section of the people to which he was able to appeal, there were dissensions and petty jealousies to hamper his movements, and to further detract from the vigour of the national defence in the province of Fuhkien. Nor would the episode of Tang Wang attract more than passing notice, were it not that it was signalized by the naval exploits of Ching Chelong, celebrated himself as a daring captain, but still better known to fame as the father of Koshinga.

When the Manchus crossed the Kiang and occupied Nankin, the Chinese fleet, instead of attempting to oppose them, had put off to sea, and taken shelter in the harbours of Fuhkien. It had originally been led by a relative of Ching Chelong, and when it sought a place of refuge in a region where his influence was supreme it naturally passed under his orders. It was by this fleet and the remnants of other Chinese armies that Tang Wang was proclaimed Emperor in 1645. Hampered in his measures by the want of money and by the presence of several rivals, this prince, rejoicing in his new title of sovereign, could do little towards arresting the progress of the Manchus. While he had been employed in the abortive effort to unite his followers, the Tartars had overrun Kiangsi and Kiangsu. Chekiang had also, after the capture of its capital, passed almost entirely into the hands of another army, and the Tartars had the satisfaction of seeing the resources of the two southern provinces, Yunnan and Kweichow, crippled and nullified by a bitter civil war. When the Manchus were so easily victorious in their more hazardous expeditions there was no valid reason why they should experience greater difficulty in dispersing the ill-led and badly-organized army at the disposal of Tang Wang. The circumstances in which the Chinese leader found himself placed compelled him to assume the offensive, but the attempt ended in disaster. At the first shock of battle his

soldiers were put to the rout. Nor was this an isolated success. Two Tartar armies advanced southwards through Chekiang in parallel lines, and as they marched they overcame all open resistance, and set up their authority in the towns, the wave of conquest being clearly marked by the shaven heads of the inhabitants.

Ching Chelong constituted, as has been said, the chief prop of Tang Wang's fortunes. Without him it was doubtful if that prince could have kept round his person the force which in appearance was sufficiently formidable ; and it soon became evident that Ching, in thus supporting a scion of the Ming, desired rather to advance his own personal ends than to benefit from pure motives the lately reigning dynasty. The circumstances of the hour were favourable to the indulgence of a lofty ambition, as who could declare what was impossible or unattainable in the troubled waters of the political situation? Ching, therefore, brought all the pressure of his influence to bear on the prince in order to induce or constrain him to recognize as his heir the young man Koshinga, who already gave promise of future ability and greatness. But it is the habit of princes to cling more closely to the privileges of their birth in the hour of misfortune than even in the days of prosperity, and Tang Wang was inflexible on the point that the right of succession could not pass beyond the limits of the family to whom it had been entrusted by the mandate of Heaven. Ching took the rebuff to heart, and his zeal in the cause grew cold ; and he made advances to another competitor for a throne of which the giving away had passed into other hands. The rupture between Ching and Tang Wang was precipitated by the murder of one of Ching's friends, and Ching, vowing vengeance for the wrong, retired to his ships like Achilles to his tent. Thence he proceeded to join his forces with those of the Prince of Loo, another of the Ming rivals. Hardly had he done so than the Manchus assailed the dominions of that potentate. Ching's fleet combined with the land forces in attempting to defend the passage of the Tsien Tang river, which waters the Green Tea districts, and on which is situated Hangchow. Their joint efforts were so far successful that the Manchus were compelled

to ascend the stream as high up as Yenchow, where they were able to pass by a ford. From that moment, however, it was all over with the Prince of Loo. His capital Chowhing surrendered to the Manchus, and then many of his principal officers deserted to their side. Ching himself was not long in imitating their example, and allowed himself to be so much influenced by the lavish promises of the Tartars that he gave in his formal surrender and ranged himself under their standard. Even in this transaction he thought he saw a mode of advancing his own fortunes, and of attaining the ends he had long held in view, for, as he observed, "it is in waters that have been disturbed by a storm that we expect to find the largest fish." Ching was destined to further and bitter disappointment. The Tartars accepted his offers of fidelity and assistance, and in return protested the greatest respect for his person; but when he paid them a visit they placed him in honourable confinement, and then sent him off without scruple to Peking. There he was kept a close prisoner, and all the threats and promises of his relations and followers did not avail to secure his release. After waiting some months in inaction his son Ching Chinkong declared eternal war upon the Manchus, and began those raids along the coast which made his name famous at a later day as Koshinga.

Even before this the cause of Tang Wang had expired. When Ching deserted, most of his troops fell away from him, and Tang Wang had no resource save to seek safety by a precipitate flight to the West, where a few supporters of Chinese independence still held out. But the Manchus were not at all disposed to allow their opponent to escape. A body of light cavalry was sent in pursuit, and succeeded in overtaking the unhappy Ming prince in a town in Kiangsi. He avoided capture by throwing himself into a well, where he perished by a miserable and lingering death. His wife fell into the hands of the Tartars, who sent her to Foochow, where she was executed—the natural ferocity of the Manchu again asserting itself and getting the better of the civilization which they had borrowed from the Chinese. Thus easily and rapidly was the Manchu authority set up and established in

the maritime provinces of China to as far south as the great territory of Kwantung.

As the Manchus advanced the Chinese retired, but, in order to show their determination to continue the struggle so long as there was an inch of territory to be defended, they set up in Canton as a new Emperor, on the death of Tang Wang, his younger brother Yu Ngao. In the adjoining province of Kwangsi the viceroy had proclaimed an emperor of his own selection in the person of Kwei Wang, a grandson of the Emperor Wanleh. Thus, even in the South, and at their last extremity, the old divisions revealed themselves; and the Chinese remained to the end as a house divided against itself. The Tartars did not delay their invasion of Kwantung, although many rumours had been spread as to both the formidable character of the defences of Canton and the number of the army collected for its protection. Their garrisons in the eastern provinces were concentrated, and placed under the orders of a Chinese commander, with Tartar advisers attached to his person. But even before this army had begun its march the fate of the southern sovereignties had been virtually decided by their own internal disputes and disagreements. The collective forces of the princes Yu and Kwei might have been formidable, but they neutralized each other, and destroyed their respective chances by flying at each other's throats when the formidable invader stood on the very threshold of their states. Before the Tartars had begun any active portion of the campaign, the two armies of these rivals had encountered in a battle marked by all the intense bitterness of civil strife. That representing the cause of Yu was almost annihilated, while the victors had little reason to congratulate themselves from the heavy loss they had suffered. With the way thus cleared for them, the Manchus laid close siege to Canton, which, after a mere show of resistance, surrendered to their arms. The Prince Yu ended his life and ambition under the axe of the executioner.

The capture of Canton gave the Manchus a post of vantage whence they could direct their operations against Kwei Wang with the greater facility and success. Nor were they slow to turn to all possible use a position which enabled

them to overawe and gradually absorb all the southern provinces of China. After his victory over his rival the forces of this Ming prince had advanced towards Canton, and taken up a strong position at Chowking, a town situated west of that city on the Sikiang river. But their heart failing them, they withdrew into the interior of Kwangsi, where, in a difficult country with few roads, they might hope to prolong the struggle with better chances of success. The result justified their anticipations, for the Manchus were at last compelled to recognize that they had advanced as far as their available strength permitted them to go. It was not until they had suffered two repulses in front of Kueiling that they felt constrained to admit this much, and, although fresh troops were summoned in all haste from the North, Kwei Wang continued to maintain his authority in Kwangsi for a much longer period than seemed possible after the capture of Canton. The disappearance of one of the Ming princes had had the effect of consolidating the power of the other.

Nor when the Tartar reinforcements reached the scene of action, early in the year 1648, were their efforts attended with a more happy result. The courage of the Chinese was greatly restored by their two successes at Kueiling, and Kiuchessa's measures were marked by the necessary admixture of boldness and prudence. This brave leader had the satisfaction of beholding the Manchus again recoil before the fortress which he had already twice defended against them with success. The effect produced by these reverses was electrical. Those who had given in their adhesion to the Tartars allowed themselves to revert to their natural sympathies, and the defection of two commanders, Li Ching Tong and Kinchin Hoan, who had greatly contributed to the Manchu conquest of Southern China, completed the subversion in this quarter of the realm of the newly erected authority of the young Emperor Chuntche. Not only was Canton lost in this wave of popular excitement and enthusiasm, but the provinces of Kiangsi and Fuhkien broke off their connection with Peking and expelled the Manchu. The authority of Kwei Wang was proclaimed throughout the whole of the South, and, after seeming destruction, promised to take deeper

root than ever. This resuscitation of the Ming power was probably wholly deceptive in inducing people to believe that Kwei Wang's position was secure, and that the Manchus might yet be successfully resisted and repelled. But, of course, it compelled the Manchus to undertake over again the subjugation of these provinces; and this task was entrusted to fresh troops drawn from the North and commanded in the field by the best Tartar generals.

The good fortune of the Prince of Kwei, after attaining this height of success, proved of short duration. The province of Fuhkien was the first to feel the returning force of the Manchus. In that province a Buddhist priest had raised a mighty gathering of the people, and had for a time subverted the Tartar authority. The presence off the coast of Koshinga's fleet lent some character to this otherwise badly organized and insignificant agitation, but even the war-junks of Ching Chelong's wrathful son could not enable the people of Fuhkien to withstand the brunt of Manchu attack. The monk defended himself during two months in Kienning with resolution; but the Manchus at last carried it by storm, and put every man inside the town to the sword. By this single success the Manchus recovered the province of Fuhkien, and Koshinga's fleet put to sea without venturing to take any part in the contest.

Many of the Manchu troops had retired on the proclamation of the Prince of Kwei to Kanchow, where they made all preparations for holding out until relief came. The Chinese commander Kinchin made several abortive attempts to take it, and Li Ching Tong was not more successful. When the Tartar reinforcements arrived from Nankin and Fuhkien they amounted to an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men; and neither Kinchin nor Li Ching Tong felt able to oppose it in the field. They resorted to Fabian tactics, hoping to tire out their enemy, but the strategy of the Manchus proved the superior. By a skilfully conducted manœuvre Chuntche's general enclosed Kinchin in the town of Kanchang, where he was placed at a serious disadvantage. His rashness had invited disaster, and only by a desperate effort did he succeed in cutting his way out again. Even then escape

was denied him, for his assailants, gathering from all quarters, attacked him while crossing the river. Kinchin himself was drowned, and most of his men perished either by the sword or in the water. Kanchang surrendered, and its garrison was massacred.

Nor was Li Ching Tong's end more fortunate. After a fresh repulse before Kanchow, he was obliged by the clamour of his troops to make a retreat, when his army gradually dwindled away. It is said that he sought relief for his distress and disappointment in the wine-cup; but, by a strange coincidence, he met his death in a similar manner to his colleague, being drowned in the swollen waters of a stream which he was crossing. With the loss of these two generals and the crushing overthrow of a third in a battle at Siangtan in Hoonan, the chances of the Prince of Kwei, which had at one time appeared so promising, were conclusively shown to be hollow, and the complete success of the Manchu arms became assured. From this time henceforth there will be no real fluctuation in the fortunes of the strife, and the progress of the establishment of the Tartar administration will be steady and certain. Many more battles have yet to be fought, Canton has to be recaptured, three provinces have to be subdued, the last of the Mings has to be driven into exile; but these events belong to the reign of Chuntche. At the point when the revival of Chinese courage received its check, and when Fuhkien, Kiangsi, and Hoonan, momentarily won back, were irrevocably lost, we may fitly close our account of the Manchu conquest of China.

How a small Tartar tribe succeeded, after forty years of war, in imposing its yoke on the sceptical, freedom-loving, and intensely national millions of China, will always remain one of the enigmas of history. We have traced the course of these campaigns, but, even while venturing to indicate some of the causes of their success, we must still come to the conclusion that the result exceeded what would at any time during the struggle have been thought to be credible. The military genius of Wou Sankwei, the widely prevalent dissensions among the people, and the effeteness of the reigning House, on the one hand, and the superior discipline, sagacity,

and political knowledge of the Tartars on the other, are some of the principal causes of the Manchu success that at once suggest themselves to the mind. But in no other case has a people, boldly resisting to the end, and cheered by occasional flashes of victory, been subjected, after more than a whole generation of war with a despised and truly insignificant enemy, in the durable form in which the Manchus trod the Chinese under their heel, and secured for themselves all the perquisites and honour accruing to the governing class in one of the richest and largest empires under the sun. The Chinese were made to feel all the bitterness of subjection by the imposition of a hated badge of servitude, and that they proved unable to succeed under this aggravation of circumstances greatly increases the wonder with which the Manchu conquest must ever be regarded.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE MANCHU DYNASTY.

The Reign of Chuntche.

WHILE these campaigns were in progress the youthful Emperor Chuntche, under the guidance of his prudent uncle, the Regent Ama Wang, was doing his best by wise and moderate conduct to attract to his person and administration the sympathy of his new subjects. And his efforts were not unavailing, for the Chinese were themselves anxious to secure and enjoy all the benefits that come in the train of a settled government. At first it seemed as if he was to attain a greater measure of success than his hopes could have conceived to be possible, for after the victories of Wou Sankwei and the collapse of the Nankin power most of the provinces gave in their adhesion to the new rule. It was then that orders were issued from Peking that the Manchu officers should show great moderation in their dealings with the people, and that all who surrendered should be allowed to retain their goods and liberty—instructions at variance with their national customs, and with many of the practices of eastern war.

The measures taken for the overthrow of the Prince of Kwei had to a great extent denuded the northern provinces of troops, and those operations were still uncrowned with success when there broke out in Shensi a revolt that threatened to further embarrass the Manchus, who now seemed to be masters only of the ground on which they stood. The Manchu troops left in that province by Wou Sankwei when he passed southward to annex Szchuen consisted principally, if not solely, of the garrison of Singan. Three thousand

Tartars did not in the eyes of the inhabitants represent a force sufficient to inspire them with such fear of the Manchu power as to induce them to remain true in the allegiance they had sworn in deference to the name and ability of Wou Sankwei. They therefore threw off their new yoke, and, gathering confidence from their meeting with no resistance, swarmed like bees round Singan, where they expected to crush the only practical vestige of Tartar authority in the province. Appearances seemed to favour their hopes, for the Manchus were few in number, and the prospect of aid was remote. The insurgents counted on the co-operation of the inhabitants of the town in their efforts to expel the foreigner; but for some reason the citizens of Singan refused to repose much faith in the insurgents, and attached themselves instead to the cause of the Manchus. A corps of five thousand men was formed from their ranks; the assaults of the enemy were repulsed, and, with the arrival of fifty thousand fresh troops from the capital, the insurgents were obliged to hastily disband. The Manchus pursued them with bitterness to their hiding-places, and most of them perished by the sword.

The rising in Shensi, thus happily repressed, proved but the prelude to a graver insurrection in Shansi, where the Manchu authority had been early set up, and where it seemed to be securely established. In this instance the revolt was due to the perpetration of an outrage, and not to any outburst of national antipathy as had been the case in Shensi.

In 1649, Chuntche being then fourteen years of age, Ama Wang sent an embassy to the principal Khan of the Mongols for the purpose of procuring a wife for the young Emperor. Motives of policy were at the root of this decision, for the alliance of the Mongols was of the first importance to the Manchus. A prince of the ruling family was charged with the mission, and while the preliminary negotiations were in progress he took up his quarters at Taitong, which was still held by Chinese troops under a governor of their own race named Kiangtsai. The followers of the Manchu prince conducted themselves in the town with arrogance, and acted towards the inhabitants in utter disregard both of the laws of

humanity and of the pacific proclamations which their master had repeatedly issued. Their insults culminated in an outrage of a heinous and inexcusable character. A young girl, the daughter of one of the most influential citizens of Taitong, was being led through the streets in honour of her wedding-day, when several of the ambassador's comrades with their attendants interrupted the procession and carried off the bride. So daring and unheard-of an outrage in the light of day shocked the sedate and well-conducted Chinese, and a cry was at once raised that those guilty of the crime should be punished with all the rigour of the law.

Kiangtsai himself took the lead in pressing this demand upon the Manchu prince; but, unfortunately for Chuntche, his ambassador was himself a libertine, and made light of the offence of his boon-companions. Then it was that Kiangtsai resolved to exact a terrible revenge. The Chinese were summoned from all quarters to massacre the few Tartars in the place, and in a few hours not a Manchu survived save the ambassador himself, who only succeeded in escaping by a rapid flight and the swiftness of his horse.

Although this extreme act might have been condoned at Peking in consequence of the provocation received, Kiangtsai did not after this massacre feel safe in adopting any other course than one of pronounced hostility to the Manchus, and the proximity of the scene to the capital showed him how necessary it was to take immediate steps to render his position as strong as circumstances would permit. Having slain, in defiance of the sacred laws of hospitality, those who were living under his protection, Kiangtsai saw no safe course except to declare irrevocable war against the Tartars. He expressed his defiance of the ruling power in the most emphatic terms, and many rallied to his faction in the hope that this boldness, to which they had grown unaccustomed, might meet with its deserved success. But Kiangtsai saw clearly that his own resources would not suffice to enable him to cope with the Manchus, and he naturally turned to his neighbours to ascertain which amongst them could best afford him the support he needed. Of these the Mongols were by far the most powerful, and to their principal Khan he sent a

messenger praying for assistance to oppose the arms of Chuntche, and to restore to China the native rule she had lost.

The Mongols had given in their adhesion to the authority of the Manchus long before the latter had placed an emperor on the throne of Peking, and we have just seen how anxious Chuntche's advisers were to rivet that alliance by the marriage of their boy ruler with a princess of the desert. The tragic occurrence at Taitong had interrupted the progress of the embassy, and left the road clear for Kiangtsai to make his own propositions in the camp of the Mongols. The overtures of the Chinese rebel were received with favour, and the Mongol chieftain gave a promise of help against his late ally, whose success may have aroused his jealousy, while he was still ignorant of the friendly wishes of Ama Wang. In face of so grave a peril as the alliance of Kiangtsai and the Mongol tribes, the activity of the Regent was conspicuous. While he was collecting a large army with which to chastise the insolence of the rebel, he despatched an ambassador with a large suite and a magnificent display of presents to the Mongol camp to repeat the friendly proposal of the former envoy. The Mongol gave but slight heed to his plighted word when he scanned the jewels and rich silks of the Emperor, and at once acceded to the request of the Regent. The good understanding between these allies was restored, and the Mongols remained strictly neutral during the progress and suppression of the rising at Taitong.

Meanwhile Kiangtsai had been called upon to bear the first shock of the Manchu attack, and the unexpectedness of his success in the field seemed to warrant a belief that his power was greater than it appeared. Before the first Manchu levies marched against him he had assumed the title of Prince of Han, a name more dear than any other to the Chinese, and had given out that he aspired to be the restorer of the Empire. His conduct in the field soon showed that he possessed many of the qualities necessary to establish his right to the proud name and functions he had assumed.

The Manchus were fully impregnated with the doctrine of striking hard and quick; and a strong detachment was

ordered to march without delay against Taitong. Kiangtsai left the fortress to meet his assailant, but it was to a well-conceived stratagem rather than to the numerical superiority of his troops that he trusted for victory. Kiangtsai caused a number of waggons to be specially prepared containing canisters filled with powder, and concealed from view, and these he sent forward under the charge of a guard as if they contained the baggage of the army. The Manchus fell eagerly on what they conceived would prove a rich prize, and the Chinese abandoned their waggons with precipitation when they had fired the train. The explosion which ensued cost many a Tartar his life, and threw the whole army into a state of disorder and alarm. Then it was that Kiangtsai delivered his attack with his whole force, and before the Manchus had time to recover from their panic he had succeeded in driving them from the field with a computed loss of 15,000 men. The Manchus soon collected in fresh strength, and reinforced by more troops from Peking, they advanced to again dispute the palm of superiority with Kiangtsai. The details of this second encounter present no feature of special interest, but the result was to confirm the previous decision. The baffled Manchus had to beat a hurried retreat, while the authority and reputation of Kiangtsai advanced to a higher point than before.

So grave did the possible consequences of these defeats appear, and so rapidly was the power of the rebellious Governor of Taitong increasing, that the Regent, Ama Wang, resolved to take the field in person, and to proceed against him with the best troops he could collect. Matters had reached such a critical pass that it was felt that, unless the Manchus wished to be greeted by a general insurrection throughout Northern China, it behoved them to put down the Taitong rising with the least possible delay. Ama Wang came to the decision to strike promptly, yet he had the prudence to act with due caution in face of an opponent whose confidence had been raised to a high point by two successes in the field. The armies on both sides exceeded 100,000 men, but Ama Wang foiled all Kiangtsai's endeavours to precipitate a general action.

The want of supplies, or the fear of losing the place by a *coup de main*, induced Kiangtsai, after two long months of useless campaigning, to retire to Taitong, where he flattered himself that an enemy who feared to attack him in the open would never venture to assail him. In this anticipation he was soon proved to be mistaken, for Ama Wang at once proceeded to invest him in his fortress, and to prevent either ingress or egress. Then Kiangtsai realized the error he had committed, for there remained to him no alternative between either fighting at a disadvantage in endeavouring to cut his way out, or to remain cooped up until the want of food should compel him to surrender. The results of previous victory were thus sacrificed, and a blunder in tactics transferred all the advantages to the side of the Manchus.

Kiangtsai came to the decision, with commendable promptitude, after he perceived the predicament in which he was placed, to cut his way through the beleaguering forces with the greater portion of his army, and the rapidity with which the Manchus were drawing up their lines of circumvallation left him no leisure for much deliberation. He addressed an inspiring harangue to his followers, and then led them out to the attack. Such was the impetuosity of their onslaught that after four hours' fighting the Manchus were driven from their first entrenchments, which remained in the possession of the Prince of Han's soldiers. The Chinese were as much elated as the Manchus were depressed by this initial success, and for the moment it looked as if final victory would incline to the side of the former. A single incident served to change the fortune of the day. Kiangtsai had placed himself at the head of his men to lead them to the attack of the other positions remaining in the hands of the Manchus, when he was struck in the head by an arrow. The death of Kiangtsai carried confusion throughout the ranks of the Chinese, who, at once abandoning all they had won after such desperate fighting, retired in irretrievable confusion into Taitong. The Manchus, delighted to see the backs of a foe who had opposed them so valiantly, pressed them hard, and in a few hours the fortress of Taitong was in their power, and the faction which had attained such

formidable dimensions under Kiangtsai was completely broken up and effaced. Seldom has there been in history a more striking instance of the marked superiority of an individual over the rest of his countrymen than that afforded by the episode of Kiangtsai ; and the Manchus, brought so nearly to the verge of ruin by his capacity, easily triumphed after his death, and found, in the north at all events, no other opponent worthy of their steel.

This rising in the north had had its counterpart in the west, although the talents of Kiangtsai found no imitator. In Szchuen an adventurer had proclaimed his authority from the city of Chentu, and, assuming the title of Si Wang, bade defiance to Ming and Manchu alike. Many months he maintained his power there, but his severity and brutality prevented thousands from joining, and thousands more from heartily sympathizing with his cause. The responsibilities of government brought him neither wisdom nor moderation. Fearful of the strictures of the learned, he enticed into his city by promises of employment more than 30,000 men of letters, and when he had them in his power he gave orders for their massacre. Nor did his inhumanity stop there. The courtiers and attendants of his predecessor, a prince of the House of Ming, had been kept round his person to contribute to the dignity of his position ; but when one of these happened to omit the full title of his rank he caused them all, to the number of 3000, to be summarily executed. Other outrages, by which he showed that he neither respected the laws of religion nor placed much value on the hearty sympathy of his soldiers, followed, and ere Si Wang had enjoyed the tokens of supreme power in Szchuen for a year it was made evident that his rule was only a tyranny from which all would gladly be free.

The tidings that the Manchus were about to invade his province from Shensi only served to rouse him to fresh acts of barbarity, which culminated in the massacre of Chentu, when 600,000 innocent persons are said to have perished by the decree of this inhuman monster. From individuals he passed to things inanimate, and he compared his rage to the wrath of Heaven by the destruction of cities, the levelling of

forests, and the overthrow of any public monument that had given Szchuen a foremost rank among the provinces of the Empire. The Manchus gained an entrance into Szchuen by the capture of Hanchong, and it soon became noised abroad that they were about to make a further advance in the direction of Chentu. Si Wang may have dreaded in his heart the consequences of a collision with the Manchus, but the news of their advance nerved him to commit another act of atrocity which has served to perpetuate the infamy of his name.

The approach of the Manchus warned Si Wang that he could not hope to long maintain himself in Szchuen after they had resolved to annex that province. He came, therefore, to the desperate resolution to strengthen his position, as he hoped, by an act of inhumanity unparalleled in the records of history. The plan he formed was to rid his army of all the women attached to it, and by the lavish promises of future rewards, and of shortly procuring substitutes for these victims in the other provinces, he induced his followers to adopt his advice and to imitate the example of brutality which he did not hesitate to set them. The slaughter, once commenced, was carried on with a species of insane fury, and before the butchery ceased, more than 400,000 women had been murdered by those on whose protection and affection they possessed every right and claim. Occasions there have been when, in moments of extreme peril, there has been magnanimity as well as necessity in the slaughter of women to save them from a worse fate at the hands of a conqueror; but here the destruction was wanton and unsurpassed in its extent and in the motives which operated in the minds of the actors. We are told that, the evil deed performed, Si Wang was inspired with a kind of frenzy, and swore that he had no longer any fear on the score of the Tartars, from whose presence he would speedily deliver China.

In these sanguine expectations Si Wang was destined to be soon undeceived; for the Tartars, having strongly reinforced the garrison at Hanchong, secured the passes of the Kiulong range. A hostile collision appeared imminent between the two armies, when a sudden and unlooked-for termination was given to the struggle by the death of Si

Wang in an affair at the outposts. Si Wang, incredulous of the reported approach of the Manchus, had ridden out to satisfy himself of the truth of the reports, when one of the most famous Tartar archers marked his appearance and slew him with an arrow. Thus ignominiously perished Si Wang, who fancied that because he had violently broken the ties of nature he held the Empire within his grasp. Notwithstanding his momentary success in Szchuen he appears to have been an incapable leader, and such qualities as he possessed were those of a brigand without any of the redeeming features of patriotism. Upon his death his faction dissolved without giving the Manchus further trouble, and Chuntche's authority was set up in this one province the more.

The only task of any importance that now remained to be performed for the completion of the conquest of the mainland was that of overthrowing the authority of Kwei Wang, who still maintained the marks of power in Kwantung and Kweichow, and who exercised his influence over the millions of southern China from the great port and provincial capital of Canton westward to the frontier of Burmah. The Manchus, with the view of making their triumph as assured as it had proved rapid, resorted to the plan of nominating three Chinese magnates vassal princes for the south before they advanced against the last strongholds of Chinese power. When they had taken this preliminary precaution they gave orders for the immediate advance of the armies which had restored tranquillity in Fuhkien and Kiangsi. Kiuchessa, to whose fortitude the Prince of Kwei owed the origin of his power, saw the coming storm, and took all the steps he could to meet it. He assumed in person the command of the troops on the northern borders of Kwangsi, and drew up his army in strong positions to defend the passes of the Nanling mountains and the high road from Hengchow, on the Heng river, by which a large Tartar army was advancing towards Kueiling. The fleet had been summoned for the defence of Canton, and all the preparations betokened an intention to offer a vigorous defence. Had the Prince of Kwei acted with the smallest resolution and allowed Kiuchessa to exercise unquestioned authority over the whole of his army this anticipation might,

after all, have been realized ; but the approach of the Manchus only inspired him with an ungovernable alarm.

The first effect of the Manchu policy of placing Chinese commanders at the head of the operations was seen in the surrender, on their approach, of the positions at Nanhiong and Chowchow without any attempt at resistance. The road being thus left open to the invader, the Manchus pushed on rapidly to Canton, where some preparations had been made to hold out. But rapid as were these movements, an event of still greater importance had already happened in the west, where Kiuchessa was striving to maintain his master's authority at Kueiling in Kwangsi.

The second Manchu army, under the command of Kongyuta, had fared equally well in its operations from Hoonan. The partisans of the Prince of Kwei, disheartened by the pusillanimity of their master, thought rather of their private affairs than of the weal of their lord. When they had allowed themselves to be defeated in two battles they conceived that they had done everything demanded by their duty, and hastened to come to an understanding with the race which they saw was destined to be their conqueror. The shame of making a voluntary surrender to a foreign ruler was felt to be the less when it was effected through the means of a viceroy of Chinese birth. The conquest begun by means of the Tartar army was consummated by the tact and presence of Kongyuta. Kiuchessa alone preserved in adversity the firmness and fidelity consistent with his character. While his troops and officers abandoned him on all sides he remained at Kueiling awaiting the arrival of the foe, and to all the representations of his friends enjoining him to flee he turned a deaf ear, for he refused "to purchase a few more years of life by an act of which he would soon feel ashamed." Kiuchessa and the military commander Chang awaited together the appearance of the Manchus. Resistance was out of the question, for there were no troops left to guard the walls ; and when Kongyuta arrived he had only to march into the town and to make these two faithful officers prisoners. Kongyuta saw that the effect of his victories would be greatly enhanced if he could by any argument or promises

gain over to his side such invaluable supporters as these two officers. The reception he accorded them was one worthy of their rank and reputation, and the promises he made them were not confined to the assurance of personal safety, but embraced an absolute pledge of high employment in the Manchu service. But neither promises nor threats availed to shake the resolution of these two men; and at last Kongyuta, piqued at his ill-success and irritated by their taunts as to the bad example he, a descendant of Confucius, was setting his fellow-countrymen, gave orders for their execution. The Manchu dynasty, although it failed to secure valuable allies, was thus rid of two of its ablest and most bitter enemies.

The efforts of the Manchus were now all concentrated on the capture of Canton, which, defended by a large garrison under the command of a valiant officer, was well prepared to stand a siege. The presence of the fleet, by affording a means of escape in the last extremity, contributed beyond doubt to increase and sustain the courage of its defenders. The fortifications of the town had been strengthened by fresh ramparts and dykes, and several batteries of western cannon had been placed in position. During eight months the town was held against all the efforts of the Manchus, and the hardships to which they were reduced led them several times to meditate a retreat. On the other hand, the garrison had many difficulties to contend against, and no hope of succour existed except from Kwei Wang, who was already himself menaced by Kongyuta on the north. By a supreme effort Kwei Wang succeeded in raising a body of troops charged with the special task of relieving Canton, but, as Kwei Wang would not take the field in person, and as he could find no second Kiuchessa to occupy his place, the movements of this corps were not only slow, but were also marked by little judgment. The Manchus had no difficulty in dispersing this body, whereupon they returned with renewed vigour to the siege of Canton. The garrison was necessarily much discouraged by this repulse of the relieving force, and, after bravely defending themselves against the assaults of the enemy, they fell at their posts almost to the last man. Canton was handed over

to the soldiers to pillage, and scenes of indescribable horror ensued during the ten days that the sack continued. The capture of Canton virtually decided the chances of Kwei Wang, but some time elapsed before he fell into the power of the Manchus. For the moment he only withdrew to a safer distance from them, and established his headquarters at Nangan, in the south of Kwangsi. Several of his officers deserted him, and the town of Woochow, which he had named his capital, shared the fate of Canton.

Kwei Wang for a short space of time imagined that he might rally to his side the disappointed population of Yunnan, which had fallen into the hands of four military adventurers ; but, although he conferred titles of honour on one of these, he soon saw that the hope was delusive. As much disgusted with the treachery of his supporters as disheartened by fear of the Tartars, Kwei Wang fled over the borders of Kwangsi into Yunnan, whence he passed among the tribes of the Burmese frontier. Seven years later we shall find him re-issuing from his place of concealment to meet his fate at the hands of Wou Sankwei.

The rebel leaders in Yunnan sought to make use of Kwei Wang to promote their schemes of personal ambition, and one of them, finding that the Ming cause was defunct, and that it would not be possible to instil fresh vitality into it, resolved to proclaim the authority of Chuntche and to adopt the Manchu laws. This recognition of the Tartar yoke in Yunnan, which promised to bring without further bloodshed the last of the Chinese provinces under the Manchu domination, rested upon no very solid foundation, for the leader with whom the scheme originated had palpably views of his own, and expected a larger measure of liberty than could belong to a Manchu lieutenant. In the troubles which followed the advance of the Manchus was checked, and several reverses inflicted upon them ; and the nominal authority of Kwei Wang was again set up and maintained in Yunnan. But these events were of local rather than general importance, and we may leave them for a time to see what was happening in other parts of China.

The repression of the Taitong revolt had been the last

military exploit of the Regent, Ama Wang, although to him much of the praise must be given for having supervised the preparations for the conquest of the south. He lived long enough to hear of the capture of Canton, the stubborn defence of which had greatly contributed to swell his later anxieties; but when the news came that the city was taken, and that Kwei Wang's power was broken, he felt that his work was done. To Ama Wang belongs all the credit of having consolidated the Manchu power in China. Chuntche owed to his vigour and moderation the position, as Emperor, which both his father and grandfather, although men of approved ability and experience, had failed to attain. While he devoted himself to the service of his nephew, he appears to have been actuated as much by the desire for personal distinction as by the motive of aggrandising the power of his family and race. Towards the Chinese he assumed an attitude of moderation and even of studied conciliation, which did not fail to produce a beneficial effect. Indeed, the people had in him not only a warm but a discreet friend, and to his influence must be attributed the speedy pacification of the capital and the northern provinces, which had long remained tranquil with the one exception of the Taitong revolt. We cannot doubt that this satisfactory result was mainly due to the untiring vigilance and prudent measures of the Regent, in whose hands the boy-emperor Chuntche, whether of his own accord or under compulsion may not be known, had placed all the functions and responsibility of government. Some trace of a warmer feeling between these near relations may, however, be detected in the name which Chuntche gave his uncle of Ama Wang, the Father Prince.

The Regent's death inspired several of the elder Manchu princes with the desire to succeed to his position; but fortunately the general opinion of the ministers was adverse to their views. The Emperor, who had profited by the advice of his wise uncle, was considered to be old enough to rule for himself, and all the ministers returned their seals of office and refused to receive them back save from the Emperor himself. This extreme measure had the desired effect. The ambitious uncles retired discomfited, if not abashed, from the

scene, and Chuntche assumed the rights as well as the name of Emperor.

Then it was that he formed the supreme administrative council of the Empire, which still possesses the privilege of advising the Emperor and of approaching his person, and which, in conjunction with the six Tribunals and the Board of Censors, now controls the affairs of this vast empire. To this august body, composed of only four persons, he raised the more important of those dignitaries who had thrown up their seals of office sooner than acquiesce in the usurpation of his uncles; and in order to attract the sympathy of the people, and, possibly, also to reward the services of faithful Chinese officials, he passed a decree to the effect that this council should be composed of an equal number of Manchu and Chinese officials. Before this act Chinese subjects had been admitted to no recognized share in the government, and this was the first formal admission of their right to occupy their natural position in the administration of the country.

When Canton fell into the power of the Manchus many Chinese escaped by the aid of the fleet over which Koshinga, or Ching Ching Tong, held command. As the Manchus had no vessels, this body of men was held together mainly by the sense of security derived from their immunity from pursuit, and they soon found in the daring and success of their leader a still stronger inducement to remain devoted to his interests. The marauding deeds of Koshinga became the admiration and the solace of the Chinese, just as they certainly proved a source of annoyance to the Tartars, if the statement cannot be sustained that they inspired them with terror. While the main forces of the Manchus remained assembled in the south, Koshinga seized the favourable moment to attempt a diversion in their rear, and, proceeding along the coast of Fuhkien, captured the port of Amoy. In the vicinity of that place he had the satisfaction of defeating a corps of Tartars or, more probably, of local levies; but land operations on any large scale were not within reach of his capacity or resources, and he soon put to sea again. He still proceeded northwards, making several descents upon the coast, and, when the

Manchu forces collected, he effected his escape in his ships with much spoil and many fresh recruits.

In the year 1656 he obtained possession of the island of Tsong-ming, situated at the entrance to the river Kiang, whence he hoped to be able to carry out his most ambitious design of establishing himself in the dual province of Kiangnan. For the time being Koshinga had, at the least, obtained a place of retreat in the event of disaster, and an admirable station for his magazines and stores. His next step was to capture the town of Tongchow, on the northern bank of the Kiang, and to fortify it to the best of his art. Thus he secured the complete command of the entrances to that great river, and of all the water approaches to the city of Nankin, which he had marked as his next object of attack. The Manchus did not give Koshinga credit for as much audacity as he possessed, and flattered themselves that, although he had obtained a few successes on the sea, he would never dare to attack a place of such importance as Nankin. This view was destined to be rudely dispelled, for, notwithstanding the danger and difficulty of the expedition, Koshinga sailed up the Kiang with his fleet, and appeared off the city of Nankin. Not only had the Tartar governor made no preparations for defence, but the garrison under his orders, far from being numerically strong, scarcely sufficed to keep in awe a large population doubtfully affected towards the Government.

Up to this point Koshinga's movements had been marked by resolution and vigour, but here in the very crisis of his career he allowed himself to hesitate so far that he put off striking a decisive blow against the city until the garrison had been largely reinforced by fresh troops. His motive had apparently been to spare his men in the expectation of a rising on the part of the townspeople saving him the loss of carrying the place by storm; but, although the Manchu officer at one time so far suspected their good faith that he meditated giving an order for the slaughter of every man in the city, the inhabitants gave no sign of an intention to go over to Koshinga, and took their share in the labour of defending the city against this semi-piratical leader. The siege had lasted some weeks without any decisive action

taking place, when the intelligence that the garrison was undergoing great privations induced Koshinga to believe that the time had come to deliver his assault with certain effect. Unfortunately for himself, he allowed his men to spend the night previous to the proposed attack in a state of high revelry, and the vigilant commandant of Nankin did not fail to perceive and to seize the auspicious moment for frustrating his intentions. The Manchus sallied forth and attacked the intoxicated Chinese with fury; and such resistance as they attempted was speedily overcome. More than 3000 of Koshinga's men were slain, and the rest with their discomfited leader were glad to find security in their ships, leaving their camp and the spoil of the towns they had plundered in the hands of the victor. Thus closed the siege of Nankin, and, with this repulse, Koshinga's dreams of making any further stand against the Tartar conquerors were dispelled. His naval superiority remained above challenge, but henceforth he is to be regarded rather as a rover of the sea than as a patriotic leader attempting to uphold the lost cause of the Mings.

We have now to turn our attention to the close of the career of the Ming prince Kwei Wang, who, after the failure of his officers to maintain themselves against the Manchus, had fled across the Yunnan frontier into the territories of the King of Mien or Burmah, by whom he was received with the honour due to an unfortunate potentate. He had resided seven years in the land of the stranger when a rising in the province of Kweichow, headed by several officers who proclaimed him Emperor, revived the hope of recovering the position he had lost. He left his place of refuge in Burmah with the wealth he had saved from the wreck of his fortunes in China, and also laden with gifts of friendship from his host; but, while he was making his way through Yunnan to join his new partisans, Wou Sankwei, who, during the years of Chuntche's reign, had been playing the part of Warden of the Western Marches with credit to himself and advantage to the State, heard of his movements and hastened to intercept him. Kwei Wang was not in a position to offer much resistance to his assailant. His small party fought valiantly,

but they were soon all slain ; and Kwei Wang and his son remained prisoners in the hands of their enemy. Wou Sankwei, whose excessive moderation had on a previous occasion attracted the unfavourable notice of the Regent Ama Wang, did not for a moment hesitate in this supreme case, and gave the order for the immediate execution of Kwei Wang and his son. With their death disappeared the last recognized representatives of the House of Ming, and, as the native historian observes, this event deprived the Chinese of all justification for a continuance in rebellion against the dynasty which had by the high will of Heaven succeeded it on the throne.

The reign of Chuntche was marked by one event of great importance, and also of an unusual character. This was the arrival at the capital of the Empire of several embassies from European states. Chuntche's reign, which witnessed the beginning of many things in the modern history of China, also beheld the first diplomatic intercourse between the Government of the Middle Kingdom and the sovereigns of the West. The Dutch and the Russians can claim the equal honour of having each had an embassy resident at Peking during the year 1656, although in neither case can the result be held to have been very satisfactory. The Dutch were, after some delay, and on making the required concessions to the dignity of the Emperor, granted an audience ; but, notwithstanding that they freely bribed the officials, they obtained no solid advantage, unless the privilege of bringing their "tribute" at stated periods to the foot of the throne can be considered one. The end of this embassy proved little less than disastrous, for at Canton on their return journey the ambassadors were ill-treated in their persons and robbed of their property. Notwithstanding the Emperor's expressed appreciation of the nobleness of their mind, they never succeeded in obtaining reparation for the injuries and loss thus inflicted upon them.

Nor was the Russian Embassy more successful, although the dignified demeanour of the envoy better preserved the honour and reputation of his master. The first demand made by the Chinese was that the Russians should, in common

with the other tribute-bearing states, do homage to the Emperor's throne, and perform the ceremony of kowtow. With this the Russian officer consistently refused to comply, and after some time passed in useless argument the embassy was dismissed, and returned to Siberia, which had then been recently conquered and annexed by the Czars of Russia. The first diplomatic relations between the Chinese and the Oros, or Russians, were thus brought to an abrupt termination.

Diplomatic relations were also established about this time with the ruler of Tibet. The principal Lama of Lhasa was created Dalai, or Ocean Lama, and the connection between Peking and the holy land of Tibet, which under the Mings had been of only a vague and indefinite character, assumed a closer and more intimate form. The Europeans, to whom reference has been made, found an embassy from this remote kingdom resident at Peking, but the Dalai Lama appears to have paid, on an earlier occasion, a personal visit to Chuntche's Court. From this time the tie between the two states became very close, and up to the present day it has endured.

Wou Sankwei had not long pacified the south, and Koshinga had only just recommenced his active operations after wresting a portion of the island of Formosa from the Dutch, when it became clear that the days of the Emperor Chuntche, young though he was, were drawing to a close. In 1661, seventeen years after he had been proclaimed Emperor by the council of notables at Peking, he was seized with a fatal illness, which we may consider to have been either small-pox or grief at the loss of a favourite wife, according as we may feel disposed. A competent authority assigns his death to the former cause; but there is no doubt that the death of his infant son and of the child's mother, whose relations with the Emperor recall those of David and Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, preyed heavily upon his mind, and aggravated the disease. On the eve of death he named as his successor a boy reputed to be the second of his children, and afterwards known to fame as the Emperor Kanghi. The choice proved a happy one, although the accession of a child again launched the bark of state upon troubled waters; but the virtues and

genius of Kanghi in the end more than repaid the agony of suffering through which China had yet to pass before reaching the tranquil condition of a Manchu-governed country.

Of Chuntche, whose youth and early death prevented the performance of many great or striking actions, it may only be said that he gave promise of the possession of the remarkable qualities for which his family had become famous. Much of the credit of consolidating the Manchu triumph belonged to Ama Wang, but Ama Wang died long before any settlement was concluded, and left the young Emperor to grapple, on his own resources, with an extremely critical condition of things. Chuntche's acts as irresponsible ruler were always marked by great forbearance, as well as by resolution. His reign has been eclipsed by the brilliant achievements of his son, Kanghi, but in its way it was both important and remarkable. At the least it served to show that the supremacy of the Manchus was firmly established and not to be lightly opposed or easily displaced. Already it was evident that the wiser part for the Chinese would be to acquiesce in a yoke they could not shake off; and most of them were hastening to adapt themselves to circumstances throughout all the provinces of the Empire.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE EARLY YEARS OF KANGHI'S REIGN.

THE accession of a boy to a throne which demanded the support of strong hands and clear heads was not an event calculated to ensure the tranquil development of Manchu power. Kanghi was only eight years old when the weight of empire was thrust upon him, and the task of government was committed to the charge of four of the principal officials. After the proclamation of the new Emperor, and the promulgation of the general amnesty usually granted on the accession of a prince, the co-regents first turned their attention to purifying the palace from the presence of the eunuchs who had established themselves there during the later years of Chuntche's reign, and who doubtless saw in Kanghi's minority the opportunity of advancing their ends, and of firmly establishing their influence over the councils of the state. The first act of Kanghi's representatives was to impeach the principal of the eunuchs on a charge of peculation, and to punish him with death. All his colleagues were turned out of the palace and dismissed from their offices, to find some more honourable but certainly to them less agreeable mode of existence among the ranks of the people. Then was passed the law, graven on tablets of metal to defy the injuries of time, forbidding the employment in the public service of any of this unfortunate class. The iron tablets still exist, and the Manchus have remained true to the pledge taken by the young Kanghi. The eunuchs now disappear from the history of China as a political faction, and their enervating influence has fortunately been banished from both the court and the council board.

The first year of Kanghi's reign marked the summit and beheld the decline of the piratical power of Koshinga. In 1659, after the failure of his expedition against Nankin, Koshinga had been compelled to look beyond his possessions at the mouth of the Kiang for a permanent place of arms, and the naval preparations on which the Manchus were at last engaged made it more necessary for him to secure one without delay. There seemed to him no place better adapted to his necessities or more suitable for the task he had in hand than the island of Formosa,* long the home of a piratical confederacy which had for the time been partially displaced by the power of the Dutch.† It was not so much the conquest of this island with its fierce and courageous tribes that Koshinga wanted, as the possession of the few harbours which had been seized by the emissaries of Batavia. Although the attainment of his object involved a collision with a race well

* The island of Formosa, situated at a distance of nearly one hundred miles from the coast, is noted for its remarkable productiveness, and also for the fact that a great portion of it has maintained and still maintains its independence of any authority. It has been called "the granary of China." Its length is about 300 miles, and its breadth at the broadest point less than one-fourth of that distance. A lofty range of mountains, from north to south, divides it into two regions, differing from each other in political condition and material productiveness. The western half is under regular government, and remarkable for wealth and fertility. The eastern is still under the sway of native princes or chiefs; and the resources of this half are not only undeveloped, but are also undoubtedly inferior to those of the western districts. Formosa was called by the Chinese Taiwan, "the beautiful island," and since 1895 it has been in the possession of Japan, which acquired it under the Treaty of Shimonoseki.

† A brief sketch of how the island fell into the hands of the Dutch will here be interesting. In 1624 the Dutch sent a fleet with 800 men to attack Macao and expel the Portuguese. Confident of success, they were yet repulsed with loss. As some compensation for this disappointment, they established themselves on the Pescadore Islands, and a few years afterwards they landed on the mainland of Formosa, came to an arrangement with the Japanese then in occupation of the town of Taiwan, and erected in its neighbourhood Fort Zeeland. The Japanese retired, leaving them in undisputed occupation of Taiwan. When the Tartar invasion began many Chinese crossed the channel and established themselves in Formosa. From this numerous colony Koshinga naturally expected much help in his design of ousting the Dutch, and, as the result proved, he was not disappointed.

equipped in ships and arms, and more formidable on sea than on land, Koshinga braced his mind to the struggle ; for the law of safety demanded that he should without delay obtain a secure place of refuge from the pursuit of the Manchus. Koshinga, partly out of sheer necessity, and partly, no doubt, in the hope of founding a new kingdom beyond the sea, resolved upon the conquest of Formosa, and concentrated all his strength for the undertaking.

The Dutch attempted to come to a friendly arrangement with Koshinga, whose designs on their possessions had been revealed by a preliminary revolt on the part of the many Chinese immigrants who had come across from Fuhkien. That insurrection had been repressed, although not without some difficulty, as was shown by the assistance of the aboriginal clans having to be enlisted. But Koshinga represented a more formidable antagonist, and while the Dutch were flattering themselves that he would not prove a very disagreeable neighbour, he was really drawing the toils round them and restricting their power to the fort and district of Taiwan. When openly assailed the Dutch made a valiant defence, but they appear to have taken few precautions against the determined attack of their opponent. Fort Zealand was carried by storm, the Dutch lost their possessions, and Koshinga was proclaimed King of Formosa. The relics of the national party gathered round this champion, who for a time enjoyed, in his own person and in that of two generations of his children, the dignity of a semi-regal and independent position. He did not himself long retain the position to which he had won his way by remarkable energy and force of character. Rage at the excesses and insubordination of his eldest son, who had been left in command at Amoy, which still remained in his possession, aggravated a slight indisposition ; and this formidable and much-feared naval leader died when it seemed that his matured career was only just beginning. Koshinga was no more than thirty-eight years old at the time of his death, and, although the Tartar yoke was not imposed upon Formosa for another twenty years, it very soon became clear that with him the spirit of his party had been destroyed. His death came opportunely to relieve the apprehensions of the

Pekin Government, which had just given orders for the devastation of the country for a distance of more than twenty miles from the coast. Not only was he a remarkable partisan leader, but, without exception, Koshinga may be pronounced to have been the foremost naval hero throughout the whole of the annals of his country.

Kanghi had not been long upon the throne when a great agitation, fanned by popular ignorance and fanaticism, was got up by a few of the more bigoted courtiers, against the Christian priests who had done no harm to anybody, and who had conferred some substantial benefits on the country. The anger of this extreme party was augmented by the favour with which the Emperor Chuntche had regarded these strangers, and by the fact that they had been raised to offices of marked honour and importance. It was not so much religious zeal as personal jealousy that instigated the Chinese official classes in raising this outcry against the foreigners, for they perceived that a charge of propagating "a false and monstrous religion" afforded the simplest and, in the eyes of the people, the most intelligible form of indictment. The Abbé Schaal was deposed from his presidentship, and the other Christian strangers were conveyed as prisoners to Peking, where they were all found guilty and sentenced to a common death. So heinous was their crime held to be, that many councils met to decide what form of execution would be adequate to their offence. The delay that thus arose, which was intended to enhance their punishment, ensured, as a matter of fact, their safety. It gave Sony, one of the Regents, time to exercise all his influence on the side of justice and mercy; and, thanks to his measures and to the support of the Empress Mother, the sentences were quashed and the prisoners released. Such, however, were the bodily sufferings they had undergone, that the principal of these innocent victims, the Abbé Schaal, died shortly after his release.

Whether the act must be attributed to this cause—for the question of the foreign missionaries roused much attention at the time and divided the political world into rival camps—or whether the capital was disturbed by the cabals and intrigues of ministers, it was very shortly after this episode that Kanghi,

on the death of the Regent Sony, determined to abolish the regency and to rule for himself. The act was one betokening no ordinary vigour on the part of a youth of less than fourteen years, and was fully in accordance with the greatness to which Kanghi established his claims. Kanghi seems to have been impelled to take this step by his disapproval of the tyranny and overbearing conduct of the Baturu Kong, another member of the Board of Regency. This minister had taken the most prominent part in the persecution of the Christians; and when death removed Sony, the only one of the regents whose reputation and moral courage rendered him his match, he eagerly anticipated a period of unrestrained power and privilege. The vigilance and resolution of the young Emperor thwarted his plans. By an imperial decree the Board of Regency was dissolved, and Baturu Kong became the mark for the accusation of all over whom he had tyrannized. He was indicted on twelve charges, each sufficient to entail a punishment of death. The indictment was made good; and the first act of Kanghi's reign as responsible sovereign was to decree the death of the unjust minister Kong, or Sucama. The execution of his family was in accordance with the law, and marked the heinousness of the offence.

The overthrow of the Ming prince Kwei Wang and the pacification of Yunnan had set the seal to the fame of Wou Sankwei, the general who, thirty years before, had invited the Manchus into the country to put down the robber Li, and whose military skill had contributed so greatly to their triumph. The Pekin authorities had endeavoured to keep him in the shade; but the splendour of his achievements defeated their plans, and obliged them to reward his services. The title of Prince was conferred upon him, and he was left to exercise uncontrolled authority in Yunnan and its dependent provinces. The Chinese rapidly settled down under his rule, and by a number of wise measures he promoted their welfare and increased his own revenue. His rule was rendered still less irksome by the fact that the majority of his soldiers were native Chinese and not Manchus. Although he does not appear to have nursed any schemes of personal aggrandisement, the measures he took and the reforms instituted under

his guidance were of a character to make his authority independent of Manchu control. The Manchu rulers may have silenced their apprehensions on the score of this influential Chinese leader with the argument that the death of Wou Sankwei would remove the ground upon which they subsisted ; but Wou Sankwei lived on until these hopes became fainter, and to the eye of Kanghi it seemed that he was establishing the solid foundations of a formidable power. Wou Sankwei had been for many years the object of jealousy ; and it needed but slight encouragement from the ruler to raise up numerous evil tongues to declare that the independence of Wou Sankwei dwarfed the dignity of the Manchu throne, and constituted an element of danger to its stability.

In the year 1671 Kanghi, either from the conviction of the necessity of establishing his undisputed authority throughout the country, or in deference to the representations of his officials, resolved to so far take action in the matter as to invite Wou Sankwei to pay him a visit at Peking. The request was reasonable, for many years had elapsed since he had visited the capital, and his expression of fealty to Kanghi had been made only informally and by deputy. The custom of the country and the time was that the great governors should leave behind them at the capital one of their sons as hostage for their fidelity and good conduct. A son of Wou Sankwei resided in this character at Peking, where he had been admitted, with the title of a royal duke, into the family circle of the dynasty after his marriage with a half-sister of Kanghi. He was of course aware of the intrigues against his father, and believing that his person would not be safe from the machinations of his enemies, sent off a special messenger to warn him of the danger, and to advise him not to come. The act was creditable to his heart, but it showed little knowledge of affairs. The excessive affection of his son proved the ruin of Wou Sankwei, for he adopted his counsel and declined to proceed to Peking to establish the innocence of his conduct.

Wou Sankwei excused himself on the ground of his old age, and of his desire to end his days in peace, and sent his son the necessary powers to perform the required act of

allegiance. But the Emperor was not a man to be put off with so transparent an excuse, and Wou Sankwei's conduct soon exposed the hollowness of his own protestations. Kanghi, still resolute on carrying his point, but loth to lightly embark upon a hazardous enterprise, and anxious to make the most of his case, then sent two of his most trusted officials to represent to Wou Sankwei the absolute necessity there was for exact compliance with his demand, and the grave consequences that would ensue from persistence in refusal. We may also suppose that they were instructed to see how far his statement was true that he was borne down with the weight of years and that his thoughts were only of a peaceful end.

Wou Sankwei met them with a magnificent reception, and treated them with all the courtesy and regard due to distinguished guests. Nothing in his attitude betrayed any hostile feeling until they came to discuss the main object of their mission. There is no reason to believe that they failed to discharge their task with discretion; but the instant Wou Sankwei perceived their drift, and that the Emperor would not accept his allegiance by deputy, he interrupted them, and, casting aside further reserve, declared that henceforth he repudiated the Tartar yoke. "Do they think at the court," he exclaimed, "that I am so blind as not to see the motive in this order of summons? I shall, indeed, present myself there, if you continue to press me, but it will be at the head of twice forty thousand men. You may go on before, but I hope to follow you very shortly with such a force as will speedily remind those in power of the debt they owe me." Thus openly did Wou Sankwei throw down the glove of defiance to the race which he had so long supported. The military arrangements which he had never relaxed, and the considerable sum of money which he had collected in his coffers, both served him now in good stead. When he refused to wear the Manchu tail any longer and proscribed its calendar, the people of the West recognized that the time had come for another trial of strength with their Tartar lords. Wou Sankwei met with nothing but cordial welcome and promises of support in establishing his authority in Kweichow and the

greater portion of Szchuen and Hoonan, while the mere announcement that the great general was in arms sufficed to create a feeling of unrest throughout the realm.

While the father was thus openly playing for a big game in the south-west, the son was engaged in a secret plot to overwhelm the Manchus by the massacre of the principal members of the reigning family and of the officers of state. The conspiracy was arranged with considerable skill and, finding no better instrument ready to his hand, Wou's son proceeded to enlist in his service a large body of Chinese slaves naturally anxious to free themselves from their bonds. The scheme succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations. The Chinese bound themselves together by a solemn oath to be true to one another, and all the preparations were made for the massacre of the Manchus on the occasion of the New Year's Festival. Never had the Tartars stood in greater peril than they did in the year 1673, although to all outward appearance everything was calm and satisfactory.

The eve of the day appointed for the execution of the plan arrived, when one of the slaves, desirous of saving the life of his master, a Manchu officer, warned him of the coming danger. Matsi, such was his name, carried without delay the information to Kanghi, who took immediate measures to arrest the conspirators. Wou Sankwei's son and the greater number of his accomplices were seized and thrown into prison, whence, on formal proof of their guilt, they were conveyed to the place of execution. The plot of the son being thus happily disposed of, it remained for the youthful Emperor to essay the more difficult task of grappling with the father.

Although Wou Sankwei had placed himself outside the pale of consideration by his haughty defiance, yet Kanghi resolved to proceed warily with so formidable an antagonist. Instead of meeting his challenge by proscribing him, Kanghi was content to pass an edict ordering the disbandment of the native armies which Wou Sankwei and other Chinese commanders still retained under their orders in the south, for it must not be forgotten that there were other Chinese viceroys in the Manchu service besides Wou. This edict was directed

against them all alike, and it had the effect of compelling them to show their hands. The example of Wou Sankwei proved infectious and irresistible. All declared against Kanghi, and from Fuhkien and Kwantung to the borders of Tibet and Burmah, there was one common blaze of insurrection against the Tartars. Fortunately for the young Emperor, the danger was more on the surface than in the hearts of the people ; but the name of Wou Sankwei alone was as a tower of strength for the disaffected.

In face of this storm, which threatened to overwhelm him, Kanghi showed himself worthy of his race and fully capable of holding his ground against all comers. For a time the insurgents carried everything before them, but gradually the Manchu garrisons, reinforced by timely aid from Peking, opposed a steady and, as it often proved, a successful resistance to the advancing onset of Chinese patriotism. When the first great danger of being overwhelmed in a general revolt of the Chinese had passed away, and when the situation could be more justly as well as more critically scanned, it was seen that the Manchus could fairly hold their own, and that as soon as they should collect their resources the chances of final victory would rest again on their side. In the height of the crisis it was as much, however, as they could reasonably expect if they were able to maintain their position against the numerous and enthusiastic armies which Wou Sankwei placed in the field.

For a time, however, dangers continued to thicken on all sides round the young Manchu ruler. The piratical confederacy of Formosa despatched its vessels to plunder the coast, and naval disasters came to further embarrass the Manchus. Even among the Mongols, who possessed a greater sympathy and fellow-feeling with the Manchus than it was possible for any inhabitant of the Chinese plains to have, the conviction was apparently spreading that the misfortunes of the Tartar conquerors furnished them with an opportunity to promote their own separate interests. Satchar, chief of one of the principal banners, was the first to give expression to this general feeling, and, inviting levies from all his neighbours, proclaimed that on a fixed day he would take the field

with 100,000 men for the invasion of China. Thus, menaced in his rear, Kanghi stood in imminent danger of a double disaster. Nothing save the remarkable promptitude with which he summoned troops from Leaoutung, and the courage which led him to denude Peking of a large part of its garrison, extricated him from his perilous situation. The corps thus collected advanced by forced marches upon the encampment of Satchar. The swift-moving Manchu cavalry fell upon the Mongols before they had concentrated their forces, and returned with Satchar and his family as prisoners to Peking. The capture of Satchar paralyzed the Mongols for a time, and after that event none among them dared stir hand or foot against their vigorous opponent.

Good fortune continued to attend the plans of Kanghi, whose difficulties would have sufficed to crush a man of less courage. He profited by his own ability and firmness, but he derived quite as much advantage from the dissensions prevailing among his enemies. Ching, the son of Koshinga and the possessor of Formosa, had quarrelled with the Chinese prince who had unfurled the standard of revolt in Fuhkien, and, more keen to indulge his rancour than to save his country, had turned his arms against the very man whom he had come to aid. The result of the collision that ensued between them was to shatter the forces of the Fuhkien leader, and to compel Ching to retire to his island home. Thus in one province was Kanghi's battle fought and won for him without an effort on his part. The Emperor had but to send a small detachment to regain the province, and to win back the allegiance, for such as it was worth, of its disappointed prince. The resubjugation of Fuhkien entailed that of Kwantung. Those officials, who had been most eager to proclaim their adhesion to the cause of Wou Sankwei, were the very first to greet the return of the Manchus. The aspirations which they had cherished and which they had thought feasible, with the Manchus exhausted by their efforts, and governed by a mere boy, could not, they found, stand contact with the reality of the case. Their adventure required valour and a desperate resolve to win. They possessed neither, and their only course was, when the Manchu troops arrived, to

express their contrition and to promise better conduct for the future. Kanghi had neither the desire nor the intention to irritate the mass of the people. He forgave all save the most guilty, and affected a belief in their pledges. But for the first time Manchu garrisons were placed in all the walled towns, and a part, known as the Tartar city, was specially marked off for their use.

Meantime Wou Sankwei maintained his independence in his own immediate neighbourhood. He appears to have come to the wise determination to content himself with the sovereignty of these provinces which he hoped to weld into a kingdom for his son; and it was none of Kanghi's policy to venture upon a precipitate attack on this formidable general, whose military skill he rightly dreaded. All Kanghi's efforts were devoted to the work of detaching his friends and of crushing his allies. In 1677, however, he had so far succeeded in this preliminary task that he gave instructions for his armies to converge upon Wou Sankwei's territory from the north and also from the east. The Manchus met their match in the field, but the dissensions prevalent among the Chinese elsewhere had been manifested even in the ranks of the followers of Wou Sankwei, and this disunion more than counterbalanced their successes. Gradually his forces were driven out of Hoonan, and over his part of Szchuen he could claim only a precarious tenure. When Wou Sankwei took his first step backwards, the sun of his fortunes set. His own adherents abandoned him, the rebels in other parts hastened to come to terms with the supreme power, and all the scattered bodies of Manchu troops converged upon him as a common centre. For fifty years this Chinese warrior had never known the meaning of defeat, but he was now on the eve of irretrievable ruin, from which there was none to extricate him.

From Szchuen Wou Sankwei passed into Yunnan, whence he superintended the conduct of the campaign on the Hoonan and Kweichow frontiers. So long as he lived the skill shown in his military dispositions compensated to a great extent for other deficiencies, and the tardiness of his generals' success induced Kanghi to proclaim his intention of taking the field

in person. Several of his most experienced ministers disapproved of this resolution, as the absence of the Emperor from Peking was held to be calculated to create disturbances in the North; but at this conjuncture the news of Wou Sankwei's death opportunely arrived. There are several versions of the manner in which this event happened, but the most probable one seems to be that he died of old age in the year 1679. Even with his great talents and reputation it had become clear that the success of his cause was virtually hopeless, and when he died his party dwindled down to an insignificant faction under the leadership of his grandson Wou Shufan. Kanghi then gave up his idea of taking the field in person, satisfied with the conviction that no other Chinese chieftain existed to take the place of his formidable opponent.

The disappearance of Wou Sankwei struck a rude blow at the courage and confidence of the Chinese people, for whom the death of their greatest man was an irreparable loss. Their ideas of resistance to the bitter end then gave place to the more worldly sentiment of coming to as speedy a settlement as possible with the Manchu officials. Wou Sankwei's long career covered the most critical period in the modern history of China, and, during the half-century that elapsed from the time when he distinguished himself in the defence of Ningyuen until he died as an independent prince in Yunnan, he occupied the very foremost place in the minds of his countrymen. The part which he had taken first in keeping out the Manchus, and then in introducing them into the state, reflected equal credit on his ability and patriotism. For even in requesting the Manchus to come to his aid against the robber Li he had been actuated by the purest motives, as there was then only a choice of evil alternatives; and it seemed preferable that a respectable, if alien, form of government should be established, to allowing the Empire to fall into the hands of a freebooter whose thoughts were solely of plunder. The Manchus, although well aware of the magnitude of their debt, secretly wished to exclude him from the just recompense of his unequalled services; but the Court was too wise to quarrel with one whose indignation might prove formidable. Yet

the workings of their minds were not wholly concealed from Wou Sankwei, and when he received from Kanghi the order to proceed in person to Peking and to disband his army, the moral indignation which had long possessed him broke forth. Something he may have presumed on the youth and inexperience of the Emperor, and he certainly forgot that his own age precluded his taking the active part in the field necessary to the success of his enterprise. For a moment it almost seemed that he was destined to succeed, and that the verdict of fortune would be reversed. With regard to the Manchus, Wou Sankwei might flatter himself that he had played the part of king-maker; but when he attempted to set up his own individual authority, he failed in his task. Notwithstanding that his life closed under the blight of a failure, the long, varied, and picturesque career of Wou Sankwei remains one of the most remarkable and striking to be met with in the course of Chinese history.

Wou Shufan carried on the unequal struggle with the Manchu generals for a few years; but in 1681 he lost all the possessions he had received from his grandfather, except the town of Yunnan. Long and valiantly did these representatives of a lost cause defend that stronghold, and Wou Shufan emulated the fortitude of his family. But the inevitable end could not be averted. The Manchus having once gained admission within the walls, the siege speedily terminated. The garrison was put to the sword, and Wou Shufan only baffled his enemy by committing suicide. Yet the full measure of the Manchu vengeance was not satisfied until his head had been sent to Peking to be hung up over the gate as a warning to traitors, and as a proof of the Tartar triumph. Nor was even this act the last that marked the repression of the great rebellion; for the body of Wou Sankwei himself was taken from the tomb, and his ashes were scattered throughout the eighteen provinces of China, to testify to all that no trace any longer remained of the man who had threatened the very existence of the Manchus, and at whose name all his foes used to tremble.

Kanghi had now occupied the throne for more than twenty years, and the child upon whom the weight of a great

Empire had been cast was no longer an inexperienced and unknown boy. Unusual difficulties had beset his path, but he had triumphed over them by his own energy and indomitable will ; and although still a young man, he had already won his way to a position of power and personal fame that gave him high rank among the rulers of his time. What he thus early accomplished the deeds of his later years fully established and maintained. Up to this point it had been to Kanghi a struggle for existence, but henceforth his place as Emperor of China was secure. The Manchu conquest, begun by Taitson and completed by Ama Wang and Wou Sankwei, was achieved a second time and consolidated by the wise measures and determination of Kanghi.

Before concluding this early portion of the long reign, on the mere threshold of which we as yet stand, it may be pertinent to describe how the descendants of Koshinga fared in their later endeavours to establish an independent kingdom in Formosa. The conquest of that island represented another incident in the task of establishing the Manchu authority on a firm footing.

When the chief Ching lost Amoy, and with it his hold upon the mainland, he sank into a subordinate position ; but his activity on the sea hardly showed any abatement in vigour. So late as the year 1680 Ching resumed his operations on the mainland, and again acquired possession of Amoy. For a time his successes seemed remarkable, but they also served to increase the ardour of the Manchus, who spared no effort to secure his overthrow. After several delusive victories his troops were signally defeated, and Amoy and the other towns on the coast were finally lost to him. Several of his best officers deserted him, and many of his men followed their example. Encouraged by this turn in the fortune of this war, Kanghi refused to listen to Ching's propositions for peace, and ordered the invasion of Formosa. The Manchu fleet had before this period attained a certain degree of efficiency, and, being reinforced by a Dutch contingent and several vessels captured from the rebel force, it enjoyed a material advantage in numbers over that of the Formosan chief.

At this critical moment Ching died of over-indulgence, and numerous disorders broke out on his death as to who should be his successor. The Peking Court turned these dissensions to the best advantage. Their fleet seized Ponghu, the principal island of the Pescadore group, whence it was no difficult task for them to throw a force across to Formosa, and to establish themselves in one of its harbours. Then the people surrendered without further resistance, for it was clear to them that the Manchus could be no longer resisted, and that their triumph was decreed by Heaven.

In this case Kanghi felt he could afford to be merciful. The principal representative of Koshinga's family was spared and created a count. Those who surrendered voluntarily were either rewarded or dismissed without further punishment; but all had to accept the badge of conquest, and wear the Manchu tail. Thus ended the brief existence of the free Chinese authority in Formosa which had continued twenty-three years after the first proclamation of Koshinga, on the expulsion of the Dutch from Taiwan. Kanghi thus attained both his desires—the overthrow of Wou Sankwei, and the suppression of the piratical power of Formosa. He was at last supreme, both on land and on sea, within the limits of what was termed the Chinese Empire.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

KANGHI'S RELATIONS WITH GALDAN.

THE difficulty which had arisen with the Mongol chief Satchar warned Kanghi that he must be prepared to meet dangers from without as well as to encounter perils from within. If the Mongol tribes, who had helped his ancestors against the Chinese, and who had derived some benefit and advantage from the Manchu conquest, could not be trusted to remain staunch in their allegiance, what sort of friendship could he expect from those other tribes whose homes lay in the interior of Asia, and whose predatory instincts were continually urging them to harry the rich border districts of China? Kanghi had taken such measures as were within his power to establish the virtual supremacy of his name among these nomadic hordes, who resembled, in everything save military efficiency, the warrior clans which had followed the fortunes of the great Mongol leaders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Of these tribes the Khalkas, who prided themselves on their direct descent from Genghis, and whose pasturages were watered by those tributary streams of the Amour which had beheld the dawn of Mongol fame and power, made no demur in recognizing the supremacy of the Manchu Emperor. They had long lost the ability to play any greater part on the wilds of Gobi than that of a small community of hardy and frugal shepherds, able and resolved to maintain their rights against the encroachments of their neighbours, but indifferent to any wider sway. Yet there still attached to their acts a higher significance among their kinsmen in consequence of

the greatness of their origin; and the formal adhesion of the Khalkas to the Manchu cause meant that the great majority of the Mongols would thenceforth refrain from committing acts of unprovoked aggression on the Chinese borders.

Beyond the Mongols, in the region extending westwards to the provinces of Jungaria and Altysahr (Ili and Kashgar), there was another people or race, which, divided into four hordes, obeyed the commands of as many chiefs. The Eleuths, a Calmuck tribe, more remote from the scene of Manchu triumph than their Mongol neighbours, were indisposed to pay those marks of subordination which either Chinese vanity or Kanghi's policy demanded. When the Khalkas made their court at the Chinese capital the Eleuths still held aloof, and expressed their intention to maintain an attitude of indifference towards the great Power of the East.

This resolution of the Eleuths might have possessed little practical significance, but for the appearance on the scene of one of those remarkable men who have risen at long intervals among these children of the desert, and who, out of unpromising materials and with scant resources, have founded a power of no slight proportions for the time that it endured. This individual, who now stands forward as a rival to Kanghi and as a competitor for empire with him—such was the exalted character of his ambition—was Galdan, chief by descent of one of the Eleuth clans, and the leader by virtue of his ability of all who bore the name. To the elevation of his race as a great people Galdan devoted all his energy and ability. The prize for which he strove was a brilliant and attractive one, while his own risk appeared in comparison insignificant. Victory assumed, under these circumstances, her most attractive colours, and defeat lost its chief terror.

Galdan was the younger son of the most powerful chief of the Eleuths. His proud and eager spirit could not forgive the accident of birth, and chafing at a position of inferiority, he quitted the camp of his people to advance his fortunes in a different sphere. The ambitious, as well as the disappointed, seek the ranks of religion's ministers to advance their ends and to gratify the promptings of an imperious will under the cloak of spiritual fervour, for humanity has allowed without

murmur to those who advocate the cause of heaven the unscrupulous resolution and the unyielding persistency that are condemned in the search of worldly ends. Such were the views of Galdan, who for a moment aspired to attain as a minister of religion that unquestioned sway which, as the chief of a nomadic people, the difference of a few months seemed destined to prevent his enjoying.

Over the whole of Buddhist Asia the fame of the Dalai Lama of Tibet spreads its gentle influence. The poor and scattered clans on the northern steppe believe in the benefits to be derived from that saintly personage's intercession quite as much as, and probably much more than, astute statesmen and rulers at Peking. The power of the Dalai Lama was exercised with less despotic sway over those who regarded that incarnation of an immortal spirit as their highest religious dignitary, than that of the Pope of Rome; but it was none the less real as a matter of general belief and common acceptance. It was to Lhasa, or rather to the lamasery of Botala, that the young Eleuth chief turned his steps. His absence was not lengthy. Before his departure Galdan had quarrelled with some of his brothers, and in the discussion that ensued had slain his full-brother Tsenka. This deed of violence precipitated his flight, but it also contributed to his prompt return. News of the crime reached the ears of the Dalai Lama, and the favour of admission to the ranks of the clergy of Tibet was refused to one coming with the stains of blood upon his hands. Galdan quitted Tibet and returned to the quarters of his race. Among a people accustomed to violence, his crime was easily forgotten, or lightly condoned by a brief absence. His return was hailed by those who knew that he came straight from the palace of the Dalai Lama, and he found that the reputation of having lived in the effulgence of that holy presence served him in almost as good stead as if his character were spotless. Then again he turned to the schemes of ambition which, ever uppermost in his brain, were to be attained either by fair means or by foul, and to which the superstition and the credulity of men were likely to be as good stepping-stones as his own ability and nerve.

Galdan's designs were carried out to the letter. He

deposed the Khan who had been elected in his place after the murder of Tsenka, and as the next step decreed the death of all the members of his family whose opposition to his plans might be expected. This holocaust in the camp of the Eleuths terrified the people into a state of subjection, which it became Galdan's main object to make as light and durable as he could. Galdan had done enough for the moment towards strengthening his own position. He had now to consolidate his power by systematic encroachments on the lands of his neighbours; and as the preliminary to these latent designs he sent a mission, nominally of congratulation, but really of inquiry and investigation, to the Court of Kanghi. It arrived at the very moment when the rebellion of Wou Sankwei was at its height, and it returned before the death of that prince and the subsequent pacification of the South had taken place. The tale it brought back to Galdan was one, therefore, not of the power and resources of the Manchus, but of their weakness and embarrassment. These Central Asian envoys may well have been excused if they spread the rumour that the brave young Tartar ruler stood on the verge of ruin.

When Galdan received the report of his messengers he abandoned whatever intention he may have had of preserving the peace with the Chinese Empire. The opportunity of advancing his interests at its expense, for which he had been on the look-out, seemed to have arrived, and he lost no time in beginning the encroachments over which he had long meditated. The Khalkas, who had given a willing and sincere recognition to the Manchu authority, presented the mark upon which he could most easily vent his simulated indignation and his deeply-felt ambition. They were within the reach of his power, and too remote to receive from China the aid which could alone enable them to resist his attack. The invasion of the Khalka districts formed the task undertaken by Galdan in his first campaign; but at the same time he sent troops in the direction of the Chinese frontier. The approach of his force induced many to flee within the Emperor's territory, and to seek the aid of his officials in recovering their possessions from an aggressor with no valid ground of complaint against them. Kanghi gave them

permission to settle on the frontier, and provided them with a few necessaries. But at first he could not do more than watch the progress of events with vigilant attention, and this he was always careful to do. His generals on the frontier were ordered to send spies into the territory of the Eleuths, and these reported that Galdan had established a formidable military power, and that he meditated extending his sway over all the regions adjacent to China.

While employed in the serious business of advancing his authority into the lands of the Khalkas, Galdan amused himself by frequently sending missions to Peking, with the double object of increasing his information and of blinding the Emperor as to his plans. So little was known about the state of the regions beyond the Chinese frontier, that for a long time Galdan was able to keep the execution of his plans without the knowledge of the Chinese officials. So well did he combine the arts of vigilant activity in the field and of dissimulation in his diplomatic negotiations, that in the year 1679, when his encroachments on the Khalka country were beginning to assume tangible form, his ambassador at Peking was accorded a flattering reception, and returned to his master with the seal and patent of a khan.

Three years later Kanghi commissioned two of the principal officers attached to his person to proceed to the camp of Galdan to ascertain how far the disquieting rumours concerning his movements and military preparations were true. At the same time he sent other envoys to the Khalkas, and among these may be noted Feyanku, then a young captain in the bodyguard, but afterwards one of the most celebrated of Chinese generals. These diplomatic agents were the bearers of the usual number of presents for the princes to whom they were about to proceed; but their instructions were of the simplest kind. One and all of the potentates whom they visited were to acknowledge the supremacy of the Chinese Emperor and to renew the formal expression of their allegiance at stated intervals. Of these missions, the result only of that to Galdan had any practical significance.

The laws of hospitality are sacred and exacting. Galdan, enraged at heart at the pretensions of a monarch whose power

he affected to despise, lavished on Kanghi's envoys all the resources of his people and circumstances. The arrival of an embassy in his poor country from the rich and powerful Emperor of China was an event, he said, that would be handed down to posterity as the most glorious of his reign; yet he was no doubt thinking that his relation to Kanghi might become very similar to those of the early Manchu leaders with the last of the Ming emperors. The Chinese envoys did not succeed in obtaining any of those formal concessions which they were expected to bring back from him, and the indifference of Galdan's attitude was enhanced by the unaffected cordiality of the pledges of friendship given by the Khalkas. To this they were impelled both by their apprehensions of Galdan, and also by the divisions and rivalries which disturbed the harmony of their assemblies.

The dissensions of the Khalkas afforded Galdan his opportunity, and when Kanghi succeeded in 1687 in effecting a reconciliation between these princelets, who swore before an image of Buddha to keep the peace among themselves, Galdan resorted to all the artifices within his power to disturb the harmony of this arrangement and to revive the feuds and discord that many hoped had been happily healed. Kanghi addressed them by letter in terms which sought to bring before them all the risk and attendant evils of the course they were pursuing; but his principal aim was to check the pretensions and encroachments of Galdan. Early in the following year, therefore, he sent a new embassy into the Khalka country; and he attached so much importance to its success, that he entrusted the mission to some of his nearest and most intimate advisers. Prince Sosan, a captain of the body-guard and minister of state, was placed at the head of the embassy, and with him was associated Tong Kwekang, another official of high rank, and Kanghi's maternal uncle. With these Chinese dignitaries also went the two European priests, Gerbillon and Pereira, as interpreters, for to the complications among the Khalkas there had been added a dispute with the Russian colonists, who had crossed a continent to find a fertile place of settlement on the banks of the Amour.

The Russians had constructed along the Southern border

of their new possession a line of block-houses, but, as their presence in this remote quarter did not apparently disturb the Chinese, they soon began to fortify their stations on a more pretentious and formidable scale. A fort was erected at Albazin, a place on the upper course of the Amour, and the Russian authorities in this quarter anticipated being able to derive substantial benefit from the disturbed state of the country held by the Khalkas as well as from the rival pretensions of Galdan and the Emperor Kanghi. In this expectation they were doomed to disappointment, for the Chinese troops sent into the neighbourhood by Kanghi, with the aid of the surrounding tribes, fell upon the garrison of Albazin, captured the place, and carried off a band of Russian prisoners to Peking, where their descendants still remain. The Russians returned and re-established themselves at Albazin with that obstinacy which is one of their characteristics, and which they derive from their Tartar origin. Hostilities recommenced and languished throughout the year, and then it was that Kanghi, more anxious to crush Galdan than to embroil himself in an indefinite quarrel with the Russians, accepted the overtures that came to him from the Muscovites for a pacific arrangement. This embassy had almost reached the scene of its proposed diplomatic labours, when an event compelled its sudden return. War had at last broken out between the Eleuths and the Khalkas, and Galdan was in the act of invading the very territory whither Kanghi's representatives had gone to assert his right against the Russians. Although the diplomatists were recalled, the negotiations were only suspended, and not broken off. In the following year it may be stated that they were brought to an auspicious termination by the treaty of Nipchu.

Galdan had on his side speculated on the possible advantages he might derive from the appearance of these Russians, and possessed with the idea that it must tend to his advantage, he resolved to defer no longer his open rupture with the Khalkas. Even in these uncivilized regions, where the law of might supersedes every other consideration, the moral sentiment of the human race requires that some cloak shall be given to acts of wanton aggression. Galdan specified his

grounds of complaint against the chief of the Khalka princes. He had participated in the murder of some of Galdan's kinsmen, and to all demands of redress had turned a deaf ear. There does not seem to have been much truth in the allegation, but it served its turn. Galdan had long resolved to overrun the country of his neighbours, and one excuse was as good as another. Yet in attacking the Khalkas the thought uppermost in his mind was how best he could injure Kanghi.

Chepsuntanpa, one of the principal Khalka princes, upon whom the Emperor had conferred the religious title of Koutuktoo, sent the first certain intelligence of Galdan's movements to China. With a force of 30,000 men he had overrun several of the districts belonging to these chieftains, and the Koutuktoo wrote that unless the Emperor promptly sent assistance it would be impossible for them to escape the yoke of the Eleuths. This bad news was fully confirmed by Kanghi's own envoys, who dwelt upon the panic that had seized the minds of the Khalkas in consequence of the rapid successes of Galdan. Kanghi at once gave orders for the reinforcement of the garrison in the North-West, and summoned eight of the Mongol banners to take the field with their contingents. Shortly afterwards, not feeling certain that these preparations would suffice in so critical an emergency, the Emperor moved a portion of the Leaoutung garrison, and some of the Manchu banners, nearer to the scene of the threatened fray.

Galdan was now more indifferent to appearances than he had ever been before, and he openly declared that he aimed at the destruction of the Khalka independence, and that nothing short of the death or capture of their two foremost princes would satisfy his intentions. He did not even refrain from putting forward a grievance against the Chinese Government for its having allowed several of the Khalka princes and their followers to take refuge within the limits of the Empire. Kanghi's reply to these pretensions was to allot the Khalkas settlements in the Kirong region, and to receive them into the ranks of his subjects, on the same footing as the other Mongol tribes. That Galdan was not wholly in

the wrong, or, at least, that he had succeeded in giving his case a semblance of right, is evident on the admission of Kanghi himself; but the unbridled extent of his ambition was clearly evident at all times.

In 1689 the question in dispute between these potentates had resolved itself into whether Kanghi would surrender the refugee Khalkas, or whether Galdan would agree to waive his demands on this point. Neither party was likely to make any substantial concession, and, unless a compromise could be effected, war was inevitable. Galdan's pretensions received the unexpected support of the Dalai Lama, who sent one of his attendants to Peking to urge on Kanghi the advisability of complying with the demand of the Eleuth prince for the surrender of his personal enemies, the Koutuktoo and his companion. Kanghi refused to listen to the advice of his spiritual friend and correspondent, for it would ill become him, he wrote, as a great prince not to show consideration for the unfortunate. At this stage Galdan met with an unlooked-for check in a disastrous defeat which he suffered at the hands of his neighbour and nephew, Tse Wang Rabdan, son of the murdered Tsenka, with whose future career the development of this Central Asian question will have much to do.

Galdan must have quickly recovered from the effects of this reverse, although report had painted its gravity to the Emperor in vivid colours; for the very next year, 1690, he took the first step of hostility that he had yet ventured upon against China. The act of hostility to which he resorted was to arrest the Chinese envoys staying at his camp, thus hoping to secure an equivalent for the eventual recovery of the objects of his personal animosity. In face of this outrage and insult all Kanghi's desire for peace, and dislike for an arduous war, disappeared; and, placing three armies in the field, he directed one to march with all despatch to the Kerulon. But Galdan was expert in this form of warfare, and, knowing the country well, long evaded the pursuit of the Chinese forces. His own difficulties, however, remained so numerous and grave, that it was impossible for him to collect all his strength to resist the Chinese. His neighbour,

Tse Wang Rabdan, continued to be a thorn in his side; and his best chance appeared to be an alliance with the Russians, although they had nominally settled all their misunderstandings with the Chinese by the Treaty of Nipchu. The Russians, whatever their inclination may have been, did not possess the available power to help the Eleuths; but, with the object of keeping themselves as well informed as they could about the affairs of their neighbours, they sent an officer on a visit to Galdan's camp. The mere rumour of a possible alliance between Galdan and the Russians roused Kanghi to acts of unprecedented energy and activity. The whole of the Northern army, composed of the picked troops of the Eight Manchu Banners, the Forty-nine Mongol Banners, and the Chinese auxiliaries, was ordered to proceed across the Mongolian steppe, and an expedition of formidable proportions was thus fitted out for the destruction of Galdan.

Meantime Galdan, although his main hope centred in the Russian alliance, and notwithstanding that his necessities had obliged him to kill most of his horses to satisfy the requirements of his followers, had not remained inactive. Collecting all his forces, he made a rapid advance into the territory under Chinese authority, attacked the advanced Chinese army under President Horni on the river Hourhoei, and after a stubborn engagement compelled it to quit the field, of which he remained the undisputed master. This reverse proved that the military power which Galdan had collected during these years was far from insignificant. Considerable as it already was for defence, but a few more years of inaction on the part of Kanghi were required to make it formidable for offence. The defeat of Horni on the banks of the Hourhoei proved this much, if it did not also show that Galdan was resolved to give the reins to his ambition in the direction of China.

Galdan's victory did not render him so elate that he failed to recognize that the chances in the war with China were overwhelmingly against him; and the extensive preparations made by Kanghi warned him that it would be wise to avert the coming storm by timely concessions. He, therefore, sent another envoy to Peking, where the Emperor

accorded him an honourable reception, despite the fact that his own officers remained in confinement. Although Kanghi still protested his desire for a peaceful solution of the question, the only terms on which he would treat were the laying down of his arms by Galdan. At the same time that the Eleuth envoy left Peking, Kanghi set out from his capital to place himself in nearer communication with his army.

Kanghi's brother, Yu Tsing Wang, was appointed to the chief command, and his instructions were to bring Galdan to an engagement as promptly as he could, and to wipe out the stain of the defeat on the Hourhoei by either the overthrow or the capture of the Eleuth prince. Although the Emperor was compelled by the state of his health to return to Peking, active operations were continued with unabated vigour, and Kanghi had very soon the satisfaction of receiving the news of a decisive victory won by his generals. The battle was fought at Oulan Poutong, where Yu Tsing Wang fell upon the Eleuth camp, which had been formed at the foot of a mountain, with a wood on one side and a small stream on the other. The Chinese attacked Galdan in this advantageous position, and, although the Eleuths fought with much of the valour to be expected from men engaged in defending a popular cause, the former were completely victorious. The victors suffered considerable loss in this encounter, and among the slain was Prince Kiukiu, an uncle of the Emperor Kanghi.

This defeat made Galdan again anxious to come to terms with Kanghi, and negotiations were begun between him and Yu Tsing Wang. At first Galdan endeavoured to circumvent the intentions of the Chinese by negotiating on a basis from which his personal enemies, the Khalka princes, were excluded ; but he was dealing with a race fully his equal in the art of diplomatic fence, and, as the material argument of superior force was against him, he had really in the end no prudent choice save to give in his unqualified surrender. Galdan sent the Emperor a formal expression of fealty and obedience, and Kanghi in return wrote him a letter of forgiveness. This was in the year 1690.

A few months later, Kanghi sent Galdan the sum of one thousand taels for the purpose of alleviating the sufferings of

his people ; but, although these arrangements were apparently satisfactory, very little confidence seems to have been felt in their enduring. Kanghi himself regarded the treaty as a hollow truce ; but as matters stood he could congratulate himself on the conclusion of his first contest with Galdan. He had certainly curbed the pride of the Eleuths, and given security to the Khalkas.

CHAPTER XL.

KANGHI'S SECOND WAR WITH GALDAN.

KANGHI'S anticipations were soon verified. Galdan had not abandoned the ambitious dreams of his prime, and the mistrust of his intentions shown by the Chinese authorities supplied him with some excuse, if not justification, for renewing his aggressions in the direction of the Khalka districts. On the advice of his ministers, the Emperor had not only left a numerous garrison quartered in their country, but he held two bodies of troops in readiness to march at the shortest notice. Nor was this all. A summons was issued to the Khalka tribes to assemble on the plain of Dolonor for inspection by the Emperor, and the commotion produced by this ceremony caused a great stir throughout the steppe. The principal chiefs were granted further titles of honour, and rich presents were bestowed upon all according to their rank. When Kanghi returned to his capital he could congratulate himself on the cordiality which marked his relations with his Mongol subjects and vassals. Galdan alone held aloof from these transactions, and showed by his attitude that he regarded with little sympathy these measures for the extension westward of Chinese authority. Galdan's disapproval became more emphatic in consequence of the diplomatic negotiations which had been for some time in progress between the Emperor and Tse Wang Rabdan, his nephew and sworn personal enemy.

The question of their mutual relations might long have remained in this uncertain state without provoking a fresh appeal to arms but for an unfortunate occurrence which

rendered war inevitable, and which precipitated the crisis that had long seemed imminent. This event was the murder of one of Kanghi's envoys. The messenger had been commissioned to proceed to the camp of Tse Wang Rabdan, and, while strengthening the friendly understanding with that potentate, he was also charged to impress upon him the importance of preserving peace in his region, for Tse Wang Rabdan had several times evinced a disposition to bring his feud with Galdan to a settlement by the summary means most in accordance with the customs of his race. The Chinese envoy effected his journey in safety across the desert of Gobi, and the small escort of sixty men, which the Viceroy of Shensi gave him as a bodyguard, sufficed to afford him protection against the nomad tribes who regarded that region as being under their peculiar patronage. He had almost reached the friendly shelter of the town of Hami, when he was beset by a large band, either of Galdan's immediate followers or of tribesmen subject to his authority. Plunder appears to have been their main object, as it is improbable that Galdan gave them instructions to commit this outrage, for the very simple reason that he had himself just despatched an envoy to Peking. The result, however, was plain enough. The Chinese emissary and the greater number of his escort were slain, their baggage and the presents destined for Tse Wang Rabdan were carried off, and the fame of the achievement tended to enhance the reputation of Galdan in the eyes of the tribes as an individual not afraid to assert his power in the teeth of the Emperor of China himself.

Kanghi was either so desirous of peace, or so fully persuaded that Galdan would accept no alternative short of war, that, despite this outrage, he did not depart from his attitude of studied moderation. Galdan had broken the laws held sacred by all nations, and he could not but feel overwhelmed by the contrast of his conduct with that of the Emperor, who seemed anxious only for the preservation of peace. Kanghi still held open the door for the Eleuth prince to make reparation for his crimes, and to show that he desired to behave better in the future; but in the very letter in which he offered the opportunity of redeeming a fault, he resorted to the threat

that unless Galdan promptly made amends for so many outrages, he would come with arms in his hands to exact due punishment.

Nor was Galdan slow for his part in taking such measures as he could, both for the attainment of his objects against the Khalkas, and also for the defence of his possessions when the long-threatened storm from China should burst upon him. He sent emissaries among the Mongol tribes to sow distrust of the Emperor's intentions in their regard, and to dwell on the advisability of uniting in a single confederacy all the clans of the Chinese frontier. Nor did he stop with these diplomatic overtures and this declaration of hostility. The man who had once thought of taking high rank as a lama of Buddhism, now resolved to repudiate a religious belief which had tended rather to embarrass than to strengthen his position, for at every stage of his dispute with China he had been met with the menaces of his spiritual head, the Dalai Lama of Tibet. In 1693 he took the decisive step of proclaiming himself a convert to Mahomedanism, by means of which he hoped to gain the assistance of not only the Tartar tribes, but also of the Mussulman colonies in China. At the same time he showed no disposition to break with the Dalai Lama personally, whose moral support he strove to enlist in his behalf by promises to maintain his supremacy against the encroachments which rumour attributed to Kanghi's *protégé*, the Koutuktoo Chepsuntanpa. Galdan's policy was thus based on certain high pretensions, and he resorted to any artifice to supply the deficiencies of his position, and to procure some substitute for want of numbers, and inferiority in material resources. The Chinese proclaimed that "ambition became his only God," and that "to it he sacrificed even the religion of his fathers."

Between neighbours thus situated it could not be long before frequent conflicts would ensue on borders which were but vaguely ascertained, and at points to which both sides advanced equal claims. Kanghi's general, Feyanku, who had risen so high in the service that he now held the post of chief commander on the Shensi frontier, sent reports of several of these combats, and he was not less desirous than his master

of demanding the reparation necessary for the satisfaction of the military honour of his country. Kanghi continued to collect troops, and held several meetings with the chief of the Kortsin Mongols, the most powerful tribe of Mongolia, to arrange for a joint expedition against Galdan. These interviews took place in the year 1695, when Kanghi had so far lost patience with his neighbour that he had resolved to effect his complete overthrow. Nothing short of the utter and irretrievable ruin of Galdan would satisfy the imperial wrath.

While Kanghi thus sought to lead his enemy into a trap, the extensive preparations he made for war showed that his determination was fixed to compass the destruction of Galdan—even at the cost of an extensive and hazardous expedition into the recesses of Central Asia. It was not until the year 1696 that he had perfected his arrangements and brought together a force specially raised and equipped for a protracted war beyond the frontier. The principal command of this great army was entrusted to Feyanku, who left his post on the frontier to receive from his sovereign the personal instructions he desired to give for the conduct of the war. The importance of the occasion was marked by an imposing ceremony at Peking on the eve of the great national holiday, known as the Feast of Lanterns, when China old and young gives itself over to rejoicings and festivities that recall the Saturnalia of the ancients.

All the mandarins to be employed in the war, the special corps of artillery, cavalry, and infantry upon whose efficiency so much care and forethought had been expended, and the body of commissaries who had been trained for the supply services with much prudence and knowledge of war, were assembled in a double line along a parade extending between the principal gates of the city. The Emperor, surrounded by his court functionaries and the principal officials of his Government, took up his position on a raised platform, from which the whole scene could be surveyed. His heart might well have swelled with pride at this spectacle of the chivalry of the brave Manchu race, and at the power displayed before him of a great Empire. When Kanghi had carefully surveyed the

serried lines of his troops, and the attentive and respectful groups of his ministers and generals, and as soon as the noise of the trumpets, proclaiming to the capital the presence of the Emperor, had ceased, Feyanku approached his sovereign. Then Kanghi handed him the cup of wine, which Feyanku received on his knees, and which, having descended from the steps of the throne, he quaffed in the full view of the thousands of spectators. Having thus drunk success to his master's cause and confusion to all his enemies, Feyanku retired. Precisely the same ceremony was performed by each of his lieutenant-generals, and then by the subordinate officers of the army, who, ten at a time, approached the steps of the throne. Success having been thus drunk to the army charged with the overthrow of Galdan, the final preparations for the opening of the war were completed. Feyanku left the capital with his reinforcements to assume the active command in the field, and Kanghi, eager to compass the overthrow of his enemy, set to work to raise a second army, of which he proposed to take the command in person.

While Feyanku was hurrying towards the West to begin operations from the side of Kansuh, Kanghi was busily employed in drawing together from the garrison of Pekin, and also from the Manchu Banners, another army, with which he proclaimed his intention of himself proceeding against the Eleuths. That opinions were divided among his ministers on the subject of these campaigns in a remote and little-known region may be judged from the open disapprobation with which the latter announcement was received. The censors, ministers of state, and other great functionaries, proceeded in a body to impress upon Kanghi the inadvisability of his taking the field. They were thanked for their solicitude, but the Emperor's intentions remained unchanged. The departure of the second army, which was to follow the route through Kukukoto, a place of great strategical importance beyond the Wall, was fixed for the day month after the ceremony attending the appointment of Feyanku.

The difficulties incident to campaigning in a sterile country compelled the further division of the expedition, and the task of effecting the overthrow of Galdan was finally entrusted to

four armies, of which Feyanku commanded the Western and Kanghi in person the Eastern. Of the march across the desert from Kukukoto towards Kobdo, where Galdan had established his head-quarters, we fortunately possess details from the narrative of the priest Gerbillon, who was among the personal attendants of the Emperor on this occasion. Despite the difficulties encountered, and the vastness of the distances to be traversed in this portion of the campaign, the Chinese armies succeeded in making good their way to the upper course of the Kerulon, where they were in the immediate vicinity of Galdan's territory. Several thousands of lives had been lost, and more than one detachment had been compelled to call a halt or even to beat a retreat; but notwithstanding these disadvantages, an overwhelming force of Chinese had made good their way across the desert. Galdan's main defence had been shown to be of little avail, and, unless he could establish some more solid claim to success on the field of battle, it was clear that his ruin was a matter that could not be long averted. Feyanku, after a march through the desert of more than three months' duration, had pitched his camp near the source of the Tula. Only 10,000 soldiers remained available for active service, and this body was reinforced by 2000 more troops, who represented all that remained of another corps. These 12,000 men were placed by their able and gallant commander in a fortified position within the Mongol camping-district of Chowmodo.

Galdan has been represented in the character of a formidable antagonist, and the question naturally suggests itself, what had he been doing while this storm was developing portentous proportions upon his eastern borders? We have seen that he had retired to a certain distance from the limits of his possessions. The Chinese found on the banks of the affluents of the Amour the traces of the camps which he had destroyed in order to concentrate his resources for the defence of the permanent camp or town of Kobdo. Either before or about this time Galdan had endeavoured to incite the powerful chief of the Kortsin Mongols to join him in a general Mongol league against Kanghi. The scheme was rejected by either the good sense or the fidelity of that prince, who, it

will be remembered, had been put up to simulate a sympathy with the plans of the Eleuth. But in consequence of the open state of war, Kanghi had abandoned that intrigue, and now Galdan's schemes only served to increase his indignation and to whet his ardour. But it was towards Russia that Galdan mainly looked for the support which would enable him to make head against the superior power of China. He even went so far as to draw up a scheme for the invasion and conquest of the latter country, but the essential part of the arrangement was that Russia should send a contingent of 60,000 men. In this century we have known something of the slight control possessed at St. Petersburg over the authorities in Central Asia. In the days of Kanghi there was not so much as the pretence of that control exercised; yet it is not to be supposed that the mere handful of Russian colonists in the Siberian solitudes ever seriously entertained the idea of entering upon hostilities on a large scale with the Chinese. To humour Galdan supplied an easy means of occupying the attention of their neighbours, and Galdan's own wants and apprehensions led him to augur from the observations made by the few Russians with whom he came into contact that the amount of support he might expect from them was much greater than could by any possibility have been afforded to him. The hopes of Russian support were soon shown to be delusive, and Galdan could find no better hope than in the difficulties of the desert barrier which protected his territories, and in such resistance as his band of followers, weakened by the indifference of Tse Wang Rabdan, could oppose. The progress of the Chinese armies across the desert, made though it was at the cost of a great expenditure of life, showed him that the former hope was no longer tenable, and that it only remained for him to make the most of the forces at his disposal, and to resist with all his strength the invader.

The situation was indeed desperate; but there still remained a possibility that the Chinese might be so far exhausted by the labour of having traversed the barren region of Gobi that it would be possible for Galdan to overwhelm one of their detachments before the whole of the army had been able to combine on the banks of the Kerulon. In a prompt

attack lay Galdan's sole chance of safety, and, while Kanghi was employed in recruiting his troops in the country of the Northern Khalkas, the Eleuth chieftain advanced as fast as he could from Kobdo, and threw himself upon the Chinese entrenchments at Chowmodo.

At the very moment when Galdan formed this desperate resolve the Chinese commanders were so much embarrassed by the difficulty of obtaining supplies that it seemed impossible for them to maintain their positions. The advisability of retreat was under discussion when Galdan's movement rescued Feyanku from a dilemma in which it seemed next to impossible to save both his military honour and the lives of his soldiers. Few of the incidents of this battle have been preserved. Little more is known of its details than that Galdan assumed the offensive, while Feyanku, having dismounted his cavalry, long contented himself with standing on the defensive. The battle had lasted for nearly three hours when Feyanku gave the signal for attack. The Eleuths made but a brief stand against the onset of their more disciplined opponents, and Galdan, seeing that the day was lost, fled with a mere handful of his followers, leaving his camp and baggage in the hands of the victor. Two thousand Eleuths were slain, and the character of the struggle may be inferred from the fact that the Chinese took only one hundred prisoners, of whom most were women and children. The principal wife of Galdan was among the killed, his army was scattered and reduced in numbers, while that chief himself, after aspiring to be the undisputed ruler on the steppe, became a fugitive glad to hide himself in its remote recesses.

The victory of Chowmodo came like an unexpected Godsend to the Celestials, for, on the very eve of its attainment, it seemed as if all the expense and trouble to which Kanghi had been put were to result in nothing decisive. Feyanku's success removed further cause of disquietude, and enabled Kanghi to return to Peking, leaving behind him the order to pursue Galdan with the utmost vigour, as the results of the war could only be considered partial so long as he remained at large.

The overthrow at Chowmodo marked the destruction of

the power which Galdan had set up among the nomad and pastoral tribes of his region, and it also showed that the end of his career was approaching. There is no need to enter into the extremities to which Galdan was reduced during the last days of his life, nor would there be sufficient interest in the theme to dwell upon the schemes to which a desperate man thought of resorting for the retrieval of his fortunes. At one moment he sent an envoy to Peking to express, in abject terms, his desire to surrender, and at another he resumed his overtures to the Russian officials for a close alliance. But the one thing that was clear was that, although he had lost the power, he still clung to the wish, to injure the cause of China among the Mongols and her other vassals of his own race. The Chinese troops were on the eve of renewing the pursuit when the news came of Galdan's death. The nature of his last illness is not clearly known, and his death may be attributed either to the hardships and mental chagrin he had undergone, or, as some say, to the act of his own hand.

The death of Galdan not only removed from Kanghi's mind the anxiety which had so long weighed upon it, but it also closed a career of remarkable adventure. Galdan was a representative man of the class of desert chiefs who, from the earliest days of Chinese history, have troubled the Western borders of the great Empire. We have seen them in the persons of Meha, Yenta, and others as a cause of anxiety and trouble rather than of absolute danger to the integrity of the State. We have also in the cases of Genghis and Noorhachu found them sufficiently prompt and capable to overthrow the existing dynasty and to substitute that of their own family. Galdan belonged to the former class. Kanghi has himself testified to the remarkable skill and courage of this chieftain. In an edict summarizing the conquests which had made him the greatest potentate in Central Asia, he concludes with the statement that Galdan was "a formidable enemy;" and the energetic and persistent manner with which he had laboured to effect his ruin proves that the Chinese Emperor was fully persuaded of the accuracy of his own statement. But the overthrow of Galdan also shows that, except under abnormal

circumstances, which have only occurred twice or, at the most, thrice in history, the unflagging determination and vastly superior resources of the Chinese have always availed to turn the scale against the ambition and even against the love of war of these independent leaders. The vitality of Chinese individuality and imperial power has always asserted itself even after long periods of apparent decay and dissolution.

Galdan overthrown, Kanghi ordered the return of his armies. Feyanku was left with a small force to completely pacify the newly conquered region; but the Emperor hoped that peace had been definitely assured. That this hope was soon dispelled we shall have presently to see; and the manner in which the Galdan episode gave place to a long interval of trouble, and then to the necessity of formulating a distinct Central Asian policy, will constitute one of the most important facts in the history of the next seventy years. With the death of Galdan in 1697, however, Kanghi offered up incense to Heaven in the evidently sincere persuasion that peace had been definitely obtained for himself and his people. So far as his inclination went he had had enough of arduous and unprofitable campaigns beyond China's proper frontier—and the sentiment was the more firmly rooted in his mind because he had undergone the privations of his soldiers, and knew by practical experience that even the strategical skill of his commanders might prove of little avail in face of the passive resistance of natural obstacles.

CHAPTER XLI.

KANGHI'S TROUBLES IN CENTRAL ASIA.

TSE WANG RABDAN, whose enmity had contributed to bring about the ruin of Galdan, and whose assistance Kanghi had repaid with various privileges in carrying on trade with China, was left by his uncle's death the undisputed chief both in actual power and in reputation among the Eleuth tribes. The tribal resources, which had failed to support Galdan's ambition, passed by the law of hereditary succession to the son of the murdered Tsenka, and Tse Wang Rabdan soon found that he enjoyed all the temporal power arising from an undisputed sway over the Eleuths. The centre of his authority had indeed been shifted further westwards, and his ambition did not urge him to molest the Khalkas, or to encroach in the direction of China. But none the less Tse Wang Rabdan claimed to be a great and independent prince, and he had his own views as to his position in Central Asia.

The nature of his pretensions, covering as they did a different ground, might not have brought him into immediate conflict with China, but only too much reason existed for fearing that the relations subsisting between him and the Emperor could not long maintain their cordiality. Causes of friction soon revealed themselves. Kanghi, acting on the Chinese principle that rebels should be extirpated root and branch, had ordered that no pains should be spared to capture the few surviving members of Galdan's family, and a great reward was offered to whoever brought in the body or the bones of Galdan. At the first blush it seems only possible to detect in this malignant pursuit the working of a savage

and persistent vengeance, and the cruel maxim of the Chinese system, that "the families of rebels taken open-handed should be extirpated," tends to confirm the impression. A more careful consideration of the subject may, however, result in leading us to take the view that the Chinese wished for nothing more than clear evidence of their chief enemy's death, and for some assurance that no member of his family felt either prepared or willing to carry on his schemes.

The fortune of war had placed in the hands of Tse Wang Rabdan the persons of a son and daughter of Galdan, as well as the bones of that chief. These prizes had fallen to his share after a victory near the town of Hami, where he defeated a neighbour who thought to dispute his authority. The Chinese at once sent a demand for the surrender to them of these relics and representatives of their recent enemy. Tse Wang Rabdan, whose humanity was either aroused, or who felt aggrieved at the dictatorial tone assumed by the Chinese, long evaded the request preferred to him by Feyanku. Instead of showing a spirit of humility towards Kanghi, he busied himself with the extension of his power in both Jungaria and Kashgaria, while the first force of his wrath was vented on the Mahomedan prince of Hami. Kanghi very soon learnt that even the ruin of Galdan would not avail to deter many from imitating him, and that the overthrow of one chieftain would not suffice to ensure permanent peace among races whose principal avocation and amusement had always been a savage and sanguinary strife. The pertinacity of the Chinese carried their point for them in this matter, as well as in other questions. Kanghi sent several embassies to Tse Wang Rabdan's capital, and showed marked insistence on the subject of his demand. At length success crowned his efforts, and in 1701 the Eleuth prince surrendered the ashes or bones of his uncle, and the person of his cousin. With the acquisition of these marks of victory Kanghi remained fully satisfied, and his generous treatment of his defenceless captive showed that he sought to gratify the requirements of a policy, and not the promptings of a poor revenge.

Although Tse Wang Rabdan went at last so far as to

concede to Kanghi the demand on which he placed so much stress, his general action marked him out rather as the antagonist than as the supporter of Chinese authority in Central Asia. In a less ostentatious but equally efficacious way he was gathering into his hands the superior authority to which Galdan had aspired. His victories over his Kirghiz neighbours gave his position also a degree of stability to which that of his relative had never attained. The result of this feud and of the accompanying strife was that the Kirghiz chief, to whose daughter Tse Wang Rabdan was married, felt himself compelled to coalesce with his son-in-law, and thus the military forces of the Eleuths and the Kirghiz were combined. This alone sufficed to make the military power of Tse Wang Rabdan extend without a break from Hami on the East to Khokand on the West. The opportunity soon presented itself of employing this considerable available force on a larger scene in advancing the influence of the Eleuth prince into a different region.

It had been one of the main objects of Galdan's ambition to assert his right to have a voice in the regulation of the internal affairs of Tibet, and the desire to succeed in this object was strengthened by the knowledge of the reputation that would accrue to him as speaking with the approval of the great spiritual head of Buddhism. The Chinese Government had its own views upon the same subject, and regarded with disfavour any measures having a tendency to weaken its influence and authority at Lhasa. But as yet the direct exercise of Chinese authority in Tibet had not been very great, and the interests of the Jungarian prince were better and more emphatically represented there than those of China and her sovereign. It became one of Kanghi's main objects to alter this condition of affairs, and to bring Tibet and its order of priestly rulers completely under his control. These intrigues and counter-intrigues precipitated the course of events in Tibet, and recalled Kanghi's attention to his Western borders. The boldness of Tse Wang Rabdan brought on a contest that was, perhaps, in any case inevitable, and left the Chinese again no choice save to appeal to the sword. Kanghi had taken his plans with such care, and shown such excellent

judgment in his manipulation of the question, that the Chinese party in Tibet obtained a signal triumph. How that triumph was obtained, and what it practically entailed, must be described at some length, for it led up to several events of permanent importance, and it was marked by the double invasion of Tibetan territory, first by an Eleuth horde, and secondly by a Manchu army.

From an early period the supremacy in the Tibetan administration had been disputed between two different classes, the one which represented the military body making use of religious matters to forward its designs, the other being an order of priests supported by the unquestioning faith and confidence of the masses of the people. The former became known as the Red Caps, and the latter as the Yellow Caps. The rivalry between these classes had been keen, and was still bitterly contested when Chuntche first ascended the throne; but victory had finally inclined to the side of the Yellow Caps before the period at which we have arrived. The great spiritual head of this latter body was the Dalai Lama, pronounced to be of wisdom as profound and inscrutable as the ocean. The direct intervention of the Emperors Chuntche and Kanghi had contributed to make the triumph of the Dalai Lama still more decisive and unquestionable; but the Red Caps cherished for a further period the desire to dispute the palm with their rivals, if they felt that they could no longer hope to secure all the prize of victory. By the aid of a Calmuck army raised in Central Asia, the Dalai Lama had had the final satisfaction of beholding his opponents driven out of the country, and compelled to take refuge in the Himalayan state of Bhutan, where the sect of the Red Caps continues, after this lapse of time, to retain influence and authority. This event occurred before the year 1650, and consequently at a period when the Manchu authority was far from being firmly established in China itself.

The settlement of the disputes between the two rival religious parties in Tibet was followed by the appointment of a kind of civil and military functionary with authority to act under the Dalai Lama. This official was named the

Tipa, and, encouraged by the nature of the post he occupied, he soon began to carry on intrigues for the elevation of his own rank and power at the expense of the priestly rulers, in whose service he was pledged by the most sacred oaths to act uprightly and well. The ambition of one Tipa led to his fall and imprisonment; but the evil was set down to the indiscretion of the individual, and a successor was named to the office. The new Tipa had been chosen for the post chiefly because he was the reputed son of one of the Dalai Lamas, and when his father died in 1682 he concealed his death, gave out that he had only retired into the recesses of his palace, and ruled the state in his name for the space of sixteen years. The Tipa knew well that it would be impossible to secure the approval of Kanghi for what he had done, and, seeing that, the instant the secret of his perfidy was revealed, he would incur the resentment of the Chinese ruler, he began to prepare for the evil day by entering into cordial relations with Galdan, and by inviting the military support of the princes of Jungaria. For several years he proved able to carry on these machinations and to blind the Emperor as to his real intentions by a profusion of words. Kanghi, ignorant of the true state of the case, wrote the Tipa letters of friendly expression, and conferred upon him a title of much honour.

But even in the recesses of Asia the truth cannot be forever concealed. Rumours at last reached Kanghi that there were suspicious circumstances in connection with the disappearance of the Dalai Lama, and these insinuations acquired increased force from the Tipa's undoubted sympathy with the cause of Galdan, for one of his personal lamas had even gone so far as to offer up prayers for the success of the Eleuth's arms. When Kanghi began to realize the fact that the Tipa had throughout been duping him, his indignation was pronounced, and he threatened him with condign punishment. The Tipa made numerous promises, and at last proclaimed one of his creatures as the personage into whom the never-dying spirit of the Buddha incarnate had passed. The choice proved an unfortunate one, and further roused the indignation, not only of Kanghi, but also of the Tibetans

themselves. The difficulty might have become more aggravated had not the military commander, Latsan Khan, taken the law into his own hands, and speedily put an end to the career and contentions of the Tipa. The latter was slain with most of his supporters, and the boy Lama he had selected died either by poison or by his own hand. Yet even the overthrow of the ambitious minister did not suffice to make the condition of things in the holy land of Buddhism one of assured tranquillity. For the new Dalai Lama did not obtain the support of Latsan Khan, and his friends conveyed him for safety to Sining on the Western Chinese border.

It has been seen that the Eleuth leader, Tse Wang Rabdan, had succeeded to much of his uncle's power and influence through Central Asia, and he had also inherited those political views on the subject of Tibet, which led the Jungarian family to figure as the champions of the Tipa, in contradistinction to the Chinese Emperor's support of the spiritual authority of the Dalai Lama. The fall of the Tipa seemed, therefore, to him to require some vigorous step on his part to counteract the preponderating authority it might give to Chinese interest in Tibet. For this reason he turned a deaf ear to the proposals for an alliance made to him by Latsan Khan, and brought matters to an open breach by the imprisonment of his son, who happened to be paying a visit to Ili. Tse Wang Rabdan then followed up this hostile act by despatching an army into Tibet to overthrow Latsan Khan, and to reassert the influence of Jungaria. At the same time he directed another force to march on Sining, whither the young Dalai Lama had been conveyed for safety by his friends. Thus both indirectly and directly Tse Wang Rabdan proclaimed his hostility to Kanghi, and brought down upon his own head, and upon his successors and subjects, the full weight of China's indignation.

The Eleuth army left the banks of the Ili in 1709 under the command of Zeren Donduk, and, having crossed the vast desert of Eastern Turkestan, in the centre of which Lob Nor forms an agreeable but almost solitary oasis, appeared in due course before the walls of Lhasa. Little or no attempt at

resistance was made there, and the Eleuths plundered and ravaged the whole of the surrounding region. Latsan Khan was slain, and the Eleuths slowly retraced their steps with a quantity of spoil, seized from the temples and monasteries, and stated to have been incalculable. Their expedition against Sining failed, but Tse Wang Rabdan could for the moment congratulate himself on having succeeded in the object which was of the more immediate importance, and which promised to prove the most advantageous. The tidings of this expedition and of the pillaging of Tibet warned Kanghi that in Tse Wang Rabdan he must meet an opponent scarcely less formidable than Galdan had been, and one whose overthrow would be the more difficult in consequence of his being at a greater distance from China. Yet the sincerity of Kanghi's desire for peace remained undoubted, and only the aggressions of his Western neighbours compelled him to turn his attention to this subject.

The invasion of Tibet had been conducted with such celerity and secrecy that there had been no time to despatch reinforcements to Lhasa from Szchuen or Yunnan in order to prevent the acts of plunder of the ruthless conqueror. But no sooner had the news been received, than orders were at once issued for the collection of a large army in Szchuen to march into Tibet to avenge the injury inflicted on an unoffending people. Before this force, however, had begun its movements it is known that the Eleuths had evacuated the country, and that whatever measures of punishment might be taken would have to be carried out not in Tibet, but in Central Asia. It was, therefore, towards Hami that the Chinese troops received directions to advance.

Emboldened by the failure of Tse Wang Rabdan's expedition against Sining, the Chinese troops advanced beyond Hami for the purpose of threatening Turfan. But the Jungarian forces stood prepared to resist their approach to that place, and while Kanghi's expedition was proceeding in perfect confidence towards its destination the Eleuths suddenly fell upon it, and inflicted great loss on the Chinese army. The consequences of this reverse revealed its gravity and extent. The town of Hami surrendered to the victor,

and, while in his hands, was given over to destruction. For the moment Kanghi's schemes of revenge remained perforce in abeyance, if they did not absolutely fall to the ground. He turned from unprofitable enterprises beyond Gobi to give security to the people of Tibet against any possible recurrence of the invasion from which they had so greatly suffered. Tibet was garrisoned by a Manchu army, while fresh levies were made for the reassertion of Chinese authority in the Hami region.

Very soon the wave of battle set in against the leaders of Turkestan, and the Chinese army of more than a hundred thousand men crossed the desert, expelled the Mahomedans, and again set up the authority of the Bogdo Khan in the stronghold of Hami. Although the possession of this place enabled the Chinese to keep in check the fanaticism and ambitious instincts of the Mahomedan princelets and of the chief Tse Wang Rabdan in particular, the troubles of Kanghi in Central Asia still continued. If a durable and peaceful settlement of the questions relating to his Western borders was to be attained, it was made clear to him that no policy of mere defence would suffice. Kanghi had overthrown Galdan, and established his power without the possibility of rivalry among all the Mongol tribes. But although his authority was unchallenged round the Amour and in the region of Koko Nor, it was more than he could do or felt disposed to undertake to conquer the country up to the Pamir. Yet nothing short of that would suffice to give assured tranquillity to the borders of Kansuh and Shensi, and to put an end to the ever-recurring peril from the inordinate ambition and warlike habits of the desert chiefs and their clansmen. Hami was finally won back in the year 1717, when Kanghi was growing old, and was beginning to feel that there were some questions which must be left for his successors to grapple with. Each of the last few years of his long reign was marked by a desultory campaign with the forces of Tse Wang Rabdan, who supplied the deficiencies of his resources by the rapidity and secrecy of his movements.

In 1721, on the eve of his death, Kanghi received the congratulations of his court on the occasion of a victory over

the Eleuth forces. The results of this signal success against the army of Tse Wang Rabdan proved, we are told, "equivalent to the conquest of Tibet." This achievement brought to as satisfactory a termination as the circumstances admitted the wars which Kanghi had waged for so many years in the heart of Asia. It showed that Kanghi's ardour and energy had not abated since the day when he first took up the pursuit of Galdan and decreed his ruin.

In Formosa, too, the same year was marked by an insurrection against the Chinese authority, and by its prompt and summary suppression. The Pekin authorities attributed it to the malice of the Dutch, but in this calumny we may detect another proof of the revulsion against foreigners which marked the last days of Kanghi's reign. Both on the mainland and in the possessions beyond the sea the military power of China was firmly asserted and maintained. Kanghi's achievements in war entitle him to rank as a great conqueror, but they derive their principal importance from the fact that they were turned to the realization of magnificent administrative purposes. The Empire pacified by Wou Sankwei's overthrow, the Mongols and Khalkas confirmed in their allegiance by the vigour and presence of the young Emperor, the Eleuths and the other hordes of Central Asia driven back to the distant territories where they could do little to disturb the Chinese borders, Tibet annexed, Formosa pacified, Corea's friendship assured, and the Japanese overawed by the spectacle of superior might,—these formed the record of military achievements and their consequences during Kanghi's eventful reign. The grand result ensured was the security of a mighty Empire, and the prosperity of an industrious people, leaving to posterity a page of interesting and instructive history, and all the benefit that may be extracted from the consideration of a great and difficult task successfully and honourably performed.

CHAPTER XLII.

KANGHI'S ADMINISTRATION.

AFTER the subversion of the power of Wou Sankwei and the other Chinese princes in the South, Kanghi was left undisturbed to carry on the administration of all the provinces of the country. The arduous campaigns in the interior of Asia, in Tibet and Mongolia, and the very large sacrifices both of men and money that they entailed, did not affect the general tranquillity or prosperity of the realm. Kanghi ruled a contented people, who were actively engaged in the numerous industries provided for them by the varied resources of the country, and who were, moreover, quite content to accept his views as to the advisability and necessity of giving the Empire an assurance of peace by the vigorous prosecution of wars with external enemies. The fact is clear enough, although the want of details renders it difficult to describe the prosperous state of China during the forty years that Kanghi continued to reign after the overthrow of the great Chinese vassals in Szchuen and Kwantung. Perhaps the strongest evidence of this will be found in the fact that the Chinese people, although there was always an influential party at Peking in favour of the abandonment of the pursuit of Galdan, and of the cessation of all active campaigning beyond the desert, remained well-disposed towards the established Government. The absence of the greater portion of the Manchu and Mongol armies beyond the frontier afforded a favourable opportunity to revolt, but no inclination to do so was revealed.

Among the principal and most interesting features of

Kanghi's long reign must undoubtedly be placed his relations with the Christians who, in the persons of the Roman Catholic missionaries, had penetrated into the interior of China and established themselves at the capital and in the chief cities of the Empire. It has been already seen how, after passing through several vicissitudes of fortune, the Jesuit fathers obtained permission to reside in China and to preach their gospel to the people. Kanghi personally had benefited by their instruction in a peculiar and exceptional degree. The more important part of his education had been entrusted to their care, and his Christian tutors had placed at his disposal much of the lore of Europe. The intercourse he held with them during his earlier days led him to regard with a friendly eye a race from whom he had nothing to fear, and from whose superior knowledge and exceptional attainments he might expect to derive many advantages and to obtain much assistance in the task of government. The Christian missionaries, the representatives of the Church of Rome, were therefore employed in numerous capacities. As the price of the privilege to preach their religion they were required to make themselves as useful as they could be, and to give their word to think no more of a return to their native country. This company of excellent and high-minded individuals gave the required promise, and devoted their lives to the work they had voluntarily accepted. Few instances are there of a worldly sacrifice more nobly performed and undertaken than this dedication of the Jesuit missionaries to a lifelong exile in a strange land; and well would it have been for the prospects of foreign intercourse if the Dutch and the Spaniards, as other exponents of European civilization, had more closely imitated their example.

It is not in accordance with the human character for the representatives of an existing system to feel or to evince much sympathy for one coming in a foreign guise and asserting views of a conflicting nature to everything they have been in the habit of accepting as true and indisputable. The intensity of national antipathies becomes inflamed when the subject in dispute is the one upon which we all feel most strongly, the question of religious belief. The philosophical

calmness and political sagacity of Kanghi led him to tolerate the presence of men whose ethics he could appreciate with an academic pleasure, and whose services he knew as an administrator were highly valuable. But what commended itself to the judgment of an intelligent prince found very little favour in the eyes of a people antipathetic to the foreigner and incited by an official class jealous of possible rivals, and discontented at the spectacle of many of their favourite posts being filled by Europeans. The reign of Kanghi was marked throughout by the conflict of these two elements. Thanks to the staunch support of Kanghi and to his enlightened tolerance, the Jesuits more than held their own. The anti-foreign party was compelled to conceal the full bitterness of its venom, and to await with such patience as they could muster the time when the Emperor should grow tired of his favourites. For more than fifty years the Jesuits remained prominent among Kanghi's trusted councillors. They were employed as envoys, and as astronomers, as doctors, and as geographers. Their maps served to bring under Kanghi's eye the full extent of the territories he ruled, the artillery they constructed contributed to give him the victory over his enemies, and their medicines saved on more than one occasion the life of their benefactor. Kanghi's sympathy had been gained by his respect for their persons and their character, but his undeviating support was secured by the practical work they did for him—work which he felt there were none others to do so well, if at all.

In the year 1692, after a long discussion, during which the anti-foreign party spared no effort to thwart the personal views of the Emperor, and to impose restrictions on the persons and practices of the Christians, the Tribunal of Rites agreed upon an edict in favour of the strangers. Permission was given by this proclamation, which received the sanction and warm approval of Kanghi, to the missionaries to perform their religious rites, to burn incense and to preach their doctrine in the churches which they had already erected. It was also permitted to all persons to attend those services. The proclamation of the Tribunal of Rites in the year 1692 became the charter of Christianity in the Chinese Empire, and

the faithful execution of its provisions was rendered the more certain by the recovery in the very same year of the Emperor Kanghi from a bad attack of fever by means of the medicine and attention of the French missionaries after his life was despaired of by his own doctors. Eight years after this incident Kanghi, who had previously allowed the missionaries to reside within the precincts of the palace, gave them permission to build a church adjoining their place of residence. Not merely did he grant them the site for the proposed building, but he presented each of the missionaries with the sum of fifty golden crowns, or more probably taels, to enable each to subscribe that amount towards the cost of construction. Such princely generosity and consideration have rarely been equalled.

The position of the Christian missionaries was, therefore, not only secure, but also of considerable influence and profit during the greater portion of Kanghi's reign. This unprecedented success—for elsewhere in Asia Christianity made but slow and fitful progress—encouraged the members of the Jesuit order to believe that in the dense masses of China they had found fit and willing subjects to receive the great truths of the simplest and most beautiful of inspired religions. Had there been danger in the path they would not have held back from the adventure, but the very friendliness of Kanghi offered a further inducement to them to attempt it. Every year was marked by the arrival at Canton of recruits for those who were spreading the truths of Christianity, and it became the order of the day at Paris and at Rome to seize the opportunity afforded by the presence on the throne of Peking of a sovereign sympathetic in his views, and of an exceptionally just cast of mind. The policy was intelligible and would have been sound, had there been any real leaning towards Christianity among the Chinese. As there was none, but only a contemptuous indifference towards "the men from over the sea," this undue haste and precipitance in snatching at what seemed a prize provoked dangers that might have been averted by a more cautious and circumspect manner of proceeding. Kanghi's friendship alone enabled them to hold their ground, and with each succeeding illness after the

year 1710 it became clearer that no great confidence could be placed even in its much longer continuing. The death of Kanghi, it was feared on the one hand, and confidently expected on the other, would mark the term of Christian prosperity and security in the country, and particularly at the capital.

The predominant feeling of hostility towards the Christians arose not so much from antipathy to their religion as from jealousy of their thinly-veiled assumption of superiority. This sentiment had naturally most force among the officials, who believed that they were ousted from many high posts and offices by the men whom Kanghi's caprice had protected and rewarded. There was a certain amount of truth, too, in their allegations, for some of the highest offices in the state were filled by Christians, which necessarily curtailed the number of places available for the numerous body of the Chinese civil service. The intensity of this feeling was naturally very much increased by each fresh arrival, and although Kanghi remained staunch in his favour, it was clear that the Christians* were exposed to many perils, and that unless his successor proved equally sympathetic towards

* In 1702 an attempt was made to hamper their movements and to check their liberty by a provincial official, the Viceroy of Chekiang. The edict of 1692 gave the Christians the right to use the churches already built, but said nothing about the construction of new ones. Christian emissaries established themselves at the convenient harbour of Ningpo, and naturally presented a request for permission to build a church. They based their demand on the Edict of 1692, but the Viceroy rejected their petition, saying that there was nothing in it allowing the building of new churches. The matter was referred to Pekin, when a decision was given in favour of the Christians on the grounds that "they have never been the cause of any trouble to the Empire, nor ever committed any reprehensible act, and that their doctrine is not bad."—Mailla, vol. xi. pp. 305-7. Kanghi's own opinion of the Europeans may here be appropriately quoted :—"Europeans, whom I employ even in the interior of my palace, you have always served me with zeal and affection, without any one having been able up to this to cast the slightest reproach upon you. There are many Chinese who distrust you, but as for myself, and I have carefully observed the whole of your conduct, in which I have never found anything irregular, I am so fully convinced of your uprightness and good faith that I publicly declare that you are deserving of every trust and confidence."—"Lettres Edifiantes," tom. xviii. p. 92.

them all the good work of the previous century and a half would be destroyed.

It was becoming clear also towards the commencement of the eighteenth century that the question of the relations of the Chinese with foreign countries was one that could not be restricted to matters of religion. The Jesuits and their companion orders came to convert a people, who regarded them in return with a certain curiosity, and their efforts with a philosophical scepticism and amusement; but other nations came to trade and to establish themselves in the seaports of the Empire. Canton had already heard the thunder of English guns, the Dutch had played their game of ambition in Formosa and Japan, and the Spaniards had established a powerful, defiant, and inhuman authority in the Philippines. The China seas were covered with the vessels of strange peoples, whose engines of war made them appear as terrible as the unscrupulous nature of their acts showed them to be false of faith and regardless of the manner in which they attained their ends. The question of holding commercial and political relations with such nations as these was, therefore, one of a very different nature to allowing a few useful individuals to reside in the chief city of the Empire. Even Kanghi treated the two matters as being on a totally distinct footing, and his good-will towards the Jesuits did not dispose him to deprecate any the less the development of his commercial relations with European countries. The Manchus were the more inclined to adopt a policy of isolation, because, being themselves a foreign dynasty, they were apprehensive lest some of these formidable Western peoples should seek to imitate what they had accomplished.

In 1716 the trade between Canton and the Philippines had attained considerable dimensions, and the export of rice in particular is stated to have been very large. An Imperial edict, issued early in the following year, prohibited the export of rice, and forbade Chinese vessels to sail for foreign ports. This proclamation, of course, gave fresh courage to all who were secretly inimical to foreign intercourse, and petitions to the throne became frequent for the dismissal of the foreigners, and for the breaking-off of all intercourse with the outer

world. One petition, presented by a military officer named Chinmao, who held the principal command of the troops at Canton, was composed of a homily against the vices and self-seeking aims of Europeans. But it seemed to touch a chord of sympathy even in the heart of Kanghi, for the petition was so far favourably received that all the tribunals in conclave assembled called attention to the extent to which Christianity had spread, and demanded the passing of severe measures against its votaries. These were not sanctioned in the exact form in which they were presented; but in 1718, for the first time during Kanghi's reign, restrictions were placed on the practice of the Christian religion. Even before the death of their greatest benefactor, therefore, it was clear that the prosperous days of Christianity in China were numbered, and that the small religious community which had so adventurously established itself at Peking would very soon be exposed to all the perils from the fanaticism and natural hostility of the people. The full force of the storm did not reveal itself until after Kanghi's death, when his crown had passed to a sovereign more intensely national and more deeply prejudiced.

Deservedly fortunate in most of his relations, Kanghi could not altogether escape from the anxieties caused by the rival pretensions of his sons, who all aspired, without much reference to either their capacity or their claims, to be his successor. The eldest son of the Empress had at an early stage of the reign been declared heir-apparent, and the letters which Kanghi addressed to him during his absence in Tartary showed that he was the object of his affection and tender solicitude. In 1709 the same prince fell under the suspicion of Kanghi, who had been led to believe in his treason by the specious representations of some of the courtiers. The palace became the scene of a fierce rivalry, threatening to disturb the tranquillity of Kanghi's last years. And although there appears to be no doubt of his complete innocence of the main charge, the Prince Imperial was arrested and cast into prison. His family underwent the same fate, and many who were believed to be his supporters paid the penalty of their attachment to his person with their lives.

The arrest of a prince so nearly related to the ruler, and the deposal of the recognized heir to the crown, were not to be accomplished without exciting very considerable notice and comment among the Chinese people. Kanghi recognized the necessity for explaining the causes of the summary proceedings taken against his heir, and gave his permission to the drawing-up of a form of indictment, enumerating the supposed misdeeds of the Prince Imperial from an early age. This step was taken in compliance with established form, but it appears to have had little effect on the public mind, which was in favour of the disgraced and imprisoned prince. A very short time elapsed before the true facts of the case came within the cognizance of the Emperor, and then it was found that Kanghi's credulity had been imposed upon. The heir-apparent had been aspersed for personal motives by his eldest brother, who was known by the title of the First Regulo, and his fall was wholly attributable to the envious machinations of this relative. When the true history of this intrigue became known, it was discovered that the charges against the Prince Imperial possessed no better foundation than the evidence of a few lamas and dealers in magic attached to the party, or in the service of the First Regulo.

Kanghi was naturally much distressed at these domestic troubles, and his dissatisfaction was increased when he found that a strong party among his courtiers was in favour of proclaiming as the heir to the crown the eighth of his sons, instead of restoring the deposed prince to his rightful position. They were induced to act thus in order to avert the consequences they imagined would be entailed by their having contributed towards the disgrace of the Prince Imperial. Kanghi in no way sympathized with the illogical and unfair attitude of these ministers towards his once-favoured son, and took summary means to convince them of the unwisdom of the course they suggested. Some he banished to the remote provinces, and others he dismissed from their offices; and having released the Prince Imperial, and restored his honours, he formally celebrated the conclusion of this painful incident. Public fêtes, national rejoicings, and the performance of a play based on a somewhat similar incident in the ancient

history of China testified to the warm feelings with which Kanghi beheld the return of his favourite son to the position for which he had designated him early in his reign. The First Regulo, on the other hand, was deposed from his rank, and many of his supporters were executed. Thus was domestic tranquillity ensured, but not without cost. The episode tended to disturb Kanghi's peace of mind, and he attributed this discord to the prevalent practices of magic and spiritualism. The death of the Empress-mother in the year 1718 may be mentioned as another domestic event of some interest, and also of importance as indicating the near approach of the end of this eventful reign.

In 1721, the sixtieth anniversary of Kanghi's accession to the throne was celebrated with all the ceremony which so unusual and auspicious an event deserved. The Chinese people without distinction saw in this fact, which could not be paralleled since the earliest period of their recorded history, a mark of peculiar favour on the part of Heaven, and a divine confirmation of the wisdom of their prince. That the same prince should rule throughout a complete cycle was in its way remarkable, and in the case of Kanghi the feat seemed the more worthy of being handed down to fame in that he had succeeded to an insecure inheritance, and that he had made good his right of possession by the vigour and ability with which he had overcome innumerable difficulties, and won his way triumphantly through a sea of troubles. It was only natural and becoming, therefore, that the Chinese nation should, at the close of sixty years of an eventful reign, express, in such form as human gratitude has been able to devise, their respect for their great ruler, and their sense of the obligations under which they lay to him as the man who had maintained the Empire and established peace within it on a firm foundation.

Among the principal events of these last years of his life must be placed the arrival at Peking of the Russian Embassy, sent by Peter the Great to draw closer the bonds of intimacy with his neighbour. This was not, indeed, the first time that a Czar had despatched his representative to the Chinese capital; but the failure of the first mission, in consequence of

the prostration ceremony, and the comparative insignificance of the second,* have resulted in Peter's Embassy standing out in greater prominence than either of those that preceded it. It was in the year 1719 that Peter's Embassy entered China. It consisted of the Ambassador M. Ismaloff, his secretary M. de Lange,† the English traveller Mr. Bell, and a considerable suite. The Chinese Government, acting on the emphatic commands of the Emperor himself, consented to accord this embassy an honourable reception. A house was set apart for the use of the members, who lived as the guests of the Emperor. On the other hand, much of the innate suspicion and dislike of the officials were evinced in small matters, most probably beyond the personal knowledge of Kanghi; and among these may be mentioned the circumstance that they were sealed up in their house, in order to prevent their going out to examine the town. M. Ismaloff protested against the indignity, and it was forthwith discontinued; but it is possible that there was more justice than is allowed in the Chinese plea that they did this in order to ensure the safety of their guests. An equal compliance—after many difficulties and objections had been raised and withdrawn—with the scruples of the Westerns was shown in the all-important matter of the prostration ceremony; but Kanghi's personal interference in a controversy which the rigidity of his ministers promised to make an insuperable barrier to the reception of the embassy alone smoothed over the difficulty. The envoy of the Czar found no further reason to refuse to pay the kotow to the Chinese throne when one of Kanghi's first ministers by his order offered for him the same token of respect to Peter's letter.

Upon this Ismaloff was received in audience by Kanghi, and presented the letter‡ and presents sent by the Czar Peter.

* This was in 1692. The name of the envoy was Ides, but little or nothing is known of the details.

† We owe to the journal of M. de Lange, translated by Mr. Bell, a graphic and complete picture of the fortunes of this mission and of the condition of Peking at this period.

‡ Peter's letter was as follows:—"To the Emperor of the vast countries of Asia, to the sovereign Monarch of Bogdo, to the supreme Majesty of Khitay, friendship and greeting. With the design which I

By the general testimony of all who witnessed the scene it was allowed that never had a Chinese sovereign conferred greater honour on the envoys of a foreign state than Kanghi did on this occasion to the representatives of Russia. After a short residence Ismaloff returned home, but before his departure he succeeded in inducing the Emperor to consent to his leaving the secretary De Lange at Pekin, as a sort of diplomatic agent for the Czar. This concession was the last gained from the large mind and broad views of the great Emperor in favour of any European people, for after this act the prejudices and jealousy of the official classes secured and maintained the upper hand at his council-board.

Ismaloff, consequently, brought back to his master a flattering tale of the success of his visit to the great Khan of China, and Peter, encouraged in his expectation of securing the profit of the rich trade with the wealthiest country of the East, fitted out a large caravan to tap the fertile regions of Northern China, and to open up a land route to Pekin. The caravan duly reached its destination in the year 1721, but it found the position of affairs in the Chinese capital very different from what Ismaloff's glowing report had led the Czar and his Court to believe and expect. The secretary, De Lange, was little more than a prisoner, the ministers refused to have anything to do with commercial matters, and Kanghi, the only person at all well-disposed towards the foreigner, lay upon a bed of sickness. Soon after the arrival of this the first and last caravan sent by Peter the Great, De Lange received a curt request to take his departure, and for the future it was announced that such trade intercourse as might be carried on between the two countries should be restricted to "the

possess of holding and increasing the friendship and close relations long established between your Majesty and my predecessors and myself, I have thought it right to send to your court, in the capacity of ambassador-extraordinary, Leon Ismaloff, captain in my Guards. I beg you will receive him in a manner suitable to the character in which he comes, to have regard and to attach as much faith to what he may say on the subject of our mutual affairs as if I were speaking to you myself, and also to permit his residing at your Court of Pekin until I recall him. Allow me to sign myself your Majesty's good friend, Peter." This note was written in Russian, Latin, and Mongol.

frontiers." The successive deaths of Kanghi and Peter left no opportunity of retrieving the ground thus lost, and the question of some definite arrangement either for trade or diplomatic purposes had to be left over for a future period.

It is only needful now, in drawing to a close our description of this long and eventful reign, to say a few words on the subject of the personal character of the prince of whose career not the least notable incident was that it witnessed the consolidation of the remarkable Manchu conquest. We have seen Kanghi as he appears from the public acts and magnificent exploits of his reign. They show him wise, courageous, magnanimous, and sagacious as the sovereign of a vast Empire and of a multitudinous people. His private life, and those minor traits which so often reveal the true man better than his set conduct on the platform of public life, confirm the view impressed upon us by the record of his reign. The character of few rulers will bear the same searching investigation as his will. In the smallest affairs he seems to have been truly great, and his virtue was conspicuous in all he undertook.

Although so much occupied by the troubles beyond his borders, Kanghi's main object had ever been to secure for his subjects internal tranquillity and all the benefits of peace and of an impartial dispensation of justice. Whether residing in the Imperial Palace at Peking, or in his summer retreat at Chang Chun Yuen, "the park of eternal spring," Kanghi was always careful to avoid indulging in any useless or excessive extravagance. The same sound sense which he showed in refusing to assume a fresh title of honour, when requested to do so by his courtiers on the occasion of the overthrow of Galdan, was evinced in many other ways too numerous to be related. Among the principal of these instances of royal thoughtfulness it may be mentioned that he gave up one of his favourite pursuits, that of making tours or progresses through his dominions, from consideration of the wants of his people. When it came to his ears that his subjects were heavily taxed and obliged to give up their ordinary avocations for a time in order that the necessary preparations should be made for his visit, he at once gave orders that

these exceptional steps were to be discontinued. He provided a still more effectual remedy by abstaining from a practice which had become almost a habit with him, and which had proved productive of both amusement and instruction. Another similar but less costly practice with Kanghi was to make a tour without attendants through the streets of Peking. This remarkable condescension on the part of a Chinese monarch was shown for the second time during this reign, in recognition of the people's loyalty and affection, in the year 1709.

Kanghi was celebrated from his youth as an intrepid horseman and hunter. It was his favourite relaxation to pass the hotter months of summer in hunting expeditions in Tartary, that is to say in the country beyond the Wall. None among his companions excelled him as a skilful rider and archer, and with him the ardour of the sportsman was one of the keenest sentiments. Even at Peking he could not give up his chosen pastime, and he filled the neighbouring park of Haidso with game and savage animals, in order that he might not have to forego his accustomed exercise. Here, in the sixty-ninth year of his age and the last of his reign, Kanghi went out to chase the tiger, to the astonishment, if not the admiration also, of his subjects. The case of this Chinese Emperor may be taken as furnishing another proof that the love and practice of manly exercises do not detract from the vigour of the arm in war, or from the clearness of the head in council.

Kanghi's interest in promoting literary pursuits and education was not less conspicuous than that he showed in the pursuit of the exhilarating sports of his race. One of the first objects to which he devoted himself was to procure a complete and trustworthy map both of the provinces and also of the dependent territories over which he reigned. With that end in view he sent the foreign missionaries on special missions of exploration into all the quarters of the Empire. By their agency he succeeded in acquiring a closer and more intimate acquaintance with the features and climatic conditions of the eighteen provinces of China than had been possessed by any of his predecessors. While one party

followed the course of the Great Wall throughout its entire extent from east to west, another explored the recesses of Leaoutung, and marked out the frontier of Corea, and a third proceeded to the borders of Tibet, and laid down on the chart the approaches to a country which was gradually but surely being drawn into closer and more intimate connection with Pekin.

The Hanlin College came in for a large share of favour during this reign, and the name of Kanghi occupies a prominent place in the annals of that great national institution. The Emperor was himself a man of letters of no mean proficiency and skill, and his collected works filled one hundred volumes. Among the offspring of his imagination were pieces of poetry and fugitive essays, as well as more serious memoirs on public affairs, the history of his country, and the work of administration. But of all his literary labours none has achieved a higher or more durable fame than his sixteen maxims on the art of governing states. Each of these maxims contained no more and no less than seven characters, but they were subsequently amplified and annotated by his son and successor, the Emperor Yung Ching. Another work in which Kanghi's hand may be traced, but which was actually performed by a commission of Hanlin doctors, may be mentioned in the celebrated Imperial dictionary, which represents an imperishable monument to the greatness of Kanghi. Many other literary achievements were accomplished during this reign, and among these were translations into Manchu, for the use of the conquerors, of the principal Chinese classics. All Kanghi's writings were marked by a high code of morality, as well as by the lofty ideas of a large-minded statesman.

Kanghi could not escape the shafts of the envious, and several gossiping travellers * have endeavoured to spread reports to the disparagement of this prince. An excessive vanity and avarice have been imputed to him, but the whole tenor of his life disproves the former statement, and whatever foundation in fact the latter may have had he never carried it to any greater length than mere prudence and

* Laureati and Le Gentil.

consideration for the wants of his people demanded. On the other hand, we know that he resorted to gentle pressure to attain his ends rather than to tyrannical violence. When he wished to levy a heavy contribution from a too rich subject, he had recourse to what may be styled a mild joke * sooner than to the thumbscrew or the rack. Nor did he ever allow his anger to carry him into extremes, which he might afterwards have cause to repent. His long reign is singularly free from the executions of prominent princes and officials, which are found so frequently in Chinese history under even the best of rulers; and wherever possible he always tempered justice with mercy. A very short time after his accession one of his ministers fell into disgrace, and lay under sentence of death. But when he bared his breast and exposed the marks of the wounds he had received in saving the life of Kanghi's grandfather, Taitso, he was immediately pardoned, and found his way back to the confidence of his sovereign.

The frequent illnesses from which Kanghi had suffered during his later years had done much to undermine and weaken a constitution that had always been considered exceptionally sound and robust. Notwithstanding these reasons for observing simple precautions, he still persisted in the winter of 1722 in following his amusement of the chase in the neighbourhood of Pekin. He was thus employed when his last and fatal illness seized him. In a few hours all was over, and in the evening of the 20th of December, 1722, there passed away all that was mortal of the best and greatest monarch of Asia. On all sides, and from witnesses of different opinions on most subjects, came unanimous testimony † to his worth. Of the magnitude of his services to

* This will be found described at length in note on p. 366 of vol. xi. of Mailla. Briefly it may be thus narrated:—One day Kanghi made this official lead him riding on an ass round his gardens. As recompense he gave him a tael. Then he himself led the mandarin in similar fashion. At the end of the tour he asked how much greater he was than his minister? "The comparison is impossible," said the ready courtier. "Then I must make the estimate myself," replied Kanghi; "I am 20,000 times as great, therefore you will pay me 20,000 taels."

† Père Parennin, in his letter of the 1st of May, 1723 (tome xix. of

China and to his own race there could, indeed, be no question. They were conspicuous and incontestable. He had ascended the throne at a time when it seemed that the Manchu conquest, far from giving China the assurance of a settled and peaceful rule, would prove in its main result the perpetuation of internal dissension and of sanguinary strife. The presence of the able and powerful feudatory Wou Sankwei strengthened that conviction, and none dared think when the crisis reached the stage of open war that the youthful prince would more than hold his own, and eventually triumph over the veteran general whose military skill and consistent good fortune had been the theme of admiration and wonder with his countrymen for more than a whole generation.

From his earliest youth Kanghi had given abundant promise of his future greatness; and one story which is preserved of him when about to succeed to the crown is indicative of his firm confidence in himself and his destiny. It is said that, when Chuntche was on his death-bed, he summoned his children into his presence. "Which of you," he said, "feels that he possesses the ability and strength to retain a crown that has been won only so short a time?" All pleaded their youth or their inexperience, except Kanghi, the youngest, in whose vigorous instincts there dwelt the assurance of success. The result more than justified his

"*Lettres Edifiantes*"), wrote as follows:—"This prince was one of those extraordinary men who are only met with once in the course of several centuries. He placed no limits to his desire for knowledge, and of all the princes of Asia there never was one with so great a taste for the arts and sciences." And again, "This prince was not put out by the expression of an opinion different to his own—rare, indeed, is it among persons of his rank to tolerate contradiction." Mailla's opinion is not less favourable and not less clearly expressed. He calls him "one of the greatest men who have honoured the throne of China." The following quotation of his personal appearance is taken from Bouvet's "*Vie de Canghi*:"—

"There is nothing in his appearance which is not worthy of the throne he occupies. His air is majestic, his figure excellently proportioned and above the middle height; all the features of the countenance are regular; his eyes bright and larger than is usual with his nation; the nose slightly curved and drooping at the point; and the few marks left by the small-pox detract nothing from the charm which is conspicuous throughout his person.

confidence in himself, and the Chinese people not less than the Manchu race had reason to congratulate themselves that Kanghi triumphed over his difficulties and succeeded in consolidating his authority. During the sixty-one years of his reign China made rapid strides towards the attainment of perfect material prosperity, and when he handed down his crown to his fourth son and successor, Yung Ching, he left an Empire of vast dimensions thoroughly reduced to a sense of obedience to the Government of Peking, and prosperous by reason of the assurance of security for all classes, and for all kinds of property.

The place of Kanghi among Chinese sovereigns is clearly defined. He ranks on almost equal terms with the two greatest of them all, Taitsong and his own grandson Keen Lung; and it would be ungracious, if not impossible, to say in what respect he falls short of complete equality with either, so numerous and conspicuous were his talents and his virtues. His long friendship and high consideration for the Christian missionaries have no doubt contributed to bring his name and the events of his reign more prominently before Europe than has been the case with any other Chinese ruler, even in that of his grandson. But although this predilection for European practices may have had the effect of strengthening his claims to precede every other of his country's rulers, it can add but little to the impression produced on even the most cursory reader by the remarkable achievements in peace and war accomplished by this gifted Emperor. The right of these three Chinese rulers to appear in the same rank with the greatest sovereigns of antiquity or of modern times, of Europe or of Asia, cannot be disputed. They showed the same qualities that gain the admiration of mankind in the heroes of Greece and Rome; nor can those few rulers and conquerors to whom by the allowance of all civilized peoples the title of Great is due—Alexander and Cæsar, Charlemagne and Alfred, Genghis and Timour, Akbar and Peter, Frederick and Napoleon—be placed in any way above them, whereas in the magnitude and utility of their deeds some of these fell very far short of any one of these Chinese Emperors. Kanghi's genius dominates one of the most critical periods

in Chinese history, of which the narrative should form neither an uninteresting nor an uninstrutive theme. Celebrated as the consolidator and completer of the Manchu conquest, Kanghi's virtue and moderation have gained him permanent fame as a wise, just, and beneficent national sovereign in the hearts of the Chinese people, who will ever cherish and revere his memory as that of a man who was among the best of their monarchs, at the same time that he represented one of the most favourable types of their character.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE REIGN OF YUNG CHING.

IMMEDIATELY after Kanghi's death his fourth son, whom he had long designated as his heir, and in whom he fancied that he traced a strong resemblance to himself, was proclaimed Emperor under the style of Yung Ching. In the edict with which he announced to his subjects the death of his father, and his own accession to the throne, he said that on the advice of his ministers he had entered upon the discharge of his official duties without delay, and without giving up precious time to the indulgence of a grief natural, so far as his personal feelings were concerned, but probably prejudicial to the public interests. Yung Ching was a man of mature age, and could, from the place he had enjoyed in the confidence of his predecessor, assume without any delay the responsibilities and duties of his lofty station. He declared that his main purpose would be to carry on the great administrative work in the same manner as Kanghi, and that he would tread as closely as he could in his footsteps. But while Yung Ching took these prompt steps to place himself upon the throne, and to exercise the attributes of supreme power, several of his brothers whom his elevation had displaced assumed an attitude of covert hostility towards his government, and their demeanour warned him that he would have to exhibit vigilance and energy if he desired to retain his authority. At the same time it appeared evident to the people that Kanghi had selected his worthiest son as his successor, and that China would have no reason to fear under Yung Ching the loss of any of the benefits conferred on the nation by his predecessor.

His fine presence, and frank, open manner secured for him the sympathy and applause of the public, and in a very short time he also gained their respect and admiration by his wisdom and justice.

The principal and in every way the most formidable of his rivals was Kanghi's fourteenth son, who, at the time of his death, held the chief command in Central Asia against the Eleuths. This prince, and more especially his son, a youth of some sixteen summers, named Poki, had enjoyed a certain amount of popularity during Kanghi's lifetime, and some had even thought that he would have been chosen as that ruler's successor. But for reasons no doubt excellent Kanghi passed him over and selected Yung Ching instead. It is not clear that Yung Ching had any reason to believe that his younger brother meditated a revolt, but there is no doubt that he at once began to act towards him as if he were a concealed and dangerous enemy. Repeated messages were sent him, in the name of the deceased Emperor, to return without delay to the capital, and to resign the seals of his command to one of his lieutenants. At first some thought of disobeying the summons entered this prince's mind; but after more consideration he resolved to obey. On his arrival at Peking he was placed in honourable confinement, which was changed to closer imprisonment at Chang Chun Yuen on the death a few months later of his mother, who, as Yung Ching's own mother too, had exerted her influence on the side of mercy. At this palace the prince and his son Poki remained during the whole of Yung Ching's reign, and they owed to the clemency of the next Emperor, Keen Lung, their release from the enforced seclusion of thirteen years.

The reported ambitious schemes of Sessaka, another of Yung Ching's brothers, and the ninth of Kanghi's sons, also tended to disturb the tranquillity of the new ruler. Sessaka's want of ability justified a more lenient course of proceeding with him, and his case was considered to have been adequately met when he had been fined to the extent of the greater portion of his personal property; after this he was relegated to a small military command in the provinces. Nor were those who fell under the suspicion of the new sovereign

confined to his near relations. Lessihin, the son of Prince Sourniama, and the representative of the elder branch of the Manchu family, had been publicly known as one of Sessaka's sympathisers, and he was accused of dilatoriness in his official capacity on the occasion of extorting from that personage the fine required by Yung Ching. Whether the accusation was just or not, Lessihin and his brother were involved in the disgrace of Sessaka, and banished to Sining on the Western frontier. There, either as the result of long secret conviction, or from some other motive that cannot now be traced, these fallen magnates adopted Christianity and were baptised. This conversion could do nothing but harm to their worldly prospects, and it also certainly had the effect of heightening the new Emperor's antipathy to the Christian religion and its representatives.

Yung Ching had from the first regarded with an unfriendly eye this branch of the Manchu family, and their adoption of Christianity added further to his resentment. The importance of this indiscretion consisted in its providing him with a decent pretext to resort to extremities against all whom he had marked out as being ill-disposed towards his person. On the one hand the adoption of a foreign and heretical creed served as some proof of confirmed contumacy on the part of his relations; and on the other it gave a semblance of truth to the statement that the Christian priests meddled and took a side in the internal politics of the country. Yung Ching saw and seized his opportunity. His measures of repression against the recalcitrant party in his own family culminated in the summary exile of Sourniama, and all his descendants down to the fourth generation.

It was in vain that Sourniama sought to establish his innocence, and to turn Yung Ching from the vindictive policy upon which he had resolved. In accordance with Manchu practice he sent three of his sons to the palace laden with chains to declare the fidelity of their father, but an audience was refused them; and Sourniama was curtly informed that no course was open to him save to obey. Even in his place of exile the wrath of the Emperor pursued him, and, to satisfy the suspicious exactions of his sovereign, he and his were

compelled to retire into a district still further from the inhabited portions of the country. Here they were reduced to severe straits from absolute want, and early in the year 1725 Sourniama found in death relief from his misfortunes and necessities. His descendants were to owe to the clemency of Keen Lung such reparation for their wrongs as the present can at any time make for the past.

If Yung Ching thus pressed with a heavy hand on those whose assistance and sympathy he felt it doubtful that he could secure, he was certainly not disposed to regard with less sternness or severity the foreign religion towards which he had never felt any sympathy, and under cover of which his enemies appeared to think that they might find shelter. Having settled most of the disputes which threatened the security of his own position, and having restored, as he might reasonably hope, union and tranquillity to the circle of the reigning family, Yung Ching next turned his attention to the effectual humbling of the bold band of foreigners who had established themselves in the capital and throughout the country, and who, having monopolized some of the most important dignities in the service, continued to preach and propagate their gospel of a supreme power and mercy beyond the control of kings, a gospel which was simply destructive of the paternal and sacred claims on which a Chinese Emperor based his authority as superior to all earthly interference, and as transmitted to him direct from Heaven.

Yung Ching's sentiments of aversion were seized and turned to advantage by the official classes, whose hostility to the foreigners had always been pronounced, and which, long pent up, had begun to reveal itself in acts before the death of Kanghi. It was in the provinces that this anti-foreign agitation naturally enough first began to reveal itself in acts of open hostility. In Fuhkien the military governor issued a proclamation denouncing Christianity, forbidding its practice, and ordering all the churches that had been opened within his jurisdiction to be closed. This official condemnation of the foreign religion as a pernicious and demoralizing creed naturally augmented the popular feeling against strangers who had hitherto been regarded with little more than

indifference ; and on all sides accusations were freely advanced against the moral character of the Christian converts. The eighteen churches which had been erected by the piety of converted natives were devoted to different public purposes, and the missionaries were ordered to leave Fuhkien without delay and to return to Macao. The success that attended their movements in this particular province encouraged all who were from any cause unfriendly to foreigners to present a petition to the Emperor for the extirpation of Christianity throughout the country. At Peking the Jesuits lost all their influence. Those who had been well disposed to them either had been banished or were cowed into silence. The Emperor refused to receive them in audience, and they could only wait in inaction, and with such human fortitude as they could muster, until the storm had burst or passed away. Yung Ching expressed in writing his formal approval of everything that had been done, but at the same time he enjoined on his officials the necessity of using as little violence as possible. All the missionaries were to be conducted either to Macao or to the capital, where, if their services were useful, they might still be employed.*

The missionaries, when they saw the results of many years of labour slipping away from them, and as soon as they found

* Some of the views expressed by the Chinese authorities during this crisis may be quoted. The missionaries (Fredelli, Castillon, and De Mailla) entreated a brother of Yung Ching, the thirteenth son of Kanghi, and generally considered as favourably disposed to the Christians, to interfere in their favour. Placed in a judicial position with regard to the throne his favour rapidly cooled, and he declared that since the discussion of their question first began they had been the cause of an infinity of trouble and fatigue to the late Emperor, his father. "What would you say," he continued, "if our people were to go to Europe and wished to change there the laws and customs established by your ancient sages? The Emperor, my brother, wishes to put an end to all this in an effectual manner." The same prince said on a subsequent occasion, "I saw the other day the accusation of the Tsongtou of Fuhkien. It is undoubtedly strong, and your disputes about our customs have greatly injured you. What would you say if we were to transport ourselves to Europe and to act there as you have done here? Would you stand it for a moment? In the course of time I shall master this business, but I declare to you that China will want for nothing when you cease to live in it, and that your absence will not cause it any loss."—Mailla, vol. xi. pp.392-3.

that the foundations of the position they had gradually attained by the tact and fortitude shown during 150 years, from the days of Matthew Ricci in the reign of the Ming Wanleh, were being sapped, resorted to all the efforts of persuasion to avert the collapse of their influence. Their attempt to enlist the sympathy and support of those members of the Manchu family who had once regarded them with favour signally failed to produce any beneficial result. They had all been won over to Yung Ching's views, and the fate of Sourniama and his family proved an effectual deterrent to prevent any imitating their backsliding in the matter of this strange religion. Yet before the controversy closed, Yung Ching received in audience for the first time a deputation from the Jesuits, when, however, instead of listening to their complaints and demands, he enunciated his own policy with regard to them, and in his sketch of the question he gave some hints as to the lines upon which it was based.

"The late Emperor, my father," he said, addressing the small band of foreign priests who had proved their zeal in the cause of their religion by renouncing all hope of return to their native land, "after having instructed me during forty years, chose me in preference to any of my brothers to succeed him on the throne. I make it one of my first objects to imitate him, and to depart in nothing from his manner of government. Some Europeans in the province of Fuhkien have shown a wish to destroy our laws, and they have been a cause of trouble to our people. The high officials of that province have duly apprised me of these facts. It is my duty to provide a remedy for the disorder. That is a matter for the government, with which I am charged. I could not, and ought not to act now as I used to do when I was only a simple prince.

"You tell me that your law is not a false one. I believe you; if I thought that it was false, what would prevent me from destroying your churches and from driving you out of the country? False laws are those which, under the pretext of spreading virtue, rouse a spirit of revolt. But what would you say if I were to send a troop of bonzes and lamas into your country in order to preach their doctrines? How would you receive them?"

“Limatow (Ricci) came to China in the first year of Wanleh. I will not touch upon what the Chinese did at that time, as I am in no way responsible for it. But then you were very few in numbers. In fact, there were only one or two of you, and you had not your people and churches in every province. It was only in my father’s reign that these churches were raised on all sides, and that your doctrines spread with rapidity. We then saw these things clearly enough, and we dared say nothing on the subject. But if you knew how to beguile my father, do not hope to be able to deceive me in the same manner.

“You wish that all the Chinese should become Christians, and indeed your creed demands it. I am well aware of this, but in that event what would become of us? Should we not soon be merely the subjects of your kings? The converts you have made already recognize nobody but you, and in a time of trouble they would listen to no other voice than yours. I know as a matter of fact that we have nothing now to fear, but when the foreign vessels shall come in their thousands and tens of thousands, then it may be that some disasters will ensue.

“China has on the north the empire of the Russians, which is not to be despised; on the south there are the Europeans and their kingdoms, which are still more considerable; and on the west there is Tse Wang Rabdan, whom I wish to keep back within his borders lest he should enter China and cause us trouble. Lange, Ismaloff’s colleague, the Czar’s ambassador, solicited that permission should be given the Russians to establish factories for commerce in all the provinces. His request was refused, and trade was only allowed at Peking or at Kiachta on the frontier, in the Khalka country. I permit you to reside here and at Canton as long as you give no cause for complaint; but, if any should arise, I will not allow you to remain either here or at Canton. I will have none of you in the provinces. The Emperor, my father, suffered much in reputation among the literati by the condescension with which he allowed you to establish yourselves. He could not himself make any change in the laws of our sages, and I will not suffer that in the least degree there shall be cause to

reproach my reign on this score. When my sons and grandsons are on the throne they may do as shall seem good to them. It matters not to me in the smallest what Wanleh did on your account.

“Do not imagine in conclusion that I have nothing against you, or on the other hand that I wish to oppress you. You are aware how I used to act in your behalf when I was only a Regulo. What I do now, I do in my character of Emperor. My sole care is to govern the Empire well. To that I apply myself from morning to evening. I do not see even my children or the Empress; but only those who are engaged in the public administration. This will continue as long as the term of mourning, which is for three years. When that is over I shall, perhaps, then be able to see you more often.”

There is no contesting the ability shown by the Emperor in this speech, which summed up the formal indictment against the Christians as the propagators of a religion incompatible with the constitution and customs of China, and from his point of view much in the argument cannot be gainsaid. The persecution of the Christians, of which the letters from the Peking missionaries were so full, did not for a time go beyond the placing of some restraint on the preaching of their religion. No wholesale executions, or sweeping decrees passed against their persons, attended its course or marked its development. Yung Ching simply showed by his conduct that they must count no longer on the favour of the Emperor in the carrying out of their designs. The difficulties inherent in the task they had undertaken stood for the first time fully revealed, and, having been denounced as a source of possible danger to the stability of the Empire, they became an object of suspicion even to those who had formerly sympathised with their persons if not with their creed.

Yung Ching was still engaged in dealing with these difficult questions with his relatives and his alien subjects, when his attention was called away by reports from several of his viceroys on the subject of great floods which had carried destruction to the crops throughout a large part of Northern China. The provinces of Pechihli, Shansi, and Shensi in particular suffered greatly from this cause, and many

thousands of persons were compelled out of sheer want to take refuge in Peking. Yung Ching devoted all his energy and resources to the task of alleviating the prevalent distress and of mitigating the public misfortune. Large supplies of rice were brought from the south at the expense of the State, and when the Emperor learnt that owing to the speculation of minor officials rice of a very inferior quality was being distributed, he immediately took steps to put an end to these malpractices, ordering, under penalty of death, that none save the very best rice should be purchased and supplied to those in want. About the same time the amount of taxes leviable on the important cities of Nankin and Nanchang, the capital of Kiangsi, was greatly reduced in compliance with a petition made on the ground of their excessive character. Yung Ching showed in both these matters that he kept his people's best interests very much at heart. His sincerity in these acts of public charity was demonstrated by his emphatic refusal to allow a statue to be erected in his honour, and by his grave rebuke of those who suggested such a useless expenditure during a time of great public want. At one period during this time of famine as many as forty thousand persons were fed daily for more than four months at Peking alone.

The suffering from this cause had scarcely been allayed, when one of those terrible visitations of nature, which come at long intervals to startle the world into a general feeling of insecurity, carried wholesale destruction throughout the metropolitan province of Pechihli. As if to afford some counterpoise for the too bounteous favours showered on them by Providence, the northern districts of China have for many centuries been liable to the frequent recurrence of earthquakes on a vast and terribly destructive scale. None, however, of which any record has been preserved equalled in its terrific grandeur that of the year 1730. More than one hundred thousand persons in the capital were overwhelmed in a moment, the suburbs were laid in ruins, and the havoc extended for a wide distance round the country. In several places the ground opened, and from the fissures issued forth either a thick smoke or jets of black water. During a period of ten days, from 30th of September to 10th of October, 1730,

the shocks were repeated at frequent intervals, and terror reigned supreme among a superstitious people.* The Emperor himself feared to remain in the interior of his palace, and camped out with his court and family in tents specially erected for their accommodation. Even the splendid pleasure-house of Yuen Ming Yuen, which Yung Ching had erected near his father's palace at Chang Chun Yuen, was so seriously damaged that for a time it was thought to be uninhabitable. Large sums were drawn from the Treasury for the alleviation of the public necessities, and as much as fifteen millions sterling is stated to have been distributed before the exigencies of the occasion were considered to have been met, or before Yung Ching's feelings of humanity rested satisfied.

Yet notwithstanding these terrible visitations and afflictions the general state of the country continued to be most prosperous. A full exchequer and a contented people were accompanied by their necessary concomitant and consequence, an increase in the population. In Yunnan and Kweichow in particular this increase was so great as to attract much notice, and to raise no inconsiderable alarm on the score of the rice supply. A partial remedy was applied to the evil by the distribution of large tracts of waste lands among the poorer classes. Yung Ching seems to have attached great importance to the growth of the population, which he evidently regarded as a permanent feature in the condition of his country rather than as a passing phase in its social history. It was in view of that evil that he issued an edict offering special rewards to such widows as did not marry again, and to bachelors who preserved their state. To the former he decreed that there should be erected in their native town at the public expense a triumphal arch, and to the latter, who had devoted themselves to the performance of their filial duties, he gave titles of honour. By this latter means he also enhanced the merit

* The superstition of the Chinese is an admitted fact, although their general character is at variance with the idea implied. A proof of it may be found in the statement of a competent observer that "Hope is half a Chinese faith; his cult is to him as a lottery; he will pay his last farthing to a soothsayer to predict good fortune."

of that filial obedience which is not only the corner-stone of Chinese social life, but also the very foundation on which Chinese sovereignty rests.

These endeavours to check in a simple and natural way any excessive increase in the number of his subjects did not blind Yung Ching to the claims that the aged and infirm had upon the care and consideration of the State. Imitating the example of his father he issued doles to those who had exceeded the allotted space of man's life. These were divided into three classes—those above seventy, those above eighty, and those who had exceeded ninety years. He also encouraged the Empress to institute a similar system of relief for women who had passed the seventieth year of their age. From these instances it may be recognized that Yung Ching had formed a high ideal of the duties of a paternal ruler, and he was employed, to use his own words, from the rising to the going down of the sun in performing the numerous and varied duties of his onerous position.

Although Yung Ching had from the first shown but scant favour to the foreigners, yet in the second year of his reign he allowed an envoy, who had been sent by the Pope, to come to his capital. Beyond according him a favourable reception, and giving expression to several platitudes as to "all religions being calculated to do good," Yung Ching did not commit himself to any promise on the subject of his policy towards the Christians; and we have already seen how fully made up his mind was on that point. In the following year a Portuguese embassy under the charge of Don Alexander Metello, which had been despatched in consequence of communications made in the reign of Kanghi through the instrumentality of Antony Magelhaens, arrived in China, and as its origin was due to the initiative of the Chinese themselves the Emperor felt obliged to receive it in audience. While the Pope's legate had come to discuss matters of religion, Metello confined his attention to the more practical questions of commerce. His gravity of demeanour and general tact made a favourable impression at a court where the etiquette reflects by its severity the polished taste of a people of culture; but of practical results, even for the Portuguese, this costly embassy produced

none. It was very shortly after the departure of Metello that Yung Ching took steps of marked severity against several officials who were said to be Christians, and exposed for the first time in a public document his contempt for the religion of the foreigners. Strange as it may seem, he connected in this formal indictment Christianity with Buddhism, and expressed his final astonishment at the fact that any of his subjects should be so misguided as to "be ready to shed their blood in such a cause."

It was not until the year 1732, towards the close of Yung Ching's reign, that the inimical sentiment of both the people and the Government towards the foreigners again revealed itself in open acts; and then Canton, the second city of importance in the Empire so far as the Christians were concerned, was the scene of these measures of national antipathy or repressive legislation, according as we may feel disposed to regard the question. At one moment the situation appeared to be pregnant with danger for the Europeans, as Yung Ching, influenced by the views expressed even by the Canton mandarins—who had been more sympathetic, from selfish motives it is true, towards Europeans—was on the point of giving an order for their expulsion without exception from the Empire, when in a moment of indignation he summoned the missionaries into his presence in order to read them a homily on their want of paternal respect. He appears to have been informed by some of his ministers that the Christian religion did not enjoin filial obedience, which of course shocked his understanding. When, however, the missionaries in defending themselves pointed out that it was one of their first and principal laws, Yung Ching was too just and enlightened a man to persist in his threats as soon as he found that he had been working on a fallacy and that his argument was untenable. From that time to his death, in 1735, the missionaries had nothing worse to complain of at his hands than his passive indifference to their presence. So far as notice of them by either the Emperor or the Court went, they might just as well, indeed, have quitted China and returned to their own countries. The arrival of recruits being interdicted, it was only a question of time until they should

all die and disappear from the scene of their labours. It was also a question, as the event showed, of the duration of Yung Ching's own life.

When Yung Ching ascended the throne, the wars which had long disturbed the Western Marches were far from being concluded. Kanghi's successful campaigns had given security to the Khalkas, and had asserted the predominance of Chinese influence at Lhasa ; but they had not availed to curb the growing power and pretensions of Tse Wang Rabdan. The last few years of Kanghi's reign had been saddened by military reverses, and although there was no relaxing in the energy of the steps taken towards their retrieval, yet, with the absence of the Emperor and with no worthy successor for the intrepid Feyanku, the result had not corresponded either with Kanghi's hopes, or with the greatness of the effort made.

Tse Wang Rabdan, although unable to attempt so distinct a trial of strength with the Chinese Emperor as his relative Galdan had done, continued his attitude of more or less open defiance, and his acts of aggression were numerous and frequently successful in their objects. The general opinion, certainly, was that Yung Ching would carry on these operations with renewed vigour, and that he would seek to exact a speedy and complete satisfaction for the reverses that marked, but could not dim the lustre of, his father's latest years. Yung Ching's policy disappointed these natural expectations. He was essentially a man of peace, caring nothing for the so-called glory of foreign wars and costly expeditions, and declaring that his proper province was to attend solely to the wants of his own people. Instead, therefore, of despatching fresh armies into Central Asia he withdrew those that were there, leaving the turbulent tribes of that region to fight out their own quarrels and to indulge their petty ambitions as they might feel disposed. The policy in this matter * which

* Here may be briefly summarised the closing scenes of the career of Tse Wang Rabdan, the most powerful of Jungarian monarchs. We have seen the success with which he had intervened in Tibet and operated against Kanghi. His paramount authority was generally recognized throughout Eastern Turkestan or Little Bokhara, where he had stepped in successfully to advance the interests and establish the authority of a chief called Daniel. His career was cut short by his murder in 1727, and

Yung Ching began with the first day of his reign was continued until the hour of his death.

Yung Ching's death occurred suddenly. On the 7th of October, 1735, he gave audience to the high officials in accordance with his usual custom, but feeling indisposed he broke off the interview earlier than on ordinary occasions. The same evening his indisposition assumed a grave character, and in a few hours he had ceased to live. The loss of their Emperor does not appear to have caused any profound sentiment of grief among the masses, although the more intelligent recognized in him one of those wise and prudent rulers whose tenure of power promotes their people's happiness. Rumours were spread about to his disadvantage and to the detriment of his private character; but an impartial consideration of his reign shows them to have possessed little or no foundation in fact. During the thirteen years that he ruled we find him ever anxious to promote the public weal and to alleviate the sufferings of his people. Whether it was in matters of State, or of his private conduct, he seemed equally mindful of the dignity of his position and of the fame of his family. Without aspiring to the eminence of his father, he left a name for justice and public spirit that entitles him to rank high among the sovereigns of China who have deserved well of their country. Even his attitude towards the Christians was dictated by a firm belief in the necessity of limiting the intercourse of his people with the Europeans, and of curtailing the growing influence of the latter. Yung Ching had always placed the

his power passed to his son Galdan Chereng. Galdan Chereng was the monarch of the Jungarians during the whole of Yung Ching's reign and the first years of that of his successor. Sir H. Howorth ("History of the Mongols," vol. i. pp. 646-9) gives a very interesting account of the relations that subsisted between Tse Wang Rabdan and his neighbours the Russians. So far back as the year 1714 a scheme was laid before Peter the Great for the annexation of the country of Little Bokhara. The prime motive put forward for this act was the gold said to be contained in this reputed El Dorado. The Russians went so far towards the realization of their designs as to send a force of nearly 3000 men down the Irtish. The conquest of Yarkand was their immediate object. The expedition was assailed on all hands by the Calmucks and compelled to retreat. The attempt was renewed several times at later periods, but without success.

public interests in the foreground of his conduct, and whether rearranging the order of the official classes, or compiling the history of his family, or providing for the wants of his people we find him equally true to his principles and not less ardent than consistent in carrying out the dictates of his conscience.

Yung Ching left three sons, but, as none of these had been formally declared heir-apparent, the eldest was placed upon the throne by general consent. The result proved the choice to be singularly happy, for the young prince, who was the fourth of the Manchu rulers to ascend the throne of China, has earned an imperishable place in history as the Emperor Keen Lung.

CHAPTER XLIV.

KEEN LUNG'S EARLY YEARS.

WHEN Yung Ching's sudden death left a void in the seat of authority, there was none probably more surprised at the first consequences of that event than the young student, who was summoned from the interior of the palace to take his place as the responsible head of affairs. For although the eldest of Yung Ching's sons, he was not the off-spring of the Empress, and the custom of imperial succession was too uncertain to justify confidence in the recognition of his claims. Keen Lung had been brought up by his father in the pursuit of literary knowledge, and his skill and proficiency in the field of letters had already been proved before Yung Ching's death. But of public affairs, of the work of administering a great Empire, Keen Lung knew literally nothing. He was a student of books rather than of men, and he had to undergo a preliminary course of training in the art of government before he felt himself competent to assume the reins of power. When it has been said that Keen Lung was more fully persuaded of this fact than anybody else, it will be understood how great must have been his merit and strength of character to have realized wherein he was deficient to fulfil the duties of his onerous post. Few princes of his years, born in the purple, have ever had the profound sagacity to admit their shortcomings, and still less the prudence to take efficacious steps to supply them. Keen Lung's first act was to appoint four regents to show him how to rule. The very edict, however, which entrusted them with so much authority

expressly limited its application to the period of mourning, extending over four years; but as a measure of precaution against illicit ambition, he made the office terminable at his discretion.

Keen Lung began his reign with acts of clemency, which seldom fail to add a special lustre to the character of a sovereign. His father had punished with rigour many of the first princes of the court, simply because they happened to be connected with his family; and he had been in the habit of making use of his antipathy to the foreign heresy as a cloak to conceal private animosities and personal apprehensions. Keen Lung at once resolved to reverse his predecessor's policy on this point, and to offer such reparation as he could to those who had suffered without valid cause. The sons of Kanghi and their children, who had fallen under the suspicion of the Emperor Yung Ching, were released from their confinement and restored to the rank* from which they had been deposed. The young Emperor was so far fortunate in that instead of harbouring vindictive feelings for their long imprisonment they felt the warmest gratitude towards him as their benefactor and rescuer, to the splendour of whose reign some of them afterwards greatly contributed. The impression made on the public mind by this admirable moderation was scarcely less favourable, and the sentiment became generally expressed that a reign which began so auspiciously could hardly fail to prove a benefit and blessing to the people at large.

The restitution of their rights and privileges to these personages, whose former sympathy with the Christian

* Taitso, or Noorhachu, had in the early days of his power divided the members of his family into two branches, distinguished from each other by the colour of their girdles or belts. To himself and his direct descendants he reserved the use of the yellow girdle, while to his brothers and their heirs he awarded a red girdle. The principal distinction between these different branches of the family was that, whereas the former could be made Regulos, the latter could not. On this occasion some of those, *e.g.* the descendants of Prince Sourniama, who experienced the clemency of Keen Lung, although entitled to wear the yellow and enjoy all its privileges—which appear to have consisted of free quarters and an allowance from the State—were only restored to the rank of the red girdle.—See Mailla, vol. x. p. 454, and vol. xi. p. 517.

missionaries had been marked and notorious, revived the hope among the latter that the evil days of persecution were at an end, and that they would be received back into such favour with the new Emperor as they had enjoyed under the wise Kanghi. These hopes were destined to rude disappointment, as the party hostile to them remained as strong as ever at Court, and the regents were not less prejudiced in their case. Keen Lung's own opinion does not appear to have been very strong one way or the other, but it is probable that from being so thoroughly versed in Chinese literature he was imbued with more or less prejudice against foreigners. When the subject was placed before him by his regents he sanctioned their suggestion of an order prohibiting the practice of Christianity by any of his subjects, and ordaining the punishment of those who should obstinately adhere to it. The foreign missionaries themselves were ordered to confine their labours to the secular functions in which they were useful, and to give up all attempts to propagate their creed. The restoration to their natural positions of the Manchu princes, who had formerly regarded the Christians with a favourable eye, was not followed by that return of the foreigners to favour which had been anticipated. The young Keen Lung showed himself disposed on this point to continue and carry out the policy of his father.

Ten years after Keen Lung's accession to the throne these persecutions still continued, and, indeed, they had developed a fresh and more serious phase, for in the year 1746 several Spanish missionaries were arrested and tortured, those who had given them shelter were strangled, and all who had shown or expressed sympathy with either their persons or their religion suffered different degrees of punishment. The province of Fuhkien was again the principal scene of these outrages, but it is possible that the local officials were impelled to commit acts of greater severity by the knowledge of what their own countrymen had suffered at Manilla. The example set by the Viceroy of Fuhkien found faithful imitators among the other governors throughout the country, and a general outcry was raised against both the teachers of the foreign religion and their converts. The Emperor himself

lent his countenance to the movement, and it seemed that Keen Lung with the greater vigour of his character had resolved to relieve himself once and for all from the embarrassment and trouble caused his Government by the ever-recurring question of the Christians and their demands for greater liberty of action. The order sent to the Viceroy of Fuhkien to execute the missionaries, who had been thrown into prison and tortured, seemed to mark the termination of Chinese tolerance towards Christians.

The first years of Keen Lung's reign were devoted not merely to his self-instruction in the art of government, but also to the task of arranging the internal affairs of his vast possessions. Yet, strange as it may appear, very little is contained in the annals that have as yet seen the light about the events of the first ten years, during which Keen Lung's authority was recognized. They were undoubtedly years of great internal prosperity, and their predominant characteristic was the general prevalence of peace and the accompanying satisfaction and natural progress of a great and thrifty people. With the restoration of union among the ranks of the ruling family, which had now so widely extended its branches that there were stated to be at this time more than two thousand princes of the blood, one of the most disturbing causes to the assured tranquillity of a military race disappeared; and the mass of the subjects were only too eager to follow the example thus set them of concord and good-will. During this period there appear, from certain vague references to be met with in the letters of the foreign residents, to have been some disturbances among the Miaotze and several of the intractable tribes of the South; but these were probably of no great importance.

Keen Lung's attention had at a very early period of his reign been attracted to the unsatisfactory condition of things on his remote Western frontier, where the advantages gained by his grandfather Kanghi had been sacrificed through his father Yung Ching's indifference or neglect. Although there could not be said to exist in this quarter a state of open war, yet the Mongol tribes, under the protection of China, had suffered much at the hands of Tse Wang Rabdan and of his son and successor Galdan Chereng. There was also the

memory of unavenged defeats which had occurred during the last few years of Kanghi's reign to further complicate the situation, and to prevent men's minds from settling down on the basis of the existing condition of affairs. And although matters assumed a somewhat more favourable aspect after the accession of Keen Lung, it was clear that the vague and undefined basis on which these frontier affairs were being regulated contained little guarantee of any long continuation of tranquillity. Galdan Chereng shared, but in a minor degree, the abilities and ambition of his father, and during the last years of his rule, which was contemporary with the first ten years of Keen Lung's reign, he refrained from any direct conflict with Chinese authority. Until the death of Chereng in 1745 there was some probability that the turbulent spirits and nomadic tribes of the Gobi region would have been kept for an indefinite period tranquil, and in inaction by the existence of an understanding between the Chinese Emperor and the sovereign prince of Jungaria. To the death of Galdan Chereng in the year mentioned must undoubtedly be attributed the reopening of the whole question of border policy and frontier security, which had been long pressing itself under notice at Peking.

Chereng had maintained the paramount influence which his father had acquired in the region south of the Tian Shan. On the death of the chief Danyal, he had divided the kingdom of Kashgaria into four distinct governorships, over each of which he placed one of Danyal's four sons. So long as the vigour of the Jungarian prince remained undoubted, this arrangement produced the most beneficial results, for the country of Little Bokhara had been for generations a prey to intestine disorders, and it needed a strong hand to repress these for the sake of the common weal. When Chereng died that hand was removed, and the old dissensions began to reveal themselves. There existed no longer any assurance of stability, and the Chinese border officials saw reason to fear the early recurrence of difficulties with their turbulent neighbours. When this unsatisfactory phase of the question arose, the Chinese also were less advantageously placed than they had been. Their authority was established

firmly enough in the Amour region, and on the Kerulon; but in the districts of Hami and Turfan it had been displaced.

The death of Galdan Chereng proved the signal for the outbreak of rivalries and contentions, and among those of his relatives who succeeded in establishing their authority none rose higher than the representative of the collateral branch of Ta Chereng. The son of Galdan Chereng, after enjoying a brief term of power, was deposed by an elder but half-brother, who usurped his place, and ruled for several years, chiefly by the support of the lamas, as monarch of Jungaria under the style of Dardsha. This insurrection and the violent scenes by which it was accompanied carried confusion throughout the tribes and peoples who had acquiesced in the supremacy of Tse Wang Rabdan and his son. The further stages of this complication were marked by a contest between Dardsha and the faction headed by Davatsi, Ta Chereng's grandson, assisted by Amursana, chief of the tribe called the Khoits. At first the balance of victory inclined in no uncertain manner to the side of Dardsha, who drove his opponents out of their territory and compelled them to seek refuge amongst the Kirghiz. But although thus unfortunate, neither Davatsi nor his friend and supporter Amursana despaired of the result, and when they had succeeded in raising a fresh force among the Kirghiz tribes they returned to renew the struggle with their rival. This time they experienced a kinder fortune. Dardsha was taken by surprise, his troops were scattered, and he himself was slain. Thus was Davatsi restored to the enjoyment of the sovereignty of Jungaria. His ally Amursana, whose assistance had greatly contributed to this success, evidently felt persuaded that the best way to promote his own ends was up to a certain point to advance his friend's interests; and when the struggle with Dardsha terminated he proceeded to set up his authority in the Ili region. He there assumed the semblance of royal state, and affected to regard Davatsi rather as his ally and equal than as his superior. Davatsi showed that he did not share his former colleague's opinion of their relative positions, and he accordingly turned his arms against his ambitious neighbour. Amursana either

did not await, or at once succumbed to the storm. Davatsi's followers seized and occupied Ili, and Amursana fled to bear the tale of his grievances to the Emperor of China—a circumstance which will be found pregnant with important consequences.

The first decade of Keen Lung's reign had, therefore, little more than closed when the course of events began to make it clear that the affairs of these neighbouring peoples would attract much of the Emperor's attention. Before considering the reasons which induced Keen Lung to take up arms in support of Amursana, we may briefly consider the remaining events of this tranquil season which preceded the long period of war carried on by Keen Lung in Central Asia. The severe measures to which the Emperor at last had recourse against the Christians continued during the whole of this period. In the year 1750 these acts of repression had been extended into parts of China which had enjoyed a happy immunity from polemical warfare. The country round Nankin became the scene of persecutions, not less energetically carried out than those in the province of Fukkien. These persecutions served the one useful purpose of inducing the missionaries to tell us of some of the inflictions that visited the country during these years. They failed to see, or neglected to record, events of national and historical importance passing under their very eyes; but when it became a question of retribution for wrongs inflicted on themselves they hastened to describe some of the events that made up the history of the country.

From their remarks it appears that, in the year 1751, Keen Lung had the misfortune to lose not only his eldest son, but also the Empress herself, while several of the provinces were ravaged by a terrible famine. The ministers whose advice had contributed to increase his dislike for the Christians happened to fall under his suspicion for different crimes, and were punished with severity—a coincidence which seemed in the eyes of a religious enthusiast to mark the vengeance of Heaven. These punishments may be taken with less stretch of the imagination as showing that the difficulties of conducting the State administration in the Chinese Empire

included the management of a powerful and almost irresponsible official class.

To the other difficulties of his position there were added for Keen Lung a physical weakness and a susceptibility to bodily ailments that detracted, during the first few years of his reign, from his capacity to meet all the duties of his position; and more than their usual share of power consequently fell into the hands of the great administering tribunals of the State. Probably the disgrace of the officials referred to must be attributed to this cause; but when Keen Lung resolutely devoted himself to the task of supervising the acts of the official world they became less perceptible, if they did not cease to exist, and gradually the provincial governors and administrators found it to be their best and wisest course to obey and faithfully execute the behests of the sovereign. For a short time Keen Lung seemed likely to prove more indifferent to the duties of his rank than either of his predecessors; but after a few years' practice he hastened to devote himself to his work with an energy which neither Kanghi nor Yung Ching had surpassed.

An interesting and imposing ceremony marked the commencement of the year 1752 on the occasion of the Emperor's mother attaining her sixtieth year. The capital was given over to the due performance of the accompanying fêtes, which were celebrated with much magnificence. The Emperor and his Court proceeded through the streets of Peking, escorting the Empress-mother in state; but according to our ideas half the effect was destroyed by the people being compelled to remain in their houses, with closed doors and barred windows. The masses were, however, allowed to share in the Imperial rejoicings, and benefactions were placed at the disposal of the poor and the aged. Even the European residents were permitted to offer their presents, and we fancy we can trace to this time some relaxation in the regulations made with regard to their position.

Among Keen Lung's favourite pursuits was that of witnessing the painters Castiglione and Attiret engaged in their labours within the palace. But we are told that the Imperial wish in regard to such alterations or changes as he might

suggest in their work was equivalent to a command. It is to this period that must be assigned the various portraits we possess of the principal and earlier Manchus. Keen Lung seems to have greatly appreciated an art that served to bring events as well as persons prominently and clearly before him ; and to the sense of gratification produced by this cause must be mainly attributed the more favourable opinion formed of the European missionaries by the Emperor during these last few years. As one of them wrote, China, indeed, was for them "the land of vicissitudes."

Much of Keen Lung's time was passed in his summer residence at Jehol, a small town beyond the Wall, where he was able to enjoy the quiet of the country, and the purer and more invigorating breezes of his native land. Here he varied the monotony of rural pursuits with grand ceremonies, of which he ordered a missionary selected for that purpose to draw him a picture, and although his instructions left little scope to the artist's genius or imagination, he passed no harsh criticism on his works, and generally sent him word that it was "very well." At last he was induced to sit for his own portrait, and so pleased was he with the result that he wished to make the painter Attiret a mandarin. The worthy missionary experienced much difficulty in escaping an elevation which he appears to have regarded with almost superstitious objection.

In order to gain some increased freedom in the practice of their religion, the French missionaries devoted all their ingenuity to the amusement as well as to the edification of Keen Lung. The automatons they invented and constructed, which were moved principally by clockwork, served to while away his hours of leisure, and their conversation enabled him to form a fairly accurate and complete idea of the kingdoms of Europe. To this period must be traced the conviction always existing in Keen Lung's mind that France was the great country of the West. The variety of Keen Lung's tastes kept all the foreigners employed at their different pursuits, and he seems to have taken peculiar pleasure in studying their practice of arts, which he admired and appreciated.

From these peaceful pursuits, and this tranquil palace life, we have now to pass to the more stirring and exciting events that were in progress on the scene of foreign affairs, which occupied the greater part of Keen Lung's reign, and which have given it the prominent place that it can rightly claim in history. Throughout his life we find him equally determined to carry his ends, and to exact from all his officials the fullest amount of work of which they were capable. What he had shown himself to be in the smaller details, he was evidently resolved to prove in the larger affairs of government. He regarded the events in his neighbours' territories from the sublimity of the position of a Chinese Emperor, or, as he loved to call himself, of the Son of Heaven; and he expected all minor potentates to bow before him, and to resign themselves to his will. Such were the principles of his conduct; the result will show how well he could carry them into practice.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE CONQUEST OF CENTRAL ASIA.

THE arrival of the fugitive prince Amursana at the Chinese Court called Keen Lung's attention to a very old question, which had been a source of trouble at an early period of Chinese history, and which has only been settled in our own time with any appearance of duration. This question was what relations should subsist between the Chinese and the disunited but turbulent tribes holding all the region westward of Shensi and Kansuh. In the eyes of these clans the wealth and weakness of China had for ages been at once the prize and the incentive of ambition. The Chinese were in the majority of years the victims and easy prey of these races, who were kept in order neither by the solemnity of their engagements nor by any political expedient that had up to this been devised. These tribes had on some occasions been welded into a military confederacy of no slight power, when the danger with which they threatened the Chinese and their Empire became proportionally increased; and in the cases of the Kins and the Mongols their efforts had resulted in giving foreign dynasties to China. The Manchus, least of all rulers of the Celestial kingdom, were not disposed to regard with indifference the measures and movements of these warlike clans, for their own success warned them that the example they had set must find imitators, whose fate would depend on their own supineness or energy. The growth of Galdan's power had for that reason been watched with attention by the Emperor Kanghi, and when it threatened to absorb the faithful Khalkas all the resources of the Empire

had been devoted to the task of arresting its growth, and of subverting the influence that chieftain had acquired.

The overthrow of Galdan did not effect the durable remedy of the evil which Kanghi anticipated. That chief's nephew, Tse Wang Rabdan, became after his death an opponent hardly less formidable, and certainly not more friendly to the Chinese, although the pacific disposition of the Emperor Yung Ching had induced him to withdraw from the strife, and to leave this potentate and the hordes which acquiesced in his nominal authority masters of the field. The establishment of a Jungarian monarchy served to dispose the minds of Chinese statesmen to more willingly recognize the advisability of a policy of not interfering in the affairs of the Central Asian countries; and, had it shown a capability to stand the test of time, their views of cultivating friendly relations with its ruler as the wisest and simplest solution of the difficulty might have finally prevailed. The contest for supremacy between Dardsha and Davatsi, followed by the rivalry and contention of Davatsi and Amursana, showed conclusively that the Jungarian monarchy was an ephemeral creation, that it would be speedily replaced by the old tribal chiefships, and that a fresh era of confusion and turbulence on the frontier was probably about to commence. Keen Lung had, therefore, as the responsible ruler of the Empire, to devise some means to avert these threatened troubles, and to ensure the security and tranquillity of his borders. Taking a large view of the situation, and regarding the matter in all its bearings and ramifications, as illustrated by the repeated occasions on which it had presented itself as a question of practical politics during the past history of his country, he arrived at the conclusion that the soundest course would be to seize the first favourable opportunity to attempt a settlement that should prove enduring.

The flight of Amursana, and the tale of wrong which he carried to the foot of the throne of the Bogdo Khan, seemed to afford that opportunity, and Keen Lung did not fail to listen to the woes of a distressed prince whose information as well as whose sense of injury promised to afford him the

means of realizing his object. It was one of the most cherished traditions at Peking that the unfortunate or unsuccessful princes of the neighbouring states should be accorded protection against their opponents, and, where possible, assistance in recovering their lost possessions. Amursana's claim to the former was freely recognized, and, while the Emperor and his council were engaged in considering whether measures should be taken to reinstate him in his former rank, he was permitted to reside as an honoured guest in an apartment of the palace.

The Emperor Keen Lung has himself instructed posterity as to the motives which induced him to take up this quarrel, and also upon the objects which he set before himself for realization. With delicate tact he suggests that he inherited this difficulty from his father, whose vacillating policy and half-hearted measures had failed to provide a remedy for the evil, or in any way to curb the aggressiveness of his neighbours. While Keen Lung put prominently forward his desire and natural inclination to imitate the moderation of his predecessor, he did not fail to show his resolution not to shrink from the duties of his position. "If I draw the sword," he wrote, "it is that I may use it, but it shall be replaced in the scabbard when my object has been attained."

When Keen Lung first ascended the throne, his intentions were of the most pacific character. He resolved to continue the policy of abstention which had been adopted by his father, and on sanctioning the withdrawal of his troops from their districts, he announced that he did so in order that the Eleuths might be able to show, without pressure and of their own free will, their devotion to his person and his family. For a time that plan answered its purpose, and promised to work well; and several of Tse Wang Rabdan's successors paid to Keen Lung the formal recognition of his supremacy that he so eagerly required. It was not until the years immediately preceding the flight of Amursana, which had been caused in the manner already described, that these relations were violently disturbed, and that the Emperor again found himself threatened by the well-known

inconstancy of his neighbours with a renewal of the old disorders.

There is no violation of probability in supposing that Amursana, knowing something of the views of his host on the subject of the Eleuths, lost no opportunity of impressing on him the advantage of taking up his cause, and of how easily he might effect a solution of the whole question by restoring him to a position of supreme authority over the territories from which he had been expelled by Davatsi. Keen Lung listened to the narrative of his guest, but might have refrained from having recourse to action, despite the specious arguments and flowing rhetoric of the Eleuth prince, had not the disturbances on the frontier been suddenly aggravated by the defiant attitude and arrogance of Davatsi.

That chief, not content with the recovery of his position, when reduced to the verge of extremity, or with his second triumph over an inconvenient and dangerous rival, imagined that he had nothing to fear from either the indignation or the power of China, and that no evil consequences would ensue if he were to openly proclaim his independence. The tie which bound these tributary states to China had never been very exacting. It was a question more of sentiment than of any practical importance, and the Chinese Emperor required little more than respectful sentences, and the recognition of a paramount authority which was seldom exerted. Davatsi thought to heighten his reputation by a cheap defiance of established precedent, and he sent an embassy into China with messages of friendship indeed, but couched in language only used by sovereigns of equal rank. This slight to his dignity roused the indignation of Keen Lung, who at once denounced Davatsi as a "traitor and usurper." Then only did the Emperor enter heartily into the schemes and proposals of Amursana, the support of whose cause seemed to offer the easiest and most efficacious way of restoring the suzerainty of China over the kingdoms and states in Central Asia.

Keen Lung's military preparations were commensurate with the importance of the undertaking, and worthy also of the loftiness of his position. One hundred and fifty

thousand men, including the picked soldiers of the Manchu banners and of the Solon contingent, were placed in the field, and Amursana received a seal of rank and the title of Great General. Although thus placed in a position of recognized authority, the actual command was entrusted to the Manchu general Panti, who enjoyed the reputation of being the best of living Chinese commanders. The ostensible task with which Keen Lung charged this army was to repress the insolent Davatsi, and to elevate to his place the injured Amursana.

The success which attended this great enterprise was unexampled both in its extent and in the rapidity with which it was attained. Five months sufficed to enable this large army to cross the desert, and to penetrate to the recesses of the Ili region where Davatsi indulged a belief as to his security. Little or no resistance was attempted. Davatsi's power crumbled to pieces at the first contact with the Manchu legions, and the chief himself was conveyed as a state prisoner to Peking. Keen Lung says, in his brilliantly composed description of the campaign, "Confident of marching to victory, they broke cheerfully through every obstacle; they arrive, terror had gone before them. Scarcely had they time to bend a bow, or draw an arrow, when everything submits to them. They give the law, Davatsi is a prisoner, he is sent into my presence."

Thus, by the aid of a Chinese army, Amursana recovered what he represented, though with doubtful accuracy, to be his birthright; and, finding himself in the possession of the privileges to which he had long aspired, he gave reins to his imagination and placed less curb upon his ambition. Great as had been Amursana's success, it did not suffice to render him contented with the position to which the friendship of Keen Lung had raised him. The larger portion of the Chinese army had returned after the overthrow of Davatsi, but Panti remained with a small contingent, partly to give stability to Amursana's position, and partly to uphold the interests of the Emperor. Amursana considered that the presence of this force detracted from, more than it enhanced, the dignity of his position. It became his main object to

rid himself from it, hoping that with its departure or disappearance he would also be freed from the control of the Chinese Government and officials, which he was inclined to regard as almost intolerable. It soon became clear that the harmony of the relations between the Eleuth prince and the Chinese general was irretrievably broken, and that the existence of their respective authorities was incompatible with each other. The rupture was for a short time averted by Amursana's designs upon the independence of Kashgaria, for the success of which he needed further assistance from the Chinese. That assistance was granted only with reluctance, but still the loan of 500 Chinese troops sufficed to bring the cities of Yarkand and Kashgar under the subjection of Barhanuddin Khoja, who held his authority as the friend and dependent of Amursana. This further success confirmed Amursana in the favourable estimate he had formed of his own capacity and strength, and rendered him less disposed than ever to play a secondary part in his native kingdom. He aspired with more determination than before to exercise unquestioned authority.

Rumours of Amursana's dissatisfaction reached Peking; and Keen Lung, distrustful of the good faith of the Eleuth prince, summoned him to his capital. This step compelled Amursana to take a decided part and to declare his intentions sooner, perhaps, than he intended. His reply was emphatic and extreme enough to please the greatest admirers of uncompromising resolution. He surprised the small Chinese contingent, massacred every man of them, and caused Panti and the other officers to be executed. Thus, by the slaughter of his allies and supporters, did Amursana hope to gain that supreme and independent position in Central Asia to which he had aspired from the first days of his public career, and with which the recognition of Keen Lung's authority appeared in his eyes to be incompatible.

The fruits of Keen Lung's labours and military success were thus as rapidly destroyed as they had been attained. Five months of the year 1755 had sufficed to give tranquillity to Central Asia, and to replace a hostile potentate by one reputed to be a friend. And now, by another turn in the

wheel of events, the old sense of insecurity and uncertainty was revived, and an ambitious and defiant prince grasped the reins of power among a warlike population. The change had been effected in the most open and unequivocal manner, and Amursana thought he had ensured his success by the slaughter of the Chinese garrison and its commanders.

The impression produced by this event was profound, and when Amursana followed up the blow by spreading about rumours of the magnitude of his designs they obtained some credence even among the Mongols. Encouraged by this success, he sought to rally those tribes to his side by imputing sinister intentions to Keen Lung. His emissaries declared that Keen Lung wished to deprive them all of their rank, authority, and estates, and that he had summoned Amursana to Peking only for the purpose of deposing him. They also protested that their master, Amursana, like a true desert chief, preferred his liberty to every other privilege, and, sooner than trust himself within the toils of the wily Emperor, had bidden him defiance, and raised between them an inexorable cause of hostility. Amursana proclaimed himself King of the Eleuths, and many of the clans gave in their adhesion to his rule and promised to support him in war.

If the shock caused by the news of the great disaster on the banks of the Ili gave a little confidence to those who were unfriendly to the Manchu authority, it also roused Keen Lung's indignation to the highest point. The sense of disappointment at the failure of his plans was increased all the more by the memory of the easy victory which had both flattered his vanity and attained his aims. There were those among his ministers who impressed upon him the wisdom of discontinuing a costly war, of which the results among a turbulent and treacherous population would always be doubtful. "We must have done with this useless and disastrous war," they exclaimed in the palace and at the council-board. But Keen Lung did not allow himself for a moment to be swayed by their advice. The blood of his slaughtered soldiers called for a summary revenge, the objects of his policy demanded that Amursana should be deposed from the position of defiance and independence which he had assumed,

and the reputation of China rendered it absolutely imperative that a reverse suffered in the field should be as openly and as signally retrieved. For each and all of these reasons Keen Lung rejected the counsels of the timid, whose natural courage, as the Emperor said, should have led them to reject their own advice as unworthy of their race and country.

Keen Lung made, therefore, the necessary preparations for another campaign beyond the frontier, and sent two generals, at the head of a large army, with orders to capture the rebel Amursana dead or alive. Amursana was in no position to resist this force, and many of his adherents deserted him at the first approach of the Chinese. Amursana himself was on the point of being taken when the disagreement of Keen Lung's two commanders provided him with an avenue of escape. The inaction of these officers, after the dispersion of their opponent's forces had gained them a bloodless victory, enabled the Eleuth prince to make fresh head against the invader. Keen Lung lays all the blame for the small results of this campaign on the apathy of his generals, whom he recalled to Peking. His intention was to execute them for their misconduct in the field, but during their journey back they were surprised and slain by a band of Eleuths. Two other generals were appointed to take their places, but they did no better than their predecessors. Keen Lung had to thank the incapacity of his officers for a second abortive campaign. Amursana, it is true, was compelled to lead a perilous existence among the Kirghiz tribes; but so long as he survived or remained at large there could be no assurance of peace in the Central Asian region. Keen Lung attributed the escape of his foe to the negligence of his generals, who were a second time recalled and, on this occasion, executed.

The nature of their offence appears to have been that they placed too much confidence in the promises of the Kirghiz. Taltanga, one of these generals, was on the eve of entering their country, when he allowed himself to be dissuaded from doing so by their pledge to surrender Amursana on the return of one of their chiefs. The Mongol contingent, disgusted by the credulity of their commander, or wearied by a

protracted campaign barren of result, left Taltanga and returned to their homes. The Kirghiz did not keep their faith; Taltanga saw that he had been duped, and Amursana again took the field against Keen Lung's army. The Chinese commanders found themselves obliged to order a retreat, and during the return march to Kansuh they were harassed by their active and enterprising assailants. The destruction of the small rear-guard under the intrepid Hoki, who seems to have voluntarily sacrificed himself by making a resolute stand to save the rest of the army, completed the disastrous events of this campaign. Encouraged by Amursana's success every petty chief hastened to set up his own authority, and they uniformly celebrated the commencement of their independence by the massacre of every Chinese subject on whom they could place their hands.

Yet not for these disasters and unfortunate occurrences did the Emperor Keen Lung give up his policy or depart from the line of action, in the wisdom of which he continued firmly to believe. To the incompetence of his commanders he could with much justice attribute the failure of his plans, and without indulging in useless recriminations or complaints he devoted himself to the task of discovering a man capable of executing his projects. The loss of Panti appeared for a moment to be irreparable. Keen Lung was still engaged in this search, when the message came from the scene of war that the exigencies of the situation had led to the discovery of a military genius. An officer named Tchaohoei had the command of a small detachment, and, when Taltanga began his retreat towards Kansuh, he hastened to collect such troops as he could, and made preparations for defending the district under his control against the advancing Eleuths. He gathered round him the relics of Hoki's force and the stragglers of Taltanga's army, and with them he prepared to uphold the Emperor's authority until assistance should come to him from China.

The news of Tchaohoei's fortitude and energy confirmed Keen Lung in his belief that the policy upon which he had decided was the right one, and that its success demanded only a competent and cautious general. Tchaohoei's conduct in

face of a confident enemy and under arduous circumstances seemed to mark him out as the very man for the occasion, and in a despatch to the Emperor, describing the position of affairs and suggesting the measures that seemed to him necessary, he showed such a grasp of the whole question, and his views so closely accorded with those of Keen Lung himself, that the Emperor at once determined to send him the reinforcements he required, and to entrust him with the chief command over all the troops beyond the frontier. When Tchaohoei revealed his talent as a commander, Keen Lung had been almost on the point of giving up the contest in despair. The sufferings of his troops had been great, their losses severe, and the result appeared as remote as ever. The complaints at the capital for the waste of precious lives and treasure could not with safety be much longer ignored; and had Tchaohoei failed in his task the Manchu ruler would, no doubt, have abstained from further action and given up the prosecution of his favourite policy.

In 1757 two fresh armies were sent across the desert, and, when they reached Ili, they enabled Tchaohoei to at once assume the offensive. Amursana, although he had so far preserved his life and avoided complete overthrow, was in no better state to offer a determined resistance to the onset of his assailants than on the first occasion of the Chinese advance. Again his supporters abandoned him, and sought only to secure their own safety by flight to the mountains that surrounded the favoured districts of Ili. Amursana, unable to rally round him a sufficient body of troops to justify his attempting open resistance to the Chinese, and possibly awed by their persistence in pursuing him, imitated the example of his supporters, and again fled for safety to his former friends the Kirghiz. His flight was so precipitate that he marched day and night without staying to inquire whether he was even being pursued, or whether his own supporters were following him.

Tchaohoei entrusted the pursuit of Amursana to Fouta, the most trusted and skilful of his lieutenants. This officer followed by forced marches on the traces of the fugitive. He reached Amursana's first place of retreat very shortly after

that ill-advised prince, and he had the satisfaction of receiving the surrender of the principal Kirghiz clans. But Amursana had then made his escape into Russian territory, where he was permitted rather to wander at large than to enjoy the absolute protection of the Czar's Government. Yet even at this remote distance, and notwithstanding that the solitudes to which he had fled were unknown and had not been penetrated by Chinese soldiers, Amursana still was not safe from Keen Lung's vengeance. The result of this war remained indecisive, his objects were considered to be but half-attained so long as Amursana continued at large. Both to Tchaohoei and to Fouta Keen Lung sent fresh instructions to lose no opportunity and to spare no effort to capture the rebel alive or dead.

The close of Amursana's troubled career was at hand, although the fatal blow that ended it was not struck by his implacable enemy. "An irritated heaven hastened the time of its vengeance," to use Keen Lung's phrase, "and a pestilent malady slit the black thread of his life." A demand was presented to the Russian officials to surrender the body, but with this request they refused to comply on the ground that their religion forbade the expression of enmity after death. They showed the emissaries of Keen Lung the corpse of his unfortunate antagonist, and with this incident the campaign that had as its main object the chastisement of Amursana may be said to have terminated.

The first intelligence of Tchaohoei's success had served to supply the peace party at Peking with a favourable opportunity for renewing their advice, that it would be wise to withdraw from Central Asia and to abandon once and for all dangerous and unprofitable enterprises in a far distant and impoverished region. "The kingdom of the Eleuths," exclaimed these men, "is too remote from the centre of our authority for us to be able to long govern it. Let us, therefore, abandon it to the care of whoever wishes to take it. What matters it to the glory of the Middle Kingdom, these uncultivated lands, and a people more than half savage?" The advice of these timid counsellors carried less weight than it would otherwise have done because Keen Lung had decided in his own mind

the right policy to pursue. He had resolved on nothing short of the establishment of his authority in the midst of the turbulent tribes that had disturbed his frontier, and, although momentarily undecided by a succession of reverses, he returned to the original plan with fresh confidence and energy as soon as he realized that in Tchaohoei he had found a worthy successor to Panti.

Having conquered the regions of Jungaria, and the favoured district of Ili, Keen Lung next turned his attention to the bestowing of the advantages of a settled government upon the inhabitants of those territories. At first he attempted to rule the tribes by means of native chiefs and princes, on whom he conferred the dignity of Khan. The plan did not work well. Many of them turned out incapable, and those whose ability increased their importance chafed at the restrictions placed upon their liberty and rebelled against Keen Lung. The Emperor's first scheme for the administration of his new possessions thus fell through, and it became necessary to devise another which should leave the people their liberty while it would place greater control in the hands of his officials. During this period of disturbance the Chinese commanders acted with marked severity, and the Eleuths suffered for the crimes and ambition of their chiefs.

Those who disturbed the tranquillity of the new Chinese possession were encouraged to do so by the knowledge that the country south of the Tian Shan mountains, known as Little Bokhara or Kashgaria, offered an asylum in the event of defeat. The authority of the Khoja Barhanuddin, who had been established in the place of power by the assistance of Amursana, was still recognized in the greater portion of that region; and neither at the time of Amursana's overthrow, nor during the period of the rule of the four Khans whom the Emperor had nominated as his viceroys, did Barhanuddin consider it to be necessary for him to make any overtures to Keen Lung's representatives, or to enrol himself as one of the Chinese well-wishers. Yet, according to Keen Lung's view of the situation, the conquest of the kingdom of the Eleuths carried with it the proper subordination if not the open surrender to him of the territory of its vassals. Of these

the principal was Little Bokhara, the incorporation of which with the Empire was stated by Tchaohoei to be necessary to the permanent and tranquil possession of Ili.

The Chinese writers assume for their country the credit of having released Barhanuddin and of having restored him to the seat of his ancestors at the time of Panti's invasion, but the fact seems to have been that he owed his liberty and restoration more to Amursana than to the Chinese general. When Amursana departed from the stipulations of his arrangement with the Emperor, and suffered at the hands of his more powerful allies, Barhanuddin allowed himself to forget all considerations of prudence in the fervour of his indignation against the Chinese. There was room for hope that a hostile collision might be averted until Barhanuddin and his brother laid violent hands upon the persons of an envoy and his suite, sent by Tchaohoei to discover whether a pacific understanding with these neighbours could not be arranged. The massacre of this embassy precluded that idea being any further entertained, and the Chinese troops were collected for the invasion of Little Bokhara just as a few months previously they had been assembled for the conquest of Amursana and his dominions. The murder of his representatives afforded Keen Lung the strongest reason for sanctioning the proposals of his general. This outrage compelled him to again draw the sword which he had only just placed in the sheath. "March," he wrote, "against the perfidious Mahomedans, who have so insolently abused my favours; avenge your companions who have been the unhappy victims of their barbarous fury."

Although Keen Lung simply reports that his generals duly set out on their enterprise, and that in a very short time they had subdued and annexed the country of Altysahr, some of the details of this interesting campaign have been preserved in other quarters. The Chinese crossed the frontier in two bodies, one under the command of Tchaohoei, the other under that of Fouta. Such feeble resistance as Barhanuddin and his brother attempted was speedily overcome; the principal cities, Kashgar and Yarkand, were occupied, and the ill-advised rulers lately rejoicing in all the conviction

of security were compelled to seek their personal safety by a precipitate flight. The two brothers fled over the Pamir into the remote state of Badakshan, but so great was the terror caused by the successes of the Chinese that the prince of that country not only refused to receive them, but caused them to be slain, and sent their heads as a gift of propitiation to the Celestials. Fouta had followed hard upon their track, and succeeded in inflicting two reverses upon them in the elevated region of the Pamir. The more important of these battles took place near Sirikul, and the followers of the Khoja princes were driven from the field with heavy loss. Of the vanquished there escaped from the pursuit of the Chinese, and from the perfidy of their reputed friends, only the boy Sarimsak, who became the ancestor of the Khoja adventurers of a later period. Thus satisfactorily terminated the campaign in Little Bokhara, the conquest and annexation of which completed the task that Tchaohoei* had been charged to

* Tchaohoei described in a letter to Keen Lung his entry into Kashgar. The following are its principal passages. It was written from the camp before Kashgar on a date which corresponded with the 13th of September, 1759. "The two Hotchom" (Barhanuddin and his brother) "having learnt that your Majesty's troops were marching against them, abandoned their amusements in repairing the fortifications of Kashgar and Yarkand. They at once perceived that it would be impossible for them to resist your arms. They fled from their cities, and they dragged themselves and their families from hiding-place to hiding-place. The inhabitants of Kashgar, like those of Yarkand"—who had surrendered to Tchaohoei without offering any resistance before he advanced on Kashgar—"surrendered to us with every demonstration of joy, which was a sign that they asked for nothing better than to live under the laws of your Majesty, to experience in their turn the effects of the goodness of your great heart which embraces all the world. They came before us, bringing refreshments, which I accepted, and caused to be distributed among the soldiers, whilst giving in all cases to those who brought them small pieces of silver, or other money, not under the name of payment, but rather as a reward. They appeared to me to be very well satisfied with the arrangement. I entered the city by one gate, and left it by another. The inhabitants covered me with honour. Some accompanied me throughout my progress, crying out frequently, 'Long live the great Emperor of China.' Others lined the streets through which I had to pass. They were kneeling, and remained in that posture the whole time that I was making my progress. I made them a short address, in which I pointed out the happiness that they were about to enjoy, if they remained faithful in their duty to your Majesty. At the same time I announced that those

accomplish. Keen Lung's main idea had been realized. His authority was set up in the midst of the turbulent tribes who had long disturbed the Empire, and who first learnt peaceful pursuits as his subjects. At the cost of considerable sacrifices he had attained his object ; and it only remained for experience to test and for time to show the soundness of his views and the practical advantage of what he had accomplished.

The Chinese commanders followed up this decisive success by the despatch of several expeditions into the adjoining states, although the exact extent and results of these campaigns * have not been preserved as historical facts of which we can feel quite certain. The ruler of Khokand was either so impressed by his neighbours' prowess, or, as there is much reason to believe, experienced himself the weight of their power by the occupation of his principal cities, Tashkent and Khokand, that he hastened to recognize the authority of the Emperor of China, and to enrol himself among the tributaries of the Son of Heaven. The tribute which he consented to pay was regularly delivered at Kashgar by himself and his successor, and it was not until fifty years later that its discontinuance afforded some proof of the relaxing of Chinese vigour.

What the prince of a considerable state like Khokand consented to allow, the petty chiefs of the scattered Kirghiz hordes could not well refuse. One chief after another of these tribes sent in his acknowledgment of Chinese supremacy, and in return for their courtesy and friendly expressions they received various titles of honour and presents. Whereas the

amongst them who had followed the side of the rebels would be sent to Ili, and that that would be the only punishment for a crime for which they deserved to lose their lives. I was frequently interrupted by fresh cries of, 'Long live the great Emperor of China! May he and his descendants give us laws for ever!' I at once gave orders for the preservation of public tranquillity, and for the prompt re-establishment of all things on their ordinary basis." The remainder of the letter is filled with a description of the Emperor's new province, which is very interesting, but which we need not quote.—See "*Mémoires concernant les Chinois*" (Amiot), tom. i. pp. 384-95.

* Sir H. Howorth says that the effect of these successes was to strengthen "a Mahomedan superstition that the Chinese would one day conquer the whole globe, when there would be an end to the world."

overthrow of Amursana and the incorporation of the kingdom of the Eleuths with the Empire had brought neither tranquillity to the Chinese nor prosperity to the new subjects on whom they had forced their yoke, the conquest of Kashgaria and the chastisement of its Mahomedan neighbours were very soon followed by the establishment of a firm peace throughout the whole of this region, and by its attendant era of prosperity. So far as was compatible with the preservation of Keen Lung's authority, Tchaohoei, when he drew up the scheme of administration, left the inhabitants as much liberty as he could, and the executive to which the charge of Chinese dominion was entrusted consisted of a native and Mahomedan official class.

For the present we can leave the Chinese victorious in Central Asia. Whether the results justified the means in this case, or repaid the cost must be matter of opinion, but it must be remembered that at no previous epoch in history has the western frontier of China been less disturbed by hostile attack than during the last one hundred and thirty years. This triumph had been won by the military skill of the two generals Tchaohoei and Fouta, as well as by the indomitable will and resolution of Keen Lung. Its results were assured and consolidated mainly, if not solely, by the admirable tact and moderation of Tchaohoei.

One event, and one only, remains to be recorded before concluding this description of the Chinese conquest of Central Asia. The Tourguts were the neighbours of the Eleuths in the days when Tse Wang Rabdan raised high his pretensions as the sovereign of Jungaria, and Ayouka was their chief. Not himself without courage and ambition, he feared in the Eleuth the qualities which he knew that he possessed, and which under more favourable auspices he might have exercised with practical effect. Ayouka saw in Tse Wang Rabdan an opponent too powerful to be resisted, and one of whom he could not but stand in awe. The Tourgut felt that the one chance of avoiding the danger that menaced him lay in a prompt withdrawal from the neighbourhood of the aggressive Rabdan. His followers shared his love of liberty, and, recognizing the gravity of the emergency, agreed to adopt his

proposal, and to seek a fresh home beyond the sphere of their rival's influence. Ayouka took his measures with the necessary vigilance and precaution. Tse Wang Rabdan was on the eve of delivering his attack when he learnt that the Tourguts had fled into Russian territory, and were beyond his reach.

Ayouka had to march with his people across the steppes of the Kirghiz for many hundred miles before he reached the settlements of Russian authority. The movements of this considerable body of people created some alarm, but when the Government of Orenburg realized their intentions, a district between the Volga and the Yaik was allotted as their place of residence. There, as the faithful subject of the Czar, Ayouka lived out the few remaining years of his life, and his son succeeded to his position as chief without possessing the desire to return to his ancestral home by the Ili. For fifty years and more the Tourguts remained the contented dependents of the Russian Government.

The report of Keen Lung's victories reached their settlements on the shores of the Caspian, and they appear to have stirred in their hearts a memory of their own country. The race of tyrannical despots, of whom Tse Wang Rabdan had been not the worst but only the most notable instance, was extinct, and in their place had been established the milder and more just rule of the Chinese Emperor. The Chinese had not neglected to proclaim that the Tourguts would be welcome whenever they pleased to return to their old settlements; and the exactions of the Russian tax-collector and drill-sergeant, which were rendered more severe by the wars with his neighbours in which the Czar was constantly engaged, gave increased weight to considerations of sentiment and patriotic feeling. The Tourguts, however, might long have wanted the resolution to undertake a second journey across Asia, but for an outrage offered to their chief Oubacha, the great grandson of Ayouka. The Russian officials seized his son either as a hostage for his father's good conduct, or as a further recruit for the service of the Czar.

Whatever the motive of the outrage, it decided the Tourguts to no longer hesitate about the return to their

native state to which the friendliness of the Celestial Government invited them to come back. Towards the close of the year 1770 they, to the number of several hundred thousand, gathered in their worldly belongings, collected their flocks, and, breaking up their camps, which served them in the place of more permanent dwellings, began their return march to the district they had reluctantly and under the pressure of a great fear quitted half a century before. Eight months were occupied in traversing the region from the Yaik to the Ili, but the local forces were too few, and the means of summoning fresh troops too inadequate to allow the Russians to interfere with their movements or to molest their flight. The Tourguts reached their destination in safety, and became the faithful and peaceful dependents of the Chinese Emperor or Bogdo Khan. Their flight* from east to west, and their return to their old settlements, contribute a picturesque episode to the establishment of Chinese power in Central Asia, and we may attribute their coming back after the proclamation of Chinese authority either to the hardships of Russian rule, or to the greater attractions offered by that of China. Certainly in the eyes of the Asiatics there never has been a more lenient or considerate government established over them than that of the Chinese in times of peace and domestic tranquillity.

The return of the Tourguts ten years after the close of active campaigning in Kashgaria came as if to ratify the wisdom of Keen Lung's Central Asian policy. The sneers and doubts of the timid or the incapable had been silenced long before by the prowess and success of Tchaohoei, but ten years of peace and prosperity had placed in still clearer light than military triumphs the advantages of the able and far-seeing policy of Keen Lung. A strong frontier had been secured; the hostile and semi-hostile peoples and tribes of Mahomedan Turkestan had been overawed and converted into peaceful subjects; the reputation of China had been extended to the furthest bounds of the Asiatic continent; and the monarch who had conceived the grand scheme of

* The reader may be referred to De Quincey's "Flight of a Tartar Tribe."

conquest, and seen how to carry it out, had crowned the glory and durability of his achievements by showing that he knew when and where to stop. In the boundless wastes and intricate passages of the Pamir, in the dizzy heights and impracticable passes of the Hindoo Koosh, and the Kara Tau, he had found the perfection of a frontier. His own immediate territory, the rich provinces of China, were rendered secure against aggression by the strong position he occupied on either side of the Tian Shan, in the remote Central Asian province three thousand miles distant from his capital. His policy had been vindicated by results. He could say that he had effected a complete and lasting remedy of an evil that up to his time had been dealt with for many centuries only by half-measures and by compromise.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE WARS WITH THE BURMESE AND THE MIAOTZE.

KEEN LUNG'S anxieties on the ground of his foreign relations were far from being confined to one quarter. The frontier of Yunnan was as much the scene of disturbance as the borders of Kansuh. The Shan and Karen tribes were by instinct not less addicted to predatory habits than the Mongols and the Eleuths, and behind the former stood the arrogant though feeble courts of Ava and Pegu anxious on occasion to make use of the military services of these clans. The weakness of the Chinese Emperor and the numerous other claims on his attention had long made it a point of policy with him to disregard the unsatisfactory condition of the Yunnan frontier, for the simple reason that his Government had neither the leisure nor the available resources to devote to its effectual and permanent pacification. Successive rulers had been content to leave the problem unsolved as one of the accidents of government, and trusted to the weakness of their neighbours that no serious consequences would ensue. So long as Pegu and Ava remained disunited and antipathetic to each other no cloud of danger threatened the peace of mind of the Viceroy of Yunnan. The corruption of the courts and the effeteness of the dynasties of those two kingdoms corresponded with the decrepitude to which their military power had been reduced by a long period of misrule. The commencement of the eighteenth century found such pretensions as Pegu and Ava possessed to the authority of kingdoms vanishing beneath the incompetence of the ruler and his advisers. From such neighbours China, even at its worst days, had nought to fear.

In the hour of their distress the peoples of Burmah, however, found a champion and reliever in the person of one of those men sent by Providence to scourge and purify a profligate society. Alompra sprang from the people. He belonged to the hunter class which, among a race averse to danger, had been relegated to a position of undeserved contumely and inferiority. He overthrew the Talaing kings of Pegu who had established their supremacy in Ava, and when he had freed his native state he proceeded to expel his foes from their own kingdom. He extended his Empire from the Bay of Bengal to the frontier of China. The tributary kingdom of Assam recognized his might, and the terror of his name penetrated to the Gangetic Delta. Alompra imparted an unknown vigour into a decaying system, and left to his children an authority in the Irrawaddi region which could claim the obedience of its subjects and for a brief space also the respect of its neighbours.

Alompra's successors, surrounded by courtiers who flourished by extolling the virtues and power of their master, allowed themselves to be easily deluded into the belief that they had nothing to fear from the utmost power of China, even if a policy of irritation should result in provoking the wrath of their great but impassive neighbour. The exact details of the origin of the war that broke out have not been preserved, but there is little doubt that it arose from border disturbances which the Burmese authorities neglected to do their part in suppressing. The arrogance of the Court of Ava had been swelled to a higher point than ever by the military successes of Alompra, and when the pretensions of the two haughtiest courts of Asia clashed it was inevitable that a hostile collision should ensue. The greater power possessed by Keen Lung, and the more complete results from the work of administration which he demanded within his frontiers, also contributed to produce a grave complication on the Yunnan border. The successful campaigns in Central Asia had not long closed when Keen Lung gave orders to increase the garrisons in the south-west provinces, and to make general preparations in that quarter in the event of the outbreak of hostilities.

It was not until the year 1768, when Alompra's grandson Sembuen occupied the throne, that the Chinese troops began the invasion of Burmah, which had been imminent for several years. Keen Lung entrusted the conduct of this war to a favoured officer, the Count Alikouen, whose experience in the field had, however, been so slight that many raised a cry that Fouta should be recalled from his enforced retreat and placed in the principal command.* But the Emperor was fixed in his resolve, and it was under Count Alikouen that his troops marched for the invasion of Burmah. The Chinese advanced guard, computed to consist of some 50,000 men, crossed the frontier and took up a strong position between Momien and Bhamo. The Burmese troops advanced in greater force to expel it from the camp, which the Chinese commander had fortified. The result of this action is not known, but both sides claim it as a great victory. The approach of the main

* The valiant Fouta after the close of the campaigns in Central Asia returned to Peking, where, however, he failed to sustain as a courtier the reputation he had gained as a soldier. Fouta was a member of the Solon tribe, and his appearance has been painted in the following words, which serve to bring the bluff character of the plain simple-minded soldier before us:—"Fouta had been brought up in Tartary among his compatriots, the Solon Manchus, and like them he had passed his youth in inuring himself to the fatigues of the chase and to military exercises. He had not contracted that easy air and that suppleness to be acquired only at a court, where he always appeared embarrassed. Frank and incapable of disguising his thoughts, and even slightly rough, he would have chosen to have been rather the last of soldiers than the first of courtiers. The tents, a camp, soldiers, those were what he needed, and then nothing was impossible to him. To support the greatest hardships, and rudest fatigue; to endure the extremes of thirst and hunger; to march by night or by day across arid deserts, or marshy places; to fight, so to speak, at each step as much against the elements as against man,—these are what he was seen to perform during the course of a war which had added to the number of the provinces of the Empire the vast possessions of the Eleuth. The Emperor had said on one occasion to an envoy boasting of his master's artillery, 'Let him make use of these cannon, and I shall send Fouta against him.' His end did not correspond with the promise of his brilliant prime. Accused by an official of having appropriated some Government horses for his own use, he was recalled to Peking, where he was sentenced to death. This was commuted to the deprivation of all his ranks and titles and to a state of permanent confinement. Keen Lung refused to pardon Fouta with a persistence strangely disproportionate to the trivial offence."

Chinese army compelled the Burmese to retire, and the scene of war was shifted from the Chinese frontier to the valley of the Irrawaddi.

The Chinese commander, Count Alikouen, established a strongly fortified camp at Bhamo, where he left a considerable detachment, while with the greater portion of his army, said to number more than 200,000 men,* he marched on Ava. So far as numbers went the superiority still rested with the Burmese king, whose military position was further improved by his well-trained band of elephants and by the natural difficulties of the region of operations. Yet notwithstanding these obstacles, and that Alikouen did not evince any exceptional capacity in the field, the Chinese remained masters of the greater portion of the upper districts of Burmah during the space of three years.

Although no decisive engagement appears to have been fought, the Burmese were obliged, after this protracted occupation, to sue for peace on humiliating terms. The King of Ava was so irritated at the poltroonery of his general, in having concluded an ignominious but probably inevitable treaty, that he sent him a woman's dress. But he did not dare to repudiate the action of his officer; and the Chinese army was withdrawn only after having obtained the amplest reparation for the wrong originally inflicted on a Chinese subject, and a formal recognition on the part of the ruler of Ava of the supremacy and suzerainty of the Emperor of China. This campaign resulted, therefore, in the addition of Burmah to the long list of Asiatic kingdoms paying tribute to Peking.

The war with Burmah was followed by a more protracted contest with the Miaotze tribes, who, secure in their difficult mountain regions, had long bidden defiance to the Chinese authorities, and proved a source of constant trouble and danger to the settled inhabitants of the provinces of Kweichow and Szchuen. When the Emperor Keen Lung ascended the throne these people had just inflicted a severe reverse

* This number was probably greatly exaggerated by the vanity of the Burmese, who also claim most of the encounters as victories. The terms of peace clearly show how far these pretensions are justified by the facts.

upon the Imperial troops, and, although no steps were immediately taken to retrieve it, the fact had not been forgotten. There appears to be little doubt that the Miaotze were not alone to blame for this unsatisfactory state of things, and that much of their turbulence and misconduct should rightly be attributed to the provocation offered them by the local mandarins both civil and military.

The Miaotze recognized the authority of tribal chiefs and heads of clans. They were by nature averse to agricultural pursuits, and chafed at the restraints of a settled life. Their courage and rude capacity for war enabled them to hold and maintain a position of isolation and independence during those critical periods which had witnessed the disintegration of the Empire and the transfer of power from one race to another. Each successive wave of conquest had passed over the face of the country without disturbing their equanimity or interfering with their lot. The Miaotze remained a barbarian people, living within the limits of the Empire but outside its civilization, and the representatives of some pre-historic race of China. When Keen Lung mounted the throne their position was practically unchanged, and their late success seemed even to warrant the supposition that their independence was more assured than at any previous period. Nothing happened to disturb this persuasion until the year 1771, when Keen Lung had ruled the Empire for more than thirty-five years.

In that year the Miaotze had broken out in acts of disorder on a larger scale than usual, and whether incited to commit these depredations by the pressure of want or by the arrogance of the Chinese officials, there is no question that the area of their raids suddenly became extended, and that the Chinese troops met with further discomfiture. Whereas the Miaotze of Kweichow had hitherto been the most turbulent, it was on this occasion their kinsmen of Szchuen who carried their defiance to a point further than the Emperor could tolerate. Orders were, therefore, issued for the prompt and effectual chastisement of these hillmen, and troops were despatched against them for the purpose of reducing them to obedience. The troops marched, but

their valour proved of little avail. The Miaotze were victorious in the first encounter of the war, and it was made evident that in order to subjugate them a regular plan of campaign would be requisite.

Rendered over-confident by these preliminary successes, the Miaotze completed by an outrage the defiance they were resolute in showing towards the Emperor. They murdered the two officers he sent to their capital to negotiate, and they completed the insult by tearing up the letter which Keen Lung had condescended to write to them. The excessive pretensions and ambition of the Eleuth princes had compelled Keen Lung to take up the settlement of that question and to prosecute it with vigour. Success beyond precedent had attended his efforts, and established the wisdom of his policy of "thorough." The outrages committed by the Miaotze led him to the conclusion that similar energetic action in this quarter might very possibly be followed by results as satisfactory and as conclusive as those that had been attained in Central Asia. Just as he had decreed the annexation of a vast region beyond Gobi for reasons of state, he now ordered from scarcely less weighty causes the destruction of the Miaotze.

The Miaotze of Szchuen inhabited the mountainous region in the north-west corner of that province, which skirts a remote portion of Tibet. Their two principal settlements were known, from the names of streams, as the Great Golden River and the Little Golden River districts. The occupation of these settlements became the principal object with the Chinese Emperor, for he well knew that, when these hillmen were deprived of the only spots capable of sustaining themselves and their flocks, they would be obliged to recognize his authority and to accept his law without murmur. It only remained for Keen Lung to select some competent commander to give effect to his wishes, and to carry out the military scheme upon which he had resolved. The necessity for exercising care in such a choice had been shown by the tardy and meagre results of Alikouen's campaign in Burmah, but either the etiquette of the court or the dislike of the Emperor prevented the recall of Fouta,

whose great capacity rendered him the fittest leader for the post. Keen Lung's choice fell upon Akoui, by birth one of the noblest of the Manchus, and, as the result was to show, of talent equally conspicuous.

When Akoui reached the scene of operations he found that the gravity of the situation had been increased by the excessive confidence of those in command. One of the lieutenants of the border had worsted the Miaotze in an engagement, but, carried away by the ardour of pursuit, he allowed himself to be enticed into the mountains, where his detachment was destroyed almost to the last man. Akoui had, therefore, to devote all his attention to the retrieval of a defeat that might easily have been avoided. Several months were occupied in collecting the necessary body of troops, and a sufficient quantity of supplies for their use during a campaign that might prove of some duration in a barren region where means of sustenance were almost unprocurable.

The district of the Little Golden River formed the first object of Akoui's attack. The Chinese troops advanced in several bodies, and the Miaotze, assailed on all sides, were compelled to precipitately evacuate the territory. In less than a month the first part of Akoui's task had been successfully performed, and the Little Golden River settlement became incorporated with the province of Szchuen and accepted the Chinese law.

The second portion of his undertaking proved infinitely more arduous, and the Miaotze collected all their strength to defend their possessions round the Great Golden stream. The king or chief of the Miaotze was called Sonom, and, undaunted by the overthrow of his neighbour, he prepared to defend his native valleys to the last extremity. So resolute and unanimous were the Miaotze to fight to the death in defence of their last strongholds, that they refused to listen to any terms for a pacific arrangement, and even the women took up arms and joined the ranks of the combatants. The advance of the Chinese troops was slow, but being made systematically there could be no doubt that it would prove irresistible. The narrowness of the few passes, the natural

strength of fortresses built on the summit of mountains and protected on several sides by precipices, and the impossibility of effectually utilizing their superior numbers, all contributed to retard a decisive result; but, notwithstanding all these obstacles, the Chinese steadily approached Sonom's chief stronghold of Karai.

At last the Chinese appeared before the walls of this place, within which the entire Miaotze population had been driven. The Chinese completely surrounded it, and there was no room for hoping that starvation or an assault would not speedily terminate the siege. Under these circumstances Sonom expressed a desire to surrender on the guarantee of their lives to himself, his family and his people. Akoui had no authority to grant such terms, and, as Sonom refused to trust to the indulgence of the Emperor, the siege continued. When Keen Lung learnt that this petty opponent was reduced to the last extremity, he sent word that the lives of the chief and of all his followers might be spared. Whereupon Sonom surrendered, his fort was destroyed, and the Great Golden River district shared the fate of the Little Golden district, and became portion of the province of Szchuen.

Akoui was largely rewarded, and Keen Lung rejoiced at being able to congratulate himself on having permanently settled one of the oldest and most troublesome internal difficulties that beset the Empire. The Miaotze of Kweichow took the lesson inculcated by the chastisement of their kinsmen in Szchuen to heart, and refrained from causing the Chinese officials the trouble they had been wont to produce on the borders of civilization. A great quantity of treasure and several thousand lives had to be expended to attain this result, but once attained there could be no doubt that a serious blot on the efficiency of the administration had been removed, and that a well-timed act of vigour had sufficed to establish tranquillity in another part of China.

Although Keen Lung had passed his word that the lives of his captives should be spared, he neglected to keep his word, thus leaving himself open to the charge of a breach of faith, which it would have been better for his reputation to

have avoided. Sonom, the chief members of his family, and his principal officers, were all executed within the precincts of the palace; and the other Miaotze captives were exiled to Ili in Central Asia. The motives which induced Keen Lung to proceed to such lengths of severity, if not of absolute cruelty, on this occasion, are not known. His moderation was usually conspicuous, and we can but suppose that the intensity of the general antipathy to the savage Miaotze, who were regarded as only half-human, led him to sanction measures he would not otherwise have permitted. The spectacle of the heads of these brigand chiefs placed in iron cages over the gates of his capital could not have added much to his personal gratification, nor could it have proved any very great deterrent to those disposed to rebel.

The province of Shantung was also the scene about this time of disturbances that caused some anxiety to the ruler. A rebel named Wanlan had been the leader of a considerable seditious movement, and the people appear to have suffered greatly, first from his exactions, and then from the presence of the army sent by the Emperor to put down the insurrection and to reassert his authority. However, Keen Lung's ends were attained in this case as elsewhere, and, before Akoui returned to the capital, peace had been restored in Shantung.

Although Fouta had accepted, or been compelled to take, a subordinate command under Akoui in the Miaotze campaign, he had been secretly piqued at the slight thus cast upon him; and when he returned to the capital and found Akoui the object of the Emperor's esteem and affection, he allowed some disparaging remarks to escape from him. Akoui's friends were all powerful, and the hero of the Pamir received little consideration when he ventured to assail the reputation of that popular and influential general. Keen Lung, who attached so much importance to the subjection of the Miaotze, that he raised Akoui from the Red to the Yellow Girdle rank, would not listen to petitions to deal leniently with the bluff, outspoken soldier, who in his turn became the object of all the evil tongues in the army and at the court. Fouta was accordingly sentenced to death, and his execution in the year 1776 served to show the inconstancy of fortune,

and also the severity of the conditions of Chinese service. With his summary death there can be no doubt that a notable military career was cut short. Akoui remained the master of the situation, and his voice decided all military questions; but these did not arise for a long time after the pacification of the two most disturbed parts of the Empire. With the Eleuths and Miaotze reduced to a sense of good order, it was only an act of aggression on the part of one of his neighbours that could have availed to disturb Keen Lung's peaceful resolutions. We shall see, however, that as the occasion had not failed to arise from the arrogance of the Burmese, it was to recur from the military ardour and ambitious aggressiveness of the Goorkhas of Nepaul.

CHAPTER XLVII.

WARS IN TIBET, NEPAUL, AND FORMOSA.

THE control which the Emperor Kanghi had established over Tibet, after the retreat of the Jungarian army from Lhasa, was maintained under both of his successors. The internal affairs of that country regained their normal state of tranquillity after the decision of the rivalry between the Yellow and Red Caps, and the departure of the Eleuth hordes. Nor does any event of marked importance call for our notice during the fifty years that elapsed between the sack of Lhasa and the time when Keen Lung's attention was first drawn by the course of affairs to Himalayan regions. A brief notice* is alone necessary, and, indeed, possible, of the relations which subsisted during this period between the Tibetan lamas and the Chinese garrison and officials.

The young Dalai Lama, who had been removed for safety to Sining because he did not possess the support of the soldier Latsan Khan, returned to Lhasa after affairs had settled down there, and was restored to all the rights and privileges of his lofty spiritual position. This Dalai was named Lobsang Kalsang, and enjoyed the title for more than half a century. His relations with the Chinese Government continued to be of the most friendly and intimate character during that long period; and although the jealousy of the

* To Sir Clements Markham we are still indebted for the best account extant of the land of Tibet, which he has illustrated by copious notes and by a historical and geographical introduction to his edition of the "Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa," 1879.

lamas towards the Chinese Ambans, added perhaps to the natural antipathy between the two races, produced some unpleasantness, the main tenor of the connection continued satisfactory.

In 1749 there occurred the one complication that seemed likely to produce an unfavourable effect on the continuance of this amicable intercourse. The Gyalpo or Nomen Khan (Regent), who exercised for the Dalai the civil functions of his authority, incurred the displeasure of the Chinese Ambans. Without referring the matter to Peking, these mandarins resolved to carry matters with a high hand, and to give reins to their resentment. The Gyalpo was put to death, and for the moment it seemed that none would dare to cross the path of the Ambans. But neither the people nor the lamas were disposed to regard with patience or indifference so flagrant an outrage against one of their recognized chiefs, and the people of Lhasa, instructed by their spiritual guides, or prompted by a natural movement of indignation, rose up and massacred all the Chinese, officials and soldiers, upon whom they could place their hands. The consequences of this wholesale slaughter might have been serious, as far less provocation had often brought down upon a people or country the full weight of Chinese vengeance ; but Keen Lung, on ascertaining the unwarrantable conduct of his representatives, refrained from adopting the extreme measures suggested by his natural impulse. An army was, however, sent for the purpose of restoring the connection that had been so rudely dissolved, but its commander was instructed to make concessions to popular agitation as well as to assert the authority of the Emperor. Keen Lung's moderation and the tact shown by his representatives sufficed to avert the danger of further complications and to restore the friendly relations previously existing.

Up to the time of this outbreak the Chinese authorities had been content to trust for the maintenance of their predominance rather to their influence with the Dalai Lama and their well-known power than to any distinct or generally recognized position at Lhasa, where the justification for their presence had to a great extent been removed by their own

occupation of Central Asia and the consequent disappearance of all possibility of a repetition of the Eleuth invasion. But after this popular ebullition the policy of the Celestial authorities so far underwent a change that they no longer confined their efforts to obtaining the sympathetic support of the Dalai Lama. They resolved to assert their right to have a supreme voice in the nomination of the Gyalpo or Regent, and by always filling that office with a creature of their own to secure the support of the principal civil functionary as well as of the great spiritual head of Tibet. The policy was astute, and proved successful. From that time to the present the Gyalpo has been the nominee and creature of the Chinese, to whose cause and views he stands fully pledged. One of the first objects to which the Chinese turned the undisputed supremacy they thus acquired was to effect the expulsion of the small Capuchin colony which had resided at Lhasa for nearly half a century.

The cause and the justification of the presence of the Chinese in Tibet were, as has been said, the danger from foreign aggression which beset a people unaccustomed to war and without an army. The sense of security that arose after the destruction of the Jungarian power contributed to give an appearance of unreality to the Chinese occupation, and so long as events favoured the supposition that the Manchu garrison was unnecessary, there was a distinct element of weakness in the hold of the Emperor upon this dependency. The people of Tibet pined for complete independence, and the Lamas resented the interference of the Chinese Ambans. It is impossible to say whether the connection would have been long maintained in face of these causes of disagreement ; but the sudden advent of an unexpected danger to the people of Tibet came to prove the necessity of, and the advantage to be derived from, the protection extended over their country by the Emperor of China. This new peril appeared from an unexpected quarter, and both its gravity, while it lasted, and the important consequences which followed, call for detailed notice of its origin and attendant circumstances.

South of the Himalayan range, but independent of the authority of either the Mogul or the British, there existed at

this time several small hill-states or kingdoms, of which the principal and most important was that known as Nepaul. The Nepaulese enjoyed complete independence under a native dynasty, but the strength derived from a happy union soon departed when the state became subdivided into three separate and hostile kingdoms. The kings of Khatmandu, Bhatgaon, and Patan, thought of little else than of indulging their mutual antipathies and rivalry; and although each was sufficiently strong to preserve his own independence, not one of them could impose his yoke upon either of his neighbours. In the year 1760 the reunion of the country appeared as remote as ever, when the King of Bhatgaon, threatened by a combination between his two rivals, entreated the assistance of the chief of an insignificant but warlike clan situated in the west of Nepaul and known by the name of Goorkhas. With the assistance of the Goorkhas the King of Bhatgaon repulsed the attack of his neighbours and signally triumphed over them. Indeed, so great was his success that it looked as if he might be able to subject to his yoke the whole of the Nepaulese valleys. The Goorkha chief Prithi Narayan, having performed his part of the compact, soon showed that he was not only master of the situation, but that he had views of his own on the subject of the future of Nepaul.

Prithi Narayan began his career by supporting one of the rival kings, but the ease with which he overthrew the others led him to conceive the ambitious task of retaining what he had won. Availing himself of their dissensions, and making an appeal on larger grounds than had yet been employed by any of the national leaders for the support of the peoples of these valleys, Prithi Narayan, backed by his band of hardy and warlike Goorkhas, soon made himself the undisputed master of the country from Kumaon to Sikhim. Before the year 1769 the Goorkha chief had overcome all his adversaries, and the three representatives of the ancient Newar kings were either slain or fugitives in India. The movement which had been begun by the English for the support of the native dynasty was suspended, and the fortunes of Nepaul passed into the hands of a military caste which regarded commerce with contempt and strangers with dislike.

Had the Goorkhas rested content with their achievements, it is possible that their views on questions of external policy would not have possessed much practical importance; but their ambition and spirit of aggression soon constituted a disturbing element along the whole of the Himalayan range. Not only did they put a stop, by the severity of their custom dues, to the once flourishing trade that had been carried on between India and Tibet through Nepaul, but they took no measures to prevent the raids which began after their advent to power on their borders, and which very soon excited the displeasure and apprehension of the authorities of Tibet. It was not, however, until more than twenty years after the establishment of Goorkha power that this border strife attained the serious proportions and resulted in the overt acts of hostility which attracted the attention of the then aged Emperor Keen Lung.

In the year 1791 the Khatmandu Durbar suddenly came to the resolution to invade Tibet. The apparent indifference of the Chinese to the requests sent from Lhasa for support in checking the audacity of the Goorkhas is said to have contributed to strengthen the belief that the Peking Government would not intervene for the protection of this state, while the, no doubt, greatly exaggerated reports of the wealth to be found in the lamaseries and temples of Tibet afforded a powerful temptation for a race of needy if courageous warriors to essay the enterprise.

The Goorkha army was, therefore, ordered to assemble for the purpose of invading the territories of its northern neighbour. With a force computed to number eighteen thousand men, the Khatmandu general entered Tibet, having crossed the Himalayas by the lofty passes of Kirong and Kuti, and advanced by rapid marches into the country. The Tibetans were unprepared for war and ill-able to make any determined resistance against this sudden invasion. The Goorkhas carried everything before them, and captured the second town of the state, Degarchi, with its vast lamasery of Teshu Lumbo, the residence of the Teshu Lama, who ranks next to the Dalai Lama. This achievement having been thus satisfactorily performed, the Goorkhas halted in their

movements, and wasted many precious weeks in counting their spoil, and in asserting the rights of a conqueror.

The approach of the Goorkha army had carried terror into the midst of an unwarlike population, and the Tibetans, without giving thought to the possibility of resistance, fled on all sides. In this emergency the one hope of the people lay in prompt assistance from China, and petitions were sent to Peking representing the urgency of the situation and imploring aid before it should be too late. Keen Lung had not felt disposed to send troops to restore tranquillity at so remote and little known a spot as the Nepaulese border, in order to put an end to the petty raids which are natural to a frontier adjoining an uncivilized or warlike race; but it was quite a different thing to hear that a portion of his dominions had been invaded, and that those who called themselves his subjects, and who looked to him for protection, should be suffering under the sword of a wilful aggressor. He at once sent orders for the despatch of all available troops from the South-West to Lhasa, and his preparations for war were made on a large scale. The aged ruler was roused by the outrage committed against his dignity and country to one of those fits of energy which had previously enabled him to settle several of the most difficult and complicated questions that had perplexed his predecessors.

Within a few months the Chinese army assembled in Tibet had reached the large number of seventy thousand men, with several pieces of light but serviceable artillery; and the Goorkhas, awed by this formidable array, began to take steps for a return to their country. The quantity of spoil which they carried off was so vast that it greatly delayed their march, and time was thus afforded the Chinese to gain upon and to attack them before they had reached the southern side of the passes. The Chinese commander Sund Fo, or Thung Than, conducted the operations with remarkable skill and vigour, and his manœuvres compelled the Goorkhas to risk a battle north of the Himalayas in the hope of being able by a victory to secure their unmolested retreat.

In accordance with their usual practice the Chinese drew up a list of the conditions on which they would refrain from

prosecuting the contest, and these included the surrender of all the spoil taken at Teshu Lumbo, and of the person of a renegade lama, whose tale as to the wealth in the Tibetan lamaseries had been the original cause of the war. It is almost safe to assume that the Goorkhas were also requested to promise better conduct for the future, and to recognize the suzerainty of China. The Goorkhas, accustomed to success by an unbroken succession of victories, haughtily replied that they would not consent to any one of these conditions, and that they defied the Celestials to do their worst.

The Goorkhas took up a position on the plain of Tengri Maidan, where the Chinese commander found them in battle array. The Chinese at once delivered their attack, and after a desperate encounter, of which, unfortunately, no details have been preserved, they compelled the Goorkhas to abandon the field and much of their spoil, and to hasten their retreat to Nepaul. The vigour shown by the Chinese in the pursuit proved that their losses could not have been severe, and before the Goorkhas gained the Kirong they were attacked a second time and defeated. The Goorkhas experienced great difficulty in making their passage across the Kirong pass, and had to abandon most of their baggage and spoil in order to march the more rapidly. The Chinese did not slacken their ardour in following up the advantage they had obtained, and pressed hard upon the traces of their defeated enemy.

The Goorkhas became demoralized under this unflinching pursuit, and their resistance more faint-hearted. Defeat followed defeat. The forts in the mountains commanding the narrow roads and defiles by which admission could alone be gained into their State, were captured one after another without long delaying Sund Fo's army. At Rassoa, half-way between Daibung and the Kirong, the Goorkhas defended the passage over a chasm for the space of three days; but here, too, their despair did not avail to alter the decision of previous encounters. Although the losses of the Chinese had been very severe, not only during these frequent combats, but also throughout the passage of the snowy range, they had practically overthrown their opponents when they succeeded in concentrating an effective army of about 40,000

men on the southern side of the Himalayas. The Goorkha capital, Khatmandu, lay almost at their mercy, and it was in nothing short of sheer desperation that the Goorkhas assembled near the village of Nayakot on the Tadi stream, for the purpose of making one last effort to defend their principal city and the seat of their Government.

It is impossible not to admire the resolution with which the Goorkhas defended themselves against the foe, whose righteous indignation they had incurred by their own wanton aggressiveness. Within twenty miles of their capital, after having suffered a succession of defeats that would have demoralized any ordinary army, they made a final stand against their persistent and ruthless antagonist. The Chinese advance was momentarily checked by either the valour of the Goorkhas or the strength of their position; and it was only when Sund Fo, resolved to conquer at any price, turned his artillery against his own troops, and thus compelled them to charge, that the resistance of the mountaineers was overcome. The fire of the Chinese guns was sustained on the mass of combatants until the Goorkhas had been swept over a precipice into the stream of the Tadi. Many Chinese, of course, perished, but even in the numbers slain the greater loss fell upon the Goorkhas.

After this crushing overthrow the Goorkhas gave up further idea of resistance, and sued for peace. Indeed, they had no alternative, unless they were prepared to lose their independence as well as their military reputation. The Chinese general, having assured the attainment of his main object by the destruction of the Goorkha army, was not disinclined to accept the ample concessions offered by the Khatmandu authorities. His own losses had not been slight, and he was anxious before the advent of winter to recross the lofty mountains in his rear. When, therefore, the Goorkha embassy entered his camp, Sund Fo granted peace on terms which were humiliating, but which were still as favourable as a people who had themselves invited so crushing a defeat could expect. The Goorkhas took an oath to keep the peace towards their Tibetan neighbours, to acknowledge themselves the vassals of the Chinese Emperor, to send

a quinquennial embassy to China with the required tribute, and lastly to restore all the plunder that had been carried off from Teshu Lumbo. On these terms being accepted and ratified, the Chinese army retired to Tibet in two divisions, and such was the effect of this memorable campaign that the Goorkhas still pay tribute to China, still keep the peace on the Tibetan border, and are still enrolled among the nominal vassals of Peking. Although the main provisions of this treaty are known, its exact phraseology and terms have never been ascertained—the vanity of the Khatmandu Court refusing to make known what Chinese pride and independence have kept a State secret at Peking.

The results of this campaign were to greatly strengthen the hold of the Chinese Government upon Tibet, for the people of that country felt they owed to the intervention and protection of China alone their escape from their formidable aggressors. Not only did Keen Lung then avail himself of the opportunity to largely increase the local garrison, but he felt able to assert his authority more emphatically than before in the councils of the Dalai Lama. On the other hand, the ruling lamas recognized the necessity of Chinese protection, which the people were henceforth content to accept as a fixed condition in their political being.

In their distress the Goorkhas had applied for assistance to the Governor-General of India against the Chinese, and their request, like a previous one from the Tibetans, had been refused. A mission, however, was sent, under a British officer, Captain Kirkpatrick, to draw closer the ties of friendship with Khatmandu, and to negotiate a treaty of commerce. The Chinese commander appears to have misunderstood the part taken by the East India Company, and when he returned to Peking it is said that he inveighed against the English for their duplicity in assisting “the robbers” of the Himalaya. In consequence of his representations the Chinese took increased precautions to prevent commercial intercourse between India and Tibet, and the Khatmandu Durbar, irritated by what it considered the desertion of the English, seconded their object by adopting a policy scarcely less exclusive than that of the Chinese. The passes through

the Himalayas were closed by means of strong block-houses situated at the northern entrances, and the use of the principal of them, that known as the Kirong, was prohibited to all except those employed on official business. The country of Tibet, with its interesting secrets, has since then remained closed to us, and this great dependency of the Chinese Emperor, touching our possessions in Hindostan along a mountain barrier of some 2,000 miles, remains to this day sealed to our commerce.*

There can be no doubt that, regarded simply as a military exploit, the Chinese campaign in Nepal was a very remarkable achievement, and one deserving of a high place among the famous wars of Asiatic peoples and countries. It may, perhaps, be said that the Chinese triumphed by sheer weight of numbers, and of course the statement is partially true. But in this respect the Chinese were only following the precepts of the best masters of the art of war in bringing to bear against their opponent a preponderating force. When we consider the difficulties that had to be overcome, first in moving a large army across the barren country between Sining or Szchuen and Tibet, and then in providing for it when assembled at Lhasa, we shall not be disposed to disparage the skill shown by Chinese commanders in organizing their forces for such an arduous campaign. Nor when we recollect that the natural obstacles of Northern and Eastern Tibet are not for a moment to be compared with those to be met with between the Dalai Lama's capital and the seat of the Goorkha dynasty, will our wonder become less at the many signal victories obtained by Sund Fo over his adversaries, although the latter always possessed the advantage of position, if not of superior weapons as well. The valiant resistance with which the Goorkhas opposed us in 1814-15,

* After the return of the Bogle and Turner missions there was a long interval of inaction. In 1811, Mr. Thomas Manning, one of the most intrepid and highly gifted of English travellers, succeeded in reaching Lhasa, where he resided for some months—a feat in which, so far as this country is concerned, he stands alone. Thirty years afterwards the French missionaries, MM. Huc and Gabet, visited the same city from China; and again thirty years later they were followed by the Indian explorer, the Pundit Nain Singh.

the courage and intrepidity shown during sixty years of service in the Anglo-Indian army by the Goorkha sepoy, preclude the idea that the Chinese success was due to the craven spirit of their foe. The victories of Sund Fo were gained over the bravest of Indian races under circumstances all in favour of those who were fighting on the defensive; and they serve to show, by what ill-armed and imperfectly trained Chinese soldiers have done in the past against a foe whose military capacity we can gauge, what a well-armed and disciplined Celestial army may be capable of in the future. The successful defence of the Tibetans, the rout of the Goorkhas, and the subjection of Nepaul, form a complete military achievement of the most striking character, and bring to a glorious termination the great and solid exploits in war which have raised the fame of Keen Lung to the highest place among great rulers. The aged prince, then more than an octogenarian, felt able to congratulate himself not merely on the success of his arms, but also on the conviction that his sword had been drawn in a righteous cause, and that the millions of Tibet felt grateful to him for having rescued them from the hands of a cruel and savage race of marauders.

Some years before the Tibetan question had reached the crisis that has been described, and before its settlement had been precipitated by the aggressions of the Goorkhas, the state of affairs in Formosa had caused very great anxiety to the minds of the Peking authorities, and had rendered a great effort necessary for the recovery of their position as the governing power in Formosa. That island had been styled at a much earlier period of Keen Lung's reign "the natural home of sedition and disaffection;" but it was not until the year 1786 that the discontent of its inhabitants, or the machinations of a few intriguers, became revealed in acts. Early in that year the news reached Macao that the islanders had risen, massacred the Tartar garrison, and subverted the authority of the Emperor. At first the news was discredited, but later intelligence showed that the report was well-founded.

The control exercised over the subordinate mandarins in China has never been very exacting, and for all questions of

administration and revenue there is scarcely any appeal from the decision of the local official. But if the supervision of the central tribunals over the provincial functionaries was slight on the mainland, it practically did not exist at all beyond the sea in Formosa. The Tartar officials in that island did not abstain from indulging all their rights, and from enforcing to its fullest extent the authority placed in their hands. Despite the smallness of the Tartar garrison, they acted with all the arrogance and reckless indifference to popular prejudices shown by tyrants of an alien race.

When the general opinion among a people is one of dislike, if not of absolute detestation, towards their rulers, it needs but a trivial circumstance to reveal what is uppermost in their minds. Such was the case in Formosa. An individual, named Ling, incurred the displeasure of the principal mandarin, and, because he refused to pay the heavy bribe demanded by this official, he was at once thrown into prison, where his early death was assured if he persisted in refusing to satisfy the demands of the mandarin. Fortunately for himself, and unfortunately for the Peking Government, Ling was very popular with his neighbours, and apparently a representative man among the people. His arrest proved the signal for a general insurrection on the part of the Chinese in Formosa.

The mandarin was the first victim of this outburst of popular indignation, and the prisoner Ling was released from his place of confinement. At first the Chinese settlers appeared satisfied with what they had accomplished, and might have taken no further steps against the Manchu Government, had a wise oblivion been cast over acts which were due to the tyrannical proceedings of an official. The viceroy of the province of Fuhkien, to which the island of Formosa is dependent, regarded the situation from too lofty a standpoint, and despatched a military mandarin with plenary powers to bring the Formosans to a proper sense of their position and duty towards the central authorities. This officer exercised his powers to their fullest extent, and confounded the innocent with the guilty in the sweeping measures he took against the disaffected. The popular

indignation, which had been temporarily allayed by the release of Ling and the death of his persecutor, broke out afresh in face of these exactions; and the military mandarin found himself compelled to make as precipitate a retreat as he could to the mainland. The small garrison kept in the chief town had not the same good fortune, as the Tartars were put to the sword and those of Chinese race were compelled to enrol themselves in the ranks of the insurgents. The Tartar practice of shaving the head was prohibited, and for the time being Keen Lung's authority was completely subverted in the island.

At first the Emperor endeavoured to conclude an amicable arrangement with the rebels, by means of which it might be possible to satisfy the exigencies of his honour and at the same time to spare his Government and people the expense and trouble of overcoming the resistance of a brave and turbulent race. He, therefore, sent instructions to his lieutenants to propose a suspension of arms to the rebel Ling, who had been entrusted by his countrymen with the chief command of their forces, in order that some settlement of the question might be arrived at without further bloodshed. Having emancipated themselves from a yoke that had pressed heavily upon them, the Chinese in Formosa were still not so elated by their success as to feel confident of their capacity to maintain their independence against the full force of the Peking ruler; and Ling was not, therefore, indisposed to negotiate. But it was soon made evident that the only negotiation to which the Emperor was likely to give his consent was an unconditional surrender on the part of the rebels, with which Ling not unnaturally declined to comply.

Negotiations failing, troops were despatched from Fuhkien to bring the islanders back to a state of subjection; but they appear to have been sent in too few numbers to be able to effect much against a desperate and courageous people. They were attacked on landing before they had time to fortify their positions, or to combine their detachments, and overwhelmed by superior numbers. In fifty encounters Ling was reported to have been victorious, and the Manchus met

with scarcely a single success. Twenty thousand soldiers and eighty mandarins of high rank had fallen in the field, and with each fresh success the courage and confidence of the rebels were correspondingly increased. Keen Lung said in a public proclamation that "his heart was in suspense both by night and by day as to the issue of the war in Formosa."

So long, however, as the arrangements made to reassert the Emperor's authority were of the desultory nature shown in these small expeditions, a satisfactory conclusion of the war appeared as remote as ever. The military disasters culminated in the defeat of a body of 7,000 troops sent from Canton; but although this was the most signal reverse experienced by the Imperial troops, it was also remarkable as being the last. The experience of the campaigning in Formosa had been singularly unpleasant and bitter, but it showed that in this case, as in most other human affairs, half-measures never succeed. After the serious loss mentioned, Keen Lung threw himself into the question with his usual energy and ardour, and ordered the despatch of a large army to Formosa to effectually put down this rebellion that had already continued so long.

An army of nearly 100,000 men, commanded by Fou Kangan, whose brother was married to one of the Emperor's daughters, was sent across the channel to quell the disturbances. The provinces of Kwangsi, Kwantung, and Kiangsi were required to send in special contributions for the war, while a large fleet of war-junks was kept permanently at sea. Although Ling and his Formosans continued to oppose the invader with resolution, the inevitable result at last arrived, and numbers carried the day. The suppression of the revolt in Formosa cost the Emperor many thousands of lives, a vast expenditure in money, and some anxious months; but in the end his good fortune reasserted itself, or the excellence of his arrangements received their due reward.

In the year 1785 further cause of anxiety had been produced by the insurrection of some of the Mahomedan colonies established in Western China. In Kansuh these settlements had increased both in numbers and importance since the

subjugation of the territories in Central Asia, for the establishment of commercial relations with the Mahomedan cities of the Tian Shan region and the Khanates of Western Turkestan had been necessarily followed by the gradual but sure introduction of Mussulman ideas and customs into the north-west portion of China. As early as the year 1777 disturbances had broken out at Hochow in Shensi. Under the leadership of a fanatical priest a considerable band had collected at that place and defied the authority of the local officials. The provincial mandarin found it necessary to send a considerable force against them, and it was only after a stubbornly contested engagement that he was left master of the field. The Emperor was inclined to resort to extreme measures against these sectaries, but on the recommendation of his ministers he refrained from putting his desires in force, and remained satisfied apparently with having cowed the opposition of subjects of such dubious fidelity.

The war in Formosa had only just reached a satisfactory conclusion, and that in Tibet had not yet begun, when an insurrection took place in the province of Szchuen which met with unexpected success, and which attained almost incredible proportions considering the firmness with which the Manchu dynasty was then established. Two Taouist priests took the principal part in organizing this seditious movement, which aimed at nothing short of the subversion of the reigning family, and the elevation of a young man, said to be a descendant of the Ming dynasty, to the throne. By the lavish promise of dignities and rewards as soon as their enterprise had been crowned with a successful issue, these intriguers succeeded in gathering round them a very considerable number of supporters, both among the well-to-do as well as from the masses. Several districts of the great province of Szchuen were to simultaneously throw off the Emperor's authority, and to proclaim in its place that of the young pretender, who was to assume the dynastic title of Chow. Forty or fifty thousand men were said to have received arms, and to be in readiness to rise at the given signal. The insurrection was to be inaugurated by a general massacre of the garrison and the officials.

The secret was well kept until the very eve of the proposed massacre, when one of the conspirators revealed the plot. The Governor of Chentu at once took vigorous measures to arrest the ringleaders and to seize the arms they had collected. The so-called Emperor was one of the first to fall into the hands of the authorities, and the execution of himself, his family, and his chief supporters effectually tranquillized the province without further bloodshed. Many Christian converts happened to be implicated in this seditious movement, and the fact was naturally taken advantage of by the numerous enemies of the foreign religion. Fortunately, the mandarins could not find sufficient evidence upon which to base an accusation against the colony of French missionaries established in the province of Szchuen. The suppression of the Chow rebellion, therefore, was not followed, as at one moment appeared likely, by an outburst of official persecution against the Christians.

These frequent disturbances, added to the numerous occasions on which it had been found necessary to take up arms against a foreign foe, were all followed by the complete vindication of the Emperor's authority, and at no previous time had the assertion of the supremacy of the central Government been more conclusive or easily maintained. The reputation of the Chinese Empire was raised to the highest point, and maintained there by the capacity and energy of the ruler. Within its borders the commands of the central Government were ungrudgingly obeyed, and beyond them foreign peoples and States respected the rights of a country that had shown itself so well able to exact obedience from its dependents and to preserve the very letter of its rights. The military fame of the Chinese, which had always been great among Asiatics, attained its highest point in consequence of these numerous and rapidly succeeding campaigns. The evidence of military proficiency, of irresistible determination, and of personal valour not easily surpassed, was too conclusive to allow of any one ignoring the solid claims of China to rank as a great military country in Asia.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

KEEN LUNG'S RELATIONS WITH THE WEST.

AMONG the important incidents of Keen Lung's long reign must undoubtedly be held the steady increase and development in the intercourse between China and the countries of Europe. Up to his accession the question had been confined to the fortunes of the missionary body, and of the small Portuguese colony at Macao ; but as his reign proceeded the subject assumed a wider importance, and embraced all the principal trading nations of our continent. From the frequent discussions between the Canton mandarins and their tenants the Portuguese authorities at Macao, down to the reception of the British embassy under Lord Macartney in the last few years of his reign, the topic of his relations with foreign nations was ever present in some form or other to the mind of Keen Lung.

So far as the Portuguese were concerned, and considering the antiquity of their connection with the Chinese Government, their affairs claim precedence, it was no very difficult task for the Emperor to decide what course was to be pursued, and how the matter was to be arranged. His superiority in this case was too incontestable to be challenged, and he had only to give such orders as his inclination suggested, or as the Canton mandarins deemed advisable. In 1750 an embassy was sent to Peking to endeavour to obtain some mitigation of the harsh terms upon which trade alone was allowed, and great sums of money were expended in fitting it out, and in purchasing suitable presents for the Emperor and his chief ministers. But although these gifts were graciously accepted,

the practical result was none, and the Portuguese could not have been worse situated if they had never sent any ambassador to the capital and if they had kept their milreis in their pockets.

The Portuguese authorities at Canton were, therefore, obliged to get on as best they could with their unpleasant neighbours, the Canton mandarins, who seized every opportunity of hindering them in their commerce, and of compelling them to pay large bribes for their not resorting to the extreme measure of expelling them from Macao. To the losses caused by Chinese arrogance and unfriendliness were added those produced by the depredations of the piratical societies, which had their head-quarters in the purlieu of Canton and in the creeks of the Bocca Tigris. The Portuguese succeeded in producing a more favourable impression on the Chinese by taking an active part in the measures adopted for the purpose of suppressing these marauding bodies, and to this cause may be attributed the more friendly understanding that was at last effected between these neighbours. The Portuguese had to show great tact in the arrangement of their affairs with the Canton authorities, and, although they were the first Europeans to obtain a foothold in the country, and long enjoyed a monopoly of its foreign trade, they have never succeeded in emancipating themselves from the position of being the tenants of China for a small port, of which both the prosperity and the importance have now departed.

Neither with the Dutch nor with the Spaniards were Keen Lung's relations of a nature calling for much notice. The latter had never held any direct communication with the central Government, but had always been confined to their intercourse with the Viceroy of Fuhkien, to whose charge were generally entrusted the affairs of the islands and territories beyond the sea. The former did indeed send an embassy to Peking in the year 1795, but its reception was not of an encouraging nature, and its despatch proved productive of more disgrace than of honour and profit.

With Russia the Emperor's relations remained, on the whole, friendly, although the contact between the two great Empires on the Siberian frontier had seemed on several

occasions to be likely to result in unpleasantness, if not in hostilities. The difficulties that were threatened by such matters as the surrender of Amursana's body, and the flight of the Tourgut tribe, were fortunately settled without an appeal to arms; and when those causes of disquiet were removed, none others of sufficient importance remained to disturb the serene aspect of the political situation. The Empress Catherine, following in the steps of Peter in this matter, as in much else, sought to establish more intimate relations with Peking, and even went so far as to suggest to the Emperor Keen Lung the advisability of his deputing a resident agent to her court. When the Chinese Government showed such marked aversion to the reception of foreign envoys at the capital, it is scarcely necessary to say that this proposition was received with absolute disdain. Probably it was in consequence of this unusual message that the Russian envoy was refused an audience, and dismissed without a hearing.

In a spirit of retaliation the Russians refused to surrender some renegade Chinese who had fled into Siberia, and their refusal brought down upon them a characteristic letter of rebuke from Keen Lung. The Russians remained proof against the implied condemnation, and the caravan trade with Kiachta, despite every obstacle and difficulty, assumed increased dimensions. The very remoteness of the place of contact from the capitals of either Power served to blunt the edge of these slights and indignities, and to avert a hostile collision which repeatedly seemed next to inevitable. The relations between Peking and St. Petersburg continued to preserve the amicable character they had assumed after the Treaty of Nerchinsk in the previous century.

There remain, therefore, to be described and considered only the intercourse between China on the one hand, and France and England on the other, the two great countries of the West. So far as the former of these European States was concerned, the intercourse with China always continued to be one more of sentiment, and of the propagation of Roman Catholicism, than of a profitable and advancing trade. There is no doubt that a scheme for the promotion of commerce

with India and China found great favour with Henry the Fourth ; but, notwithstanding the desire of the sovereign to increase the trade of the country, the scheme proved abortive, and resulted in nothing. Nor was an attempt, made more than a century later, in the year 1728, to establish commercial relations between the French possessions on the Mississippi and China more fortunate, although the very boldness of the idea should avail to preserve the name of its author, M. Duvalcur, from oblivion. The right was given to the French merchants, on payment of a small sum, to land their goods at Whampoa, the river port of Canton ; but notwithstanding this concession and the general favour shown to all enterprises promising to develop the industries and commerce of France by Louis the Fourteenth and his minister Colbert, the commercial intercourse between France and China always remained limited in its extent and of an unimportant character.

But if the growth of commercial relations proved slow, and if the result attained was only partial, more satisfactory progress could be reported in establishing between the two countries a sympathetic feeling in the sphere of intellect. The first two Chinese subjects who visited Europe came to France in the year 1763, and their return to China was the first means of opening the eyes of the Pekin Government to the fact that the kingdoms whence the Christians came were as civilized and powerful as their own. The letters written home to Paris from the Chinese capital, and the attention first given to Chinese literature by Frenchmen, also served to strengthen this connection and to establish a link of sympathy that had not been present in the case of any other country. The translation of the Emperor Keen Lung's verses * by

* The principal of these were his "Eulogy of Moukden" and his poem on "Tea." Voltaire's poetical letters will be found in his collected works. A passage referring more to Keen Lung's position as an Emperor than as a writer may be quoted :—

"Occupé sans relâche à tous les soins divers
D'un gouvernement qu'on admire
Le plus grand potentat, qui soit dans l'univers
Est le meilleur lettré qui soit dans son empire."

Père Amiot attracted the notice of Voltaire, and drew from his pen an epistolary poem asking certain questions of the Imperial author as to the difficulties and requirements of versification in Chinese. Keen Lung was undoubtedly flattered by the implied compliment to his poetical talent in the attention of the great French writer, and could not have remained callous to the delicate attentions of the courtier of Sans Souci.

The most important incident, however, in Keen Lung's relations with European Powers, was undoubtedly the arrival and reception of the British embassy under Lord Macartney. Up to that period the English intercourse with the Chinese had been of only a fitful and unimportant kind. It had had an inauspicious commencement more than a century and a half before in the bombardment of Canton by Captain Weddell ; and after that event ships had come singly and at long intervals, sent either by the East India Company from Calcutta or by private venture from England. The growth of British commerce in China was hampered by numerous vexations, as well as by the hostility of the official classes ; but so far as its acts and protestations went, it could not be said that the Government of either Kanghi or Keen Lung was inimical to the foreign trade, although we have already seen that its private views and opinions were less favourable than its language. Long before the opportunity offered itself, it had become one of the main objects with the English merchants to secure some means of approaching the central authorities, as they were likely to act more fairly by them than the Canton mandarins, who were in receipt of constant bribes from the Portuguese to exclude all other Europeans except themselves from the benefits of the trade.

The campaign in Nepaul had procured the Chinese the information that the English, who were known as suppliants for trade at Canton and Amoy, had established a supreme authority in Northern India ; and while the news had no doubt enhanced the importance of our power in the eyes of the Imperial Government, it had also contributed to increase the apprehension with which the European States were regarded, and which furnished the true clue to the policy that

found most favour at Peking. That sentiment was to acquire intensified force when the suspicions of General Sund Fo, as to the part we had taken in supporting the Goorkha "robbers," became known and appreciated in the Chinese capital.

But before the Chinese commander, who had overthrown the Goorkhas and given security to Tibet, returned to Peking, the preliminary arrangements had been made and settled for the despatch of a British embassy to that city. At the last moment some delay had been caused by the death of Colonel Cathcart, the envoy who had been first selected for the post; but a suitable successor had soon been found in the person of Lord Macartney. As this was the first occasion on which a British ambassador received permission to proceed to the capital to have audience with the Emperor, some detailed notice * is called for, especially as we have already seen that it had been preceded many years before by embassies from the Czar of Russia, who in this matter anticipated the other potentates of Europe.

Every care was bestowed upon the proper equipment of this embassy. Chinese interpreters were sought for and procured after a difficult search. The presents for the Emperor were selected with the double object of gratifying his personal whims and inclinations, and of impressing him with a sense of the power and magnificence of England. The harshest or most cynical critic could not declare that in either one respect or the other there was anything deficient or open to animadversion. Even the names of the vessels that bore this mission to the shores of China were, whether by accident or design, singularly appropriate—the *Lion* and the *Hindustan*.

* The reader is referred for the fullest information on this subject to Sir George Staunton's "Authentic Account of an Embassy to the Emperor of China," London, 1797; and reference may also be made to Mr. Anderson's narrative of the same mission, published in the year 1795 in London. The name of Sir George Staunton cannot be mentioned without making a passing tribute to the solid and enduring work which he performed towards the better understanding of China. He was certainly the first Englishman who regarded the subject from an intelligent and comprehensive point of view. His translations from the Chinese, particularly his "Laws of the Manchus," remain a permanent monument to his memory.

The embassy sailed from Portsmouth in September, 1792—the very month when the fate of the Goorkhas was being decided at Nayakot—but it did not reach the Peiho until the month of August in the following year.

The Earl of Macartney was the great-grandson of George Macartney, of Auchenleck, in Kirkcudbrightshire, who settled in Belfast in 1649, and who, according to Benn's "History of Belfast," was the principal person concerned in laying the foundation of the future greatness of that city. According to Playfair, the family of Macartney is of great antiquity, having received from Bruce a grant of lands in Gallo-way still called by the name of Macartney, or Marcartney, in return for their services in the wars which, after many defeats, led to his accession to the crown of Scotland. About the beginning of the sixteenth century the family divided into three branches—Auchenleck, Leathes, and Blackets. From the first were descended the two members of the family whose names are so intimately connected with China—Earl Macartney, the first ambassador from England to China, and Sir Halliday Macartney, the well-known councillor to the Chinese Legation in London, of whom much more will be heard in the second volume; whilst from the Blacket branch was descended the General Macartney who acted as second to Lord Mohun in the duel, fatal to both parties, which took place between him and the Duke of Hamilton in Hyde Park in 1712. From the Blacket branch are also descended Sir John Macartney, of Lisk, the present baronet, and Mr. Ellison Macartney, M.P., secretary to the Admiralty. In former times several of the Macartneys would seem to have been lawyers, and to have acted as such to the monasteries. From Sweetheart Abbey, Dulce Cor, the Leathes branch, extinct since 1780, received a grant of the property of Leathes in 1549, whilst that from which Lord Macartney and Sir Halliday Macartney are descended held for many generations the small estate of Auchenleck in fee from the Abbey of Dundrennan.

In the course of his official career Earl Macartney held many important appointments. He was ambassador from England to Catherine II. of Russia, with whom he was a *persona gratissima*, especially from the time when, in a courtly



Vol. I.]

H.E. THE EARL OF MACARTNEY, K.B.,

[To face page 722.

Baron Parkhurst in Surrey, and Baron Auchenleck in Kirkeudbrightshire ;
Embassador of the King of England to the Emperor of China.

speech addressed to the great Empress, he said that her extraordinary accomplishments and heroic virtues made her the delight of that half of the globe over which she reigned, and rendered her the admiration of the other. His next diplomatic appointment was that of British ambassador to China in 1792, a difficult post, in which he conducted himself with great dignity and address. He declined to perform the degrading ceremony of the Kowtow, which until then, and for long afterwards, had been exacted as the price of audience of the Emperor from all European ambassadors to the Court of Peking, and he did this without giving offence to Keen Lung, the great Emperor who then occupied the throne. But he was less successful with the Emperor's ministers, for the Board of Rites, on hearing that Lord Macartney had been admitted to audience without performing the abject ceremony of the three genuflections and the nine prostrations, exclaimed that in dispensing with the ceremony His Majesty had sullied the lustre of his long and glorious reign, at the same time declaring that nought but humiliation was to be expected in the future at the hands of the proud and unbending nation to which the ambassador belonged. The unyielding but yet courteous conduct of the ambassador would seem to have raised him in the estimation of the Emperor, for in a banquet which he gave to the ambassador, and at which he himself was present, though not at the same table, His Majesty rose from his seat and with his own hand poured out a glass of wine for Lord Macartney. This is somewhat different from the scant courtesy which once a year the Emperor of China shows to the foreign representatives at Peking, when, like so many schoolboys in a class, ranged in a row, they are allowed to make their salutations and retire to some other apartment in the palace to be entertained by the members of the Tsungli Yamèn.

Though the embassy was considered to have been a failure as regards the objects which the British Government had in view in sending it, it was otherwise a great success; and it would be difficult to say how different might have been the state of China to-day, had Lord Amherst, our next ambassador to China, been equally successful, and the then

reigning Emperor been a man as liberal in his views and as independent of his surroundings as Keen Lung. The friendly relations between the two courts established by Lord Macartney might have gone on increasing, the wars with England in the time of Taokwang and Hienfung might never have come to pass, and China might have been opened to foreign intercourse a hundred years sooner. Though this is not the place to pass in review the different high appointments held by Lord Macartney at home and in the colonies, yet I cannot close this short *resumé* of his career without alluding to his disinterestedness and high principle. When Governor of Madras he set an example of honesty and uncorruptibility—not common in India at the time when the custom was for officials to shake the pagoda tree and get rich. The well-disguised bribes which it was the custom of the native princes to present to Europeans of position, and which they always retained for their personal benefit, were by Lord Macartney placed in the public treasury to be sold for the public advantage. His conduct in this respect excited the surprise of Hyder Ali, and extorted from him the exclamation, so honourable to Lord Macartney, “I cannot understand this new governor; money seems to have no attractions for him.”

The reception that awaited it afforded every reason for gratification, and much cause to hope that the ends for which the embassy had been despatched would be successfully attained. After Lord Macartney left the man-of-war, he and his party were conveyed with all attention and ceremony up the Peiho to the capital. Visits of ceremony were paid and returned with the Viceroy of Pechihli, and some of the other principal mandarins. At Tientsin they were even accorded the unusual honour of a military salute. A missionary wrote from Peking to Lord Macartney to say that the Emperor had shown “marks of great satisfaction” at the news of his approach, and the instructions sent by Keen Lung to facilitate the movements of the British mission were too clear and emphatic to be disregarded. The embassy was detained some time in Peking, and for a moment it seemed as if a period of vexatious delay would herald the discomfiture of

the mission. Fortunately, when affairs appeared to be most unsatisfactory, a message arrived from Jehol, whither Keen Lung had retired, to inquire after the health of the ambassador, and to invite him to pay him a visit at his hunting-place beyond the Wall.

Lord Macartney, with his retinue and the guard allotted to his person, proceeded there in compliance with the invitation, and travelling in an English carriage, he reached Jehol in due course. Although the Emperor and his principal minister were in favour of conceding the English some, if not all, of the privileges they demanded, a very strong party, headed by the victorious general Sund Fo, who had been appointed Viceroy of Kwantung, were not only unfriendly to all foreign intercourse, but inimical to any with England in particular. However, notwithstanding their efforts to render the mission abortive, the Emperor resolved to receive the British envoy in audience, and the interview duly took place in a tent specially erected for the ceremony in the gardens of the palace. A second interview was held, and then the embassy returned to Peking, whence it made its way overland to Canton. The dislike of the mandarins, which had been only partially concealed during the residence at Jehol, broke out more unequivocally after its departure, and during their return to Canton the English ambassador and his suite suffered considerable inconvenience at the hands of officials, who took their cue from the general Sund Fo, whose Nepalese laurels had been won at the cost of an irrevocable enmity to the English. Beyond receiving from the lips of the Emperor an assurance that he reciprocated "the friendly sentiments of His Britannic Majesty," no practical results followed from Lord Macartney's embassy, successful though it was in so far as its reception was concerned. Keen Lung's advanced age left him neither the inclination nor the power to go very closely into the question of the policy or impolicy of cultivating closer relations with the foreign race which asserted the supremacy of the seas, and which had already subjected one Asiatic empire to its sway. That question had to be left for his successors; but at the least it may be said that Keen Lung did nothing to retard the establishment of cordial and

peaceful relations with the countries of the West. In almost the last year of his reign he gave this country some ground for hoping for an assured diplomatic position at Peking by his flattering and favourable reception of Lord Macartney's embassy.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE END OF KEEN LUNG'S REIGN.

AT the very time that the British embassy was residing at Peking and Jehol, the Emperor Keen Lung announced his intention of abdicating in the event of his living to witness the sixtieth year of his accession to the throne. Three years after the departure of Lord Macartney the auspicious event came to pass, and the Emperor therefore retired to one of his palaces, and caused his son Kiaking to be proclaimed in his place. Keen Lung survived his abdication about three years, dying in 1799 at the extremely advanced age of nearly ninety. During these last few years of his long and eventful reign he enjoyed the internal peace and assured tranquillity which were the just guerdon of his previous labours. Freed from the responsibility of the direct exercise of power, he was also able to guide his successor aright in the task of governing the Empire ; but no stronger inducement or incentive could be found for a ruler to do his best in the work of administration than the example left by the Emperor Keen Lung. The energy with which that sovereign threw himself into the settlement of external difficulties, and with which he grappled with questions of foreign policy, showed that he would not rest satisfied with either partial success or meagre results. It formed part of the natural character of the man, and was equally conspicuous in matters of domestic policy as in his foreign relations.

Good government is not an achievement that can be easily performed, even when the sovereign has to facilitate his task and to assist his efforts a model constitution and an incorrupt

civil service. In China, where the whole responsibility is thrown upon the Emperor, it is one of unusual difficulty. But for the admirable conduct of the people it would be a task almost impossible to accomplish, as the peculation prevailing among the ill-paid and loosely controlled mandarins has long reached a serious pass. Whether Keen Lung himself was fully aware or not of the extent to which the corruption had spread appears doubtful; but his principal ministers* were perfectly cognisant of it. But while the evils and inconveniences of this seem to have been fully admitted, nobody possessed either the will or the resolution to attempt to grapple with the difficulty, so as to effectually cure the evil and to remove the great blot which used to and still does mar the symmetry of the Chinese system of administration.

The growth of the population had been quite extraordinary during the reign of Keen Lung. Within the space of fifty years it appears to have almost doubled; but this astonishing increase, while affording strong evidence of the tranquillity and prosperity prevailing throughout the realm, was also accompanied by its necessary and inseparable penalty in a country dependent on its own resources, which, moreover, suffered periodically from visitations of drought and floods. On several occasions, especially towards the end of Keen Lung's reign, the northern provinces were desolated by the ravages of famine, which depopulated in the course of a few weeks districts as large as English counties, and paralysed all the efforts of the local authorities. The Emperor ordered the gratuitous distribution of grain usual under such circumstances; but the remedy applied proved but imperfect, both

* The strongest testimony of this was given by a high Chinese minister to Monseigneur de Caradre (quoted in "Nouvelles des Missions Orientales," tom. i. pp. 90-91), who asked whether there was not some way of putting a stop to these privations and exactions. "It is impossible," replied the mandarin; "the Emperor himself cannot do it, the evil is too widespread. He will, no doubt, send to the scene of these disorders mandarins clothed with all his authority; but they will only commit still greater exactions, and the inferior mandarins, in order to be left undisturbed, will offer them presents. The Emperor will be told that all is well, while everything is really wrong, and while the poor people are being oppressed."

on account of the extent of the suffering, and also because of the peculation of many of the mandarins, who sought to turn the national misfortune to the attainment of their own selfish ends. In 1785 a state of dearth prevailed throughout the greater part of Central and Northern China; and the details preserved by the few European spectators, who were eye-witnesses of the scenes described, serve to show that its horrors have seldom been surpassed.

The very same year was also marked by the outbreak of a fresh spirit of fanaticism against the Christians, on the part not only of the people, but also of the representatives of the administration. The general suffering seems to have resulted in the outbreak of numerous petty and local disturbances, such as those previously referred to in the provinces of Szchuen and Kansuh. Whether because of the indiscreet conduct of some of the native converts, or, as may well have been the case, from a settled design to eradicate heretical doctrines, and to ruin their teachers and votaries, the opportunity afforded by these disorders was seized by the provincial mandarins, and persecutions began which have never been exceeded in ferocity and vindictiveness. Many of the missionaries were cast into prison, and, although violent hands were not actually laid upon them, several died in consequence of the hardships which they had to undergo whilst in confinement. Those who were proved to have assisted the Christians were branded on the face and banished to Ili, which by the toil of these and similar colonists was rapidly acquiring an unknown, and in Central Asia an unexampled prosperity.

The fury of the popular indignation against the Christians was fortunately soon exhausted, and before the year 1785 closed Keen Lung issued an edict rescinding most of the harsh penalties which he had passed a few months before. The missionaries who had been placed in confinement were released, and the question of the position of the Christian religion reverted to its normal state. The policy of the mandarins was not obscure; as they proclaimed they were resolved to prevent the growth of Christianity, and to stamp it out wherever it had been established. With this episode

our remarks on Keen Lung's relations with his alien subjects may be brought to an appropriate conclusion.

It is the custom in China that the Emperor alone has the power of life and death in his hands. No capital punishment can be awarded, save under exceptional circumstances, by any one except the sovereign in person, and in Keen Lung's reign this privilege and duty were practically exercised. Crowds of prisoners were sent every month to Peking to have their fate decided by the Emperor in consultation with his most intimate advisers. Neither Keen Lung nor his two predecessors shirked the onerous and responsible task they had in this respect to perform; and, so far as can be judged, they all appear to have conscientiously striven to mete out impartial justice in every case. Keen Lung, by the testimony of all beholders, was conspicuous not only for his justice but for the mercy with which he tempered it. None but the very worst cases received the punishment of death, and, indeed, with the existence of so convenient a place of transportation as Ili, it is not surprising to learn how common a form of punishment enforced banishment to that district became during this period.

Keen Lung devoted himself with unsurpassed assiduity to the innumerable subjects that demanded his attention, and he gave up even the night-time to the proper discharge of public business. He began the work of the day at an early hour, a course of proceeding to be attributed partly to the custom of the East, and partly to the active habits he had acquired from long practice, but which astonished those who saw him act with an energy unusual at his advanced age. The most important questions of State were often decided at a midnight council, and most of the ordinary business of administration had been accomplished before the first meal of the day.

Among numerous other subjects to which Keen Lung devoted his attention was one that had long baffled both the ingenuity and the resources of the Chinese Emperor—the proper control of the course of the river Hoangho. His attention seems to have been drawn the more forcibly to this question by the aggravation it had caused to the suffering of the people, to whose misfortunes from famine were added

those from the inundations of this great river. To the general Akoui, whose overthrow of the Miaotze had secured him the first place among Chinese soldiers and statesmen, Keen Lung entrusted, in the year 1780, a task that he hoped might serve to celebrate his reign by the achievement of a feat to which none of his predecessors could lay claim. The Emperor's final instructions were published in the form of an edict, so that the nation was taken beforehand into his confidence as to the magnitude of his designs and the excellence of his intentions. "My intention," said he, "is that this work should be unceasingly carried on in order to secure for the people a solid advantage, both for the present and in the time to come. Share my views, and in order to accomplish them forget nothing in the carrying out of your project, which I regard as my own, since I entirely approve of it, and the idea which originated it was mine. For the rest, it is at my own charge, and not at the cost of the province, that I wish all this to be done. Let expenses not be stinted. I take upon myself the consequence, whatever it may be. I have no other instructions to give you. Despatch!"

Akoui had, before receiving this marked encouragement from the Emperor, instituted some preliminary inquiries into the matter, and had come to the conclusion that it would be quite feasible to resist the encroachments of the river and to prevent its further ravages. Having received an emphatic promise of support from the Emperor, Akoui devoted himself to the great task which he had undertaken, and in due course he was able to notify to the throne that his efforts, supported by the Viceroy of Honan and the board appointed to control the waters of the realm, had been crowned with success. But although the ravages committed by this river in flood-time have been much less during the last hundred years than at any previous epoch, the present state of the Hoangho leaves much to be desired. And this great river is practically useless for navigation.

Keen Lung, as has been said, abdicated in favour of his son in the year 1796, and survived that event almost exactly three years. His reign forms the most important epoch in modern Chinese history, for it marked what was long thought

to be the prime of Manchu power, and it certainly beheld the thorough and complete consolidation of the Tartar authority. Its exceptional brilliance was enhanced and rendered the more conspicuous, not only by a succession of unsurpassed military exploits, but also by a series of literary and administrative achievements unequalled in Tartar, if not in Chinese, history. His attention to his people's wants, and his zeal in promoting what he thought were their best interests, showed that he desired to appear in their eyes as the paternal ruler, which is the salient characteristic of a Chinese Emperor. That he was almost completely successful in realizing his objects there can be little doubt, and it was by general consent more than by palace flattery that the title of Magnificent was attached to his name. Certainly the magnitude of his exploits, as well as the splendour of his court, justified its application to his name and rendered it appropriate.*

Keen Lung had abdicated because he would not consent to his reign figuring in history as being of longer duration than that of his grandfather Kanghi. He also had ruled throughout a complete cycle, and the events of these two long and important reigns mark out a period of almost unprecedented achievement in the annals of any country. In no case that can be called to mind had a greater exploit been successfully performed and satisfactorily maintained. The authority of the Manchus, which appeared likely to be overthrown and obliterated before the vigorous onslaught of the

* This Emperor has been described in the following sentences by a European missionary who had frequent opportunities of seeing and conversing with him :—" This prince is tall and well-built. He has a very gracious countenance, but capable at the same time of inspiring respect. If in regard to his subjects he employs great severity, I believe it is less from the promptings of his character, than from the necessity which would otherwise not render him capable of keeping within the bounds of dependence and duty two Empires so vast as China and Tartary. Therefore, the greatest tremble in his presence. On all the occasions when he has done me the honour to address me, it has been with a gracious air that inspired me with the courage to appeal to him in behalf of our religion. . . . He is a truly great prince, doing and seeing everything for himself" (" Lettres Edifiantes," tom. xxiv. p. 110).

Chinese commander Wou Sankwei, had been triumphantly asserted; and the sovereignty of the Emperor had been established and made good over remote tributary kingdoms and indifferent vassals. The Emperor Kanghi had accomplished a great deal, but he also left much either undone or for those who came after him to complete. Keen Lung, on the other hand, succeeded in everything he undertook, and his success was never partial, but decided and unequivocal. Those who succeeded to his throne had but to retain what he had won, to maintain intact the authority he exercised, to be able to boast with truth that they swayed the destinies of the most wonderful Empire of a homogeneous race that the world had seen since that of Rome.

When Keen Lung released his hold upon the sceptre the Manchu power had reached its pinnacle. A warrior race, supported by the indomitable courage of a great people, and by the unlimited resources of one of the most favourably situated of countries, had been able to set up its unquestioned authority throughout the Middle Kingdom and the dependencies, which from a remote period were included under the vague and uncertain term of tributaries. From that post of vantage, and by means of those powerful elements of support, it had succeeded in establishing its undisputed supremacy throughout Eastern Asia, from Siam to Siberia and from Nepal to Corea. There remained no military feat for the loftiest ambition to accomplish when the aged Keen Lung retired into private life, leaving the responsibilities and anxieties of power to his son and his descendants.

Well for those later rulers of the Manchu race would it have been if they could have retained peaceful and undisturbed possession of the great Empire to which they succeeded; but a long period of decadence was to follow this century and a half of unexampled vigour and capacity. With the disappearance of the great Keen Lung the stern qualities necessary to the preservation of a widely-extended sway take their departure from Chinese history. With his death the vigour of China reaches a term, and, just as the progress had been consistent and rapid during the space of one hundred and fifty years, so now will its downward course be not less

marked and unequivocal, until in the hour of apparent dissolution the Empire will find safety in the valour and probity of an English officer. But the respite secured by the genius of Gordon has profited China but little through the blindness and lethargy of the ruling powers at Pekin.

END OF VOL. I.

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
THE
HISTORY OF CHINA.



[Frontispiece, Vol. II.]

Your obedient

Halliday Macartney

Digitized by  Sir Halliday Macartney, K.C.M.G.

THE
HISTORY OF CHINA.

BY

DEMETRIUS CHARLES BOULGER,

AUTHOR OF

"THE LIFE OF GORDON," "THE LIFE OF SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES," ETC., ETC.

NEW AND REVISED EDITION, WITH PORTRAITS
AND MAPS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE HISTORY OF CHINA.

CHAPTER I.

THE REIGN OF KIAKING.

WHEN the aged Keen Lung passed from the hall of audience into the inner chamber of the palace, there were no symptoms that the power of the executive was on the wane, or that his successor would fail to maintain intact the legacy of Manchu authority which he had inherited from three vigorous predecessors. So far as external appearances went, China at the commencement of the present century was at the very height of her prosperity and renown. Never before had her Empire been recognized over a wider surface or by a greater number of subjects; and at no previous period had her Exchequer been so well replenished, or her commerce in a more flourishing condition. The dangers of national prejudice and hostility, which had long threatened to hurl the Tartar dynasty from its seat, were obliterated, or at least thrust out of sight; and to the most critical examination the Celestial Empire presented the appearance of complete unanimity between the ruler and the ruled. Never before, and certainly never since, did the Chinese appear a greater and more powerful people in the eyes of the European traveller than they did when the present century, big with the destiny of mighty things, began to dawn. As Mr. Henry Ellis, one of the commissioners sent under Lord Amherst to China in the year 1816, wrote: "However absurd the pretensions of the Emperor of China may be to universal supremacy, it is impossible to travel through his dominions without feeling

that he has the finest country within an Imperial ring-fence in the world."

The transfer of sovereign power from the hands of one ruler to those of another is always a matter of moment to the tranquillity of the realm as well as to the sentiment of the people. Its importance is immeasurably enhanced when the reign has been one of the exceptional length of the Emperor Keen Lung's; and men who had grown up accustomed to the ways of a staid and virtuous court feared lest his successor might depart from the search of wisdom and pursue that of folly. It is impossible to say how far the new Emperor had shown tastes or habits to give weight to the apprehension, but it does appear as if Keen Lung's favourable opinion of his chosen heir was not shared by some of his most trusted advisers. The prospect of a change in the practices of the court, and in the mode of administration, awakened some mistrust throughout the country, while it excited open dread at the capital. Even under the iron rule of Keen Lung the ambition of individuals, the aggressiveness of neighbours, and the disaffection of subject peoples had not been altogether repressed, and each in its turn had proved a source of trouble and anxiety. The appearance of a new and untried man in the place of power seemed to many to furnish the opportunity of renewing enterprises that had failed under different auspices. The mutable decrees of Fortune might well be expected to show some sign of wavering after a complete cycle of consistent favour.

To these causes, rather than to any gross incapacity on the part of the new Emperor, or to the progress of decay in the system, must be attributed the various disturbances which broke out among the people shortly after Keen Lung's death, and which were aggravated by the dissensions within the reigning house itself. None of these attained any large dimensions or threatened very serious danger, but in China the incentives to insurrection inevitable in any vast country are indefinitely increased by the difficulty of moving troops at any distance from the postal roads and water routes, as well as by the little value placed upon human life. The most prosperous and glorious reigns have not been free from these

jarring elements ; and Kiaking, without his capacity, could not expect to escape the troubles that had beset his father. What wonder, then, that the accession of the new sovereign was followed by outbreaks of disturbance and sedition ; although we must refuse to attribute them to any process of natural decay in the Empire, but rather incline to the supposition that they had no distinct meaning, or at the most that they were tentative schemes to test the real power of the executive ? The objects at which these disturbers of the general peace aimed were as diverse as the motives of their conduct ; and the following incident, which was the originating cause of much of Kiaking's misfortune, will serve to show that the apprehension of personal loss and indignity was not the least important factor in introducing the distractions of civil strife within the borders of his dominions.

Among the ministers of Keen Lung's later years, none had enjoyed the same pre-eminence as Hokwan, or Ho Chung Tong. The favour of his master secured for him a position of such importance that he was not merely the dispenser of his bounty and the director of his political affairs, but he also held the key of his exchequer. The esteem of this Emperor was so great that his confidence in his minister knew no bounds ; while the age of the monarch prevented the close supervision of Hokwan's doings that might have been beneficial in his own interests. So long as Keen Lung lived Hokwan was above suspicion and secure against the animadversions of his enemies. But when that monarch died in the last year of the eighteenth century, Hokwan fell upon evil days, and had to bear without support the attack of his numerous enemies. He succumbed to the onset made upon him ; but his fall has been too lightly attributed to the greed of Kiaking. If the statement is true that he had amassed eighty millions of taels or twenty-five millions sterling, there scarcely needed clearer testimony of his guilt ; and Kiaking, in signing the order for his execution, did nothing more than his duty for so signal a breach of trust. It is true that the Emperor, sorely pressed for money, benefited by this prize ; but there seems no reason to question the substantial truth of the official account. There is too general a fancy that the Chinese write their

history and give their statistics with the view of impressing the outside world. It is much more probable that the idea of such an audience never presents itself to their mind. Although the natural character of the people is not marked by truthfulness, the pride of the literary official class makes accuracy, or at least the attempt to be accurate, a cardinal virtue in dealing with the archives of the State. The execution of Hokwan was the penalty exacted from the most prominent citizen of the realm for indulging in systematic peculation, in which he was imitated with alacrity by his subordinates; and there is little doubt that this strong step was needed to check, if only for a time, one of the worst tendencies in the civil organization of the Chinese Empire.

Had Kiaking devoted this large amount of money to the public service, and resolutely striven to supply with it the exigencies of government, he might have left a name honoured in the annals of his country. He appears, however, to have squandered the treasure seized from Hokwan on personal amusement, and, relieved by the death of his father from an irksome restraint, he hastened to indulge in all kinds of excesses. The vast sum he had acquired by Hokwan's exposure was soon dissipated, without benefiting the State, or greatly contributing to the happiness of the man. At the same time, the moral declamations of his Government were not affected by his own conduct, and the very same year (1800) that beheld the commencement of extravagant display at Peking was marked by the first edict passed on the subject of foreign opium. This important historical document was issued by the Hoppo, or Farmer of the Customs, at Canton, the one port open to foreign trade. The loftiness of its moral tone, in striking contrast with the conduct of the Emperor and his courtiers, only partially conceals the fact that the antipathy of the Chinese officials was directed against foreign trade as a whole, and not against the opium traffic as a part. Moreover, it must be remembered that whereas the Hoppo himself and the majority of the Canton mandarins were favourable to intercourse with the foreigner for personal reasons, and so long as they derived a pecuniary advantage from it, the Censors at the capital were consistently opposed

to it as a bad thing in itself, and as likely to bring many evils in its train upon the Middle Kingdom. The edict in question, although signed in the name of the Hoppo, was really drawn up by the pens, and issued by the express command, of the Board of Censors at Peking.

Circumstances intervened, moreover, very shortly after the publication of this edict to give weight to the remonstrances of those who declared that it was intolerable that the people of the Celestial Empire should be compelled, against the inclination of their leaders, to hold communication with strangers who appeared, in the eyes of a true follower of Confucius, as little better than barbarians. The laws of war are arbitrary, and even on the China coast, during the intensity of the great European contest with France, each combatant strove to snatch an advantage from the other. The manner in which the Portuguese had come into occupation of Macao has been previously explained; but when the nineteenth century commenced the descendants of Da Gama had lost their national enterprise, and were in very deed as in name no more there than the tenants of the Chinese. Yet the position of Macao was so advantageous that it presented a standing temptation to all interested in the commerce of the Chinese seas to wrest it from the feeble hands of those who held it. Immunity from danger, so far as the Chinese were concerned, seemed to be certain from the weakness and inefficiency of their fleet; but it was different with those other Europeans who felt the inducement and possessed the power. While the French conceived the undertaking, the English had executed it; and, as it had proved in other parts of Asia between these two rival peoples, the victory was to the swift as well as to the strong. During the year 1802 Macao was occupied by an English force and squadron; and it was only evacuated as one of the minor details of the Treaty of Amiens. Macao was thus treated as if it were a European possession, and probably not the least thought was given to the breach its occupation by an armed force involved of the sovereign rights of China. The brief time that the English squadron remained there in 1802 prevented an angry discussion; but when the operation was

repeated six years later, the wrath of the Chinese, as will be seen, could no longer be controlled.

The pretensions of the Chinese are only to be supported by a mighty and efficient power. Without that they must invite many difficulties, and bring down upon the country a multitude of calamities. It was only in the natural course of things that when first a sense of weakness was felt, the arrogance of the Emperor should become more apparent. To Kiaking the presence of Europeans on his coasts in increasing numbers appeared in the light of a danger, in consequence of the ill-concealed disaffection among large sections of his own subjects. Had his Government felt strong in its own resources, it could have afforded to regard the foreign traders at Canton with unaffected indifference; but the Tartars, goaded into irritation by their own fears at the aversion of the Chinese, resorted to a policy of petty provocation in their dealings with the races of Europe. The course they adopted was one well-defined and clearly arranged, for the express purpose of heightening the glory of the rulers of China, and of hindering all relations with the "outer barbarians." In so far as it succeeded it served the purpose for which it was framed, and obtained that sort of popular approval which is never refused to measures that have the tendency to show that a nation is the superior of any other. But when it proved impossible, it became the cause of much national misery and misfortune.

The antipathy to the inhabitants of a strange and unknown world, natural to the human mind, was in China fomented for its own purposes by all the means at the disposal of the ruling caste. The ill-will of Kiaking increased with his personal embarrassments. It was bad enough in his eyes that the peoples of the West should be permitted to plant their feet at any time within the borders of the Empire, but it was intolerable that they should be witnesses of the disunion spreading within the realm, and of the scanty respect paid to even the person of the sovereign. For the popular discontent had reached such a pass that Kiaking could no longer consider himself safe in his own capital. In 1803, when his illustrious father had not been dead more

than four years, the Emperor was attacked in open day, while being carried in his chair of state through the streets of Peking. The attack was evidently well-planned, and the plotters almost succeeded in attaining their object. Kiaking stood in imminent danger of murder, when the striking devotion of a few of his eunuch attendants foiled his assailants, and saved his life at the price of their own. This outrage produced a great sensation, and the public mind was much affected by so flagrant an insult upon the person of the chosen Son of Heaven. Chinese Emperors, indeed, had before that fallen victims to the assassin; but if so, it had been in the interior of their palaces, and not in the open way of the people. The national sense of decorum then incurred a grave shock.

The discovery was soon made that this attempted assassination formed part of an extensive plot with ramifications among the Imperial family itself. A series of inquisitorial investigations took place, which had as their outcome the disgrace and punishment of many of the Emperor's relatives; but even this summary proceeding failed to restore confidence to the heart of Kiaking. He never allowed himself to forget the narrow escape he had had; and while he often expressed surprise at their turpitude, he never afterwards permitted his kinsmen to pass out of the range of his suspicion.

The peculiar feature of this conspiracy was its originating, perhaps, and certainly its extensively developing, under the auspices of one of those secret societies, which, in the form of fraternal confederacies and associations, have always been a feature in Chinese life, but which have acquired during the present century an importance they could never previously claim, both in China itself, and among Chinese colonies abroad. Of these the first to attract notoriety, and to be marked out for disapproval by the Government, was the society known as the sect of the White Water-lily, or the Pe-lëen-keaou. Whether because it was as a matter of fact incriminated in the plot of 1803, or whether, and more probably, the Government availed itself of that event as an excuse to denounce and punish the members of a society

which it both disapproved of and feared, the fact is certain that the members of the Water-lily association were accused of holding unorthodox opinions, and of meditating treasonable practices. The province of Shantung was the immediate scene of their appearance and outbreak; but although the Water-lilies threatened to be dangerous, they very soon lost their significance, and disappeared in the more formidable and extensive confederacy known as the Society of Celestial Reason, which at a still later period was merged into that of the Triads.

Although the designations were frequently changed, and sometimes with the express object of misleading the authorities no name was taken or at least publicly revealed, there seems little doubt that the Water-lily* sect was the originating society, and that all the subsequent orders sprang from its members. The escape of the Emperor, and the summary punishment of those leaders of the conspiracy who were captured, did not lead to the collapse of the Water-lily band, and, although proscribed by name, their operations continued, and their daring was remarkable. We have seen the financial embarrassments of Kiaking, and that the escheated property of Hokwan served but to minister to his personal pleasure, and not to the alleviation of the difficulties of government. The dissatisfaction of the seditiously inclined grew rapidly, and before the Emperor's advisers had realized the extent of the discontent, many of the inhabitants of Shantung, and of three other provinces, had joined the society of the Water-lily, and had formed themselves into a common band, no longer for the attainment of secret ends, but from open hostility to the ruling powers. In China the machinery resorted to for the redress of public grievances may assume a character of secrecy; but if the objects are based on palpable facts, such as popular suffering, the spirit of insubordination very speedily reveals itself. So it was in the case of the

* The name Water-lily was chosen on account of the popularity of that plant. M. Huc says, "The poets have celebrated it in their verses, on account of the beauty of its flowers; the doctors of reason have placed it among the ingredients for the elixir of immortality; and the economists have extolled it for its utility."—"Chinese Empire," vol. ii. pp. 309-10.

Pelëen brotherhood, which, far from being crushed by Imperial edicts, and by the failure in the streets of Peking, declared itself openly inimical to the constituted authorities, and did its best to meet force by force.

The details of this strife, if what probably partook more of the character of rioting than of open warfare can be designated by that name, elude the most careful inquiry ; but Kiaking took a later occasion to inform us that he ordered his generals to proceed against the rebels, and that he was employed for eight years in unceasing operations for their chastisement. But although the particulars have not been preserved, there is no doubt that the realm was distracted by the seditious movement of the Water-lily sect, until it gave place to the more formidable association known as the Theen Te. Not, however, for the suffering of his people, nor for the rude blows inflicted on the reputation of his Government, would Kiaking abandon the life of indulgence passed in his residence at Peking.

Even the recurrence of the personal danger from which he had had the good fortune to once escape, failed to arouse him from the torpor, or the indifference to external things, which from force of habit had become part of his nature. In the year 1813 the popular discontent had again reached so great a pass that the secret societies found it possible to organize a fresh attempt on the person of the ruler, more audacious in its scope, and more nearly successful in its object, than that which preceded it. At Peking the Imperial residence forms almost a city to itself, and entrance to it is only permitted to privileged persons. The vigilance of the garrison insures the safety of the Emperor, for whose protection no precaution has been overlooked. The greater the discord in the country, the wider the hostility of the people, all the closer are drawn the guards round the Emperor's residence, and the more rigorously are the regulations enforced. A sense of temporary security is purchased at the cost of not merely forfeiting popular esteem, but also of losing that touch with the wants of a people which it is most necessary should be kept up between the ruler and those he rules. Such was the state of things, we can feel very sure,

during the reign of Kiaking, when suspected persons were rigorously excluded from the Palace and inner fortress of the capital, and with them all heed for national necessities and expectations.

Kiaking was to learn that such protection is delusive, even in its main purpose, and that difficulties are not overcome by a refusal to recognize them. In the year 1813, when some satisfactory progress had been made towards the pacification of Shantung, the Chinese world was astonished and startled by the announcement that a band of conspirators had made a daring attack on the Palace itself, and that they had almost succeeded in their attempt to kill the Son of Heaven. A body of rebels, some two hundred in number, succeeded in making their way into the inner city, by one of the gates according to some, by climbing over the wall according to others; and, taking the guards by surprise, made straight for the presence of the Emperor. Some of them fell, or were engaged in a struggle with such of the soldiers and officials as possessed the presence of mind or the courage to bar their way; but several overcame or evaded all opposition, and reached Kiaking's chamber. It is certain that, but for the appearance and promptitude of Prince Meenning, Kiaking's days were then numbered. Meenning, fortunately for him, showed a courage and decision in action that were not expected from one of so peaceful and retiring a disposition. Snatching up a gun, he shot two of the intruders, while a nephew of the Emperor despatched a third. Kiaking was thus for a second time saved from the steel of his own subjects; but his narrow escape seems to have had the effect of heightening the worst features in his character. To Meenning his gratitude, however, was unbounded; and that prince, afterwards the Emperor Taoukwang, was at once proclaimed heir-apparent with every attendant ceremony of solemnity.

After these manifestations of vigour and resolution, the observer may feel more disposed to believe that the secret societies of China, which caused even the Emperor to feel insecure in his palace, were a formidable and well-organized association of either well-meaning or desperate men. The conditions inseparable from either a despotic sway, or a

foreign domination, compel those who aspire to effect the cure or removal of public evils to have recourse to secrecy as some substitute for strength. In Europe we have some instances of this alternative having been both successfully and honourably employed. The mind will recur to the Vehmgericht and the Vespers of Palermo, to days when to belong to secret associations meant devotion to patriotic obligations, and not an inclination to criminal pursuits. China had nothing to learn from Europe, either as to the objects to be attained in this way, or as to how men are to be bound to one another by solemn oaths for the attainment of illegal ends, although they may be perfectly justifiable on some other ground.

In China, where the ordinary affairs of life are always wrapped up in some high moral sentiment, or in some axiom of accepted wisdom enunciated by one of the early sages, the objects of a political association borrow their form from this national peculiarity. Men are brought together, not with the ostensible object of ousting the Manchu, or of reforming society, but with that of "uniting heaven and earth," of propagating "celestial reason," or of spreading the worship of "the queen of heaven, the mother and nurse of all things." In China the precaution has even been taken of further masking the proposed scope of its operations by the assumption of a title of not merely inappropriate meaning, but occasionally of absolutely no meaning at all. By this device not only has the suspicion of the executive been often allayed, but the curiosity—that powerful agent and frequently very useful ally—of the public has been enlisted in behalf of its objects, without knowing whither they tended.

The first principle of a secret association is equality. Each assumes the same risk, and fidelity to the common bond can only be ensured by all being pledged to mutual support in both danger and necessity. Such conditions formed the basis of membership in those political clubs which became so numerous during the reign of Kiaking. In a couplet, wherein was supposed to be expressed the guiding maxim of one of the most important of these societies, it was said that "the blessing and the woe should be reciprocally

borne and shared." In the machinery of government, drawn up for the guidance of its members, the ingenuity of the people revealed itself, and the Nihilistic associations of Russia could not find much to improve upon in the regulations of these Chinese confederacies which, after thirty years of silent intrigue, succeeded in plunging the Empire into a state of insurrection from the effects of which it is only now recovering. A similar state of things may well lead to a similar result.

The principle of Freemasonry was adopted, and all the members were called Brothers. The chosen leaders were styled in addition Elders, but this superior title was awarded to a very small number, and those only of the most trusted and experienced. Bound together by laws of which the full nature has never been revealed or discovered, treachery, or want of the necessary zeal in carrying out the behests of the order, was punished by death, inflicted by a chosen delegate, or more than one, as representative of the injured brotherhood. Various ceremonies of as impressive a character as the human mind can conceive had been assigned to mark the entrance of a new member. The night-time was selected as the appropriate hour for so grave an undertaking, and the members assembled from far and near to take part in an office which enhanced their individual importance while it added to their collective strength. When thirty-six oaths had been sworn to advance the cause and to stand by his colleagues to the last extremity, and when a present of money had been made to show that the novice placed his worldly goods at the service of the common fund, the most important part of the ceremony was next performed. This was called "crossing the bridge." The novice stood underneath two drawn swords held over his head by two members, while the Elder Brother heard him affirm his undeviating fidelity to the cause; and when this was finished the new member cut off the head of a cock with the exclamation, "Thus may I perish if the secret I divulge!" To meetings such as these, held in retired woods, lonely houses, or in the deserted burial-places of the ancient kings, did Kiaking's enemies flock, and they returned from them to their daily

avocations with thoughts in their minds and pledges on their consciences that could not but bode ill for the tranquillity of the realm. By signs known only to themselves, and by pass-words, these sworn brothers could recognize their members in the crowded streets, and could communicate with each other without exciting suspicion as to their being conspirators at heart, with a common object in view.

In its endeavour to cope with this formidable and widespread organization under different names, Kiaking's Government found itself placed at a serious disadvantage. Without an exact knowledge of the intentions or resources of its secret enemies, it failed to grapple with them; and, as its sole remedy, could only decree that proof of membership carried the penalty of death.

Although all these disturbing elements, which seemed to require a monopoly of the ruler's attention, were at work, yet Kiaking did not abate any of his pretensions as a great ruler, and, indeed, in some ways he carried his head higher and behaved more arrogantly than any of his predecessors. In 1803 a long-standing insurrection in Annam threatened to alter the condition of affairs in that State, and to derange, in consequence, its dependence on Peking. An ambitious minister defied his master, and raised a powerful faction against him. He defeated the ruler's troops in several encounters, and when he drew up his forces outside Hué, the capital, success seemed within his grasp. But the fortunate arrival of a Chinese expedition, although the French claim the greater credit from the presence of a few of their officers, baffled his designs and saved the dynasty. A victory gained outside Hué decided the pretensions of the rebel, who fell on the field; and, while it left Annam under the tranquil control of its sovereign, it also gave fresh significance to the claims of China over another of its remoter feudatories. Tranquillity was little more than restored in this southern kingdom, when a benefit of a different if undoubted kind was conferred on the Chinese themselves by the introduction into Canton of the practice of vaccination. To an Englishman, Dr. Pearson, belongs the credit of this real service to suffering humanity; and it only remains to be

said that the Chinese betook themselves so readily to the practice that they soon spread it far and wide.

Kiaking had shown himself ill-disposed towards foreigners from the first days of his reign. Père Amiot, to whose literary efforts we owe so deep a debt of gratitude, and who rendered good service to the Chinese themselves in his official position at Peking, was expelled, after a residence of thirty years, from the country; and the Portuguese Padre Serra owed rather to his good fortune than to any other circumstance the permission to remain at the capital. The representatives of the Church of Rome had, it is true, sunk by this time into utter insignificance, and the question of China's relations with the foreign Powers had entered upon the much larger phase of her dealings with the great conquering and commercial races of Europe. The scene of interest had also been shifted from the capital to the great city of Canton, the one port where trade was allowed with the outer races, if only on onerous conditions and subject to frequent interruptions. Hither, however, came French and American traders in their ships as well as those of England, with the view of tapping the wealth of the Celestial Empire; and the keen competition of commerce was further embittered by the progress of the great wars in Europe, which were reflected in their course on the shores of China and in the Indian seas.

It must not be supposed, although the totals appear small in comparison with the dimensions they have subsequently reached, that the China trade was considered a matter of small importance by the Directors of the East India Company, whose charter conferred on them the monopoly of the trade with that country as well as with the Indies. It was always deemed a matter of the very highest importance, on which not merely the future development, but the annual dividend of the greatest trading and administering company of all time depended. The profit of the China trade enabled Warren Hastings and the Marquis Wellesley to carry out their schemes of empire at the same time that they satisfied the wants and expectations of the Directors in Leadenhall Street. Each year was consequently marked by a steady increase in the quantity of goods sent from Calcutta and

Bombay ; and as these vessels sailed during many years both unarmed and without a convoy, it is clear that the Company preserved in its dealings with the Celestials its natural character of a purely commercial venture. In this particular the old motive, which in Madras had turned our merchants into soldiers, jealousy and dread of France at last compelled the arming of these vessels, which then formed in turn the nucleus of the old Indian marine.

The advantages drawn from the trade being so great, and the available force for coercing the Chinese so insignificant, it followed as a matter of course that the English had to put up with many exactions, and to purchase the right to trade by complying with the whims of the local authorities, often couched in a dictatorial and arrogant spirit. The Emperor, whether it was Keen Lung or any of his successors, did not, in plain truth, want them to come at all. They made their way in as a thief in the dark by the back door of the Empire ; and it was only the corruptness of the mandarins that supplied them with the opportunity of evading the strict injunctions of the central executive. The traffic was as profitable to these officials as to the Europeans, and they had, consequently, equal reasons for its maintenance. They grew rich upon it, and to be appointed hoppo, or farmer of the customs, was considered the way to certain fortune. Latterly it was reserved as a privilege for a member of the Imperial family. The office had always to be purchased at a high price, and the holder could only retire on his gains by making the Government a present, voluntary or enforced, of the better half of his fortune. Despite the heavy taxes and dues, and the objectionable contributions to the Consoo Fund, the English came every year in increasing numbers, and with their ships carrying larger cargoes. The Chinese remained masters of the situation, and the mere threat of suspending the trade sufficed to bring the stoutest captains and the most independent merchants to their knees.

The Chinese might have been able to have continued relations on this footing for a very much longer period than they did but for two circumstances, of which one only was within their control. They were not content with imposing

taxes and custom dues; they claimed authority over the persons of foreigners, and the right to try those who transgressed their laws as interpreted by themselves. The principle, for the application of which the Chinese showed themselves singularly unanimous, is one that has often been discussed in connection with the trial of Christians by an Eastern race and code both in Europe and in Asia. But whatever may be advanced theoretically against it, the sentiment of Europeans is strongly against the admission of any such right; and after many warm debates and some hostile encounters the grand privilege of ex-territoriality has been conceded by China, imitating in this the example of Turkey and the other Mahomedan States of the West. But in the days of which we are speaking no such right had been conceded. The Chinese authority was supposed to be supreme in the Bocca Tigris; and if foreigners chose to come there, it was contended that it should be on the condition of subordination to the laws of China. Unfortunately, as the result must make us think, events showed that this was to be no empty boast, and that the Chinese really required its exact fulfilment.

As early as 1784, when the Emperor Keen Lung was at the height of his fame, an accident occurred on the crowded river. A shot from one of the trading vessels, whilst firing a salute, happened to strike and kill a Chinese sailor. The affair was really accidental, but the Chinese mandarins at once demanded the surrender of the culprit. A lengthy and heated discussion ensued; but the Chinese were persistent, and would entertain no compromise short of the actual surrender of the man. The old threat of suspending the trade was renewed, and it proved only too successful. The sailor was given up, and was forthwith strangled. Some promise seems to have been required that he would not be killed; but, of course, there was no reason to suppose, under the circumstances, that it would be kept. The Chinese were thus allowed to assert in a very effective way their sovereign rights; and, of course, such a strong proceeding as this could not fail to produce a considerable effect.

But in one sense the Chinese had over-reached themselves. The punishment of this poor gunner was so monstrously unjust, and so quite disproportionate with his unwitting offence, that it at once put an end to all idea of making a similar surrender in the future, so far, at least, as British subjects were concerned. The maintenance of a profitable trade can be purchased at too dear a price, if the return has to consist in part of national dishonour. Several cases of a like character occurred, but none of the offenders were surrendered. Sailors would show that they were free from the forbearing spirit of their officers and Government, and, on provocation, resort to a display of national vigour. In the result these outbreaks had sometimes a termination fatal for the Chinese of Canton and Whampoa. And when these brawlers were punished, it was by English law and in just proportion to the nature of their offence.

The second circumstance which threatened to complicate the question, and which did actually disturb the arrangements existing between the Hong merchants and their European visitors, was the more frequent appearance of English men-of-war in Chinese waters as the necessary consequence of the contest with France. These came not merely in the character of guards for Indian commerce, but also on a roving mission to clear the seas of the tri-colour. Wherever a French vessel appeared in those days it was not long before an English frigate followed, and the Chinese found it impossible to distinguish between these perfectly independent representatives of the same people and kingdom. The captains of these vessels thought more of enhancing the dignity of their sovereign than of the worldly interests of their fellow-countrymen; and the necessary consequence was an unceasing conflict between them and the Chinese mandarins, who were only kept in any sort of good humour by the profitable business of supplying them with provisions at extortionate charges.

The question was still further complicated by the condition of things in the Canton river and on the coast of the Kwantung province. The Chinese have never been distinguished for naval prowess as a nation, but at this period they

had no navy at all worthy of the name. But the natural disposition of the people of the South prompted them to a life of adventure on the sea, and it found relief in the formation of piratical bands, with their head-quarters among the numerous islands at the mouth of the Pearl River. These bands had to a certain extent combined, and formed at the beginning of the century a powerful confederacy, which was absolutely independent of control. They mustered a force of several hundred junks, and levied black-mail with impunity on all Chinese boats and trading-vessels. The sphere of their operations was only confined by their sense of power ; and when themselves in sufficient force, and their prey appeared sufficiently weak and tempting, they never hesitated to attack European merchantmen, although their discretion led them to choose those of the weaker powers, such as Spain and Portugal.

The authority of the *Ladrones*, as these pirates were called, from the Portuguese word, extended along the whole of the coast, from Tonquin to Foochow, the important and prosperous seaport in the province of Fuhkien. There was good reason to believe that they were in active communication, if not in direct alliance, with the leaders of the secret societies, and their chief, Apotsye, seems to have considered himself more of a patriot than a pirate. These claims were not strengthened by the more intimate knowledge we obtained of their mode of life and arrangements through the experience of two Englishmen who fell into their hands. From their narratives it is clear that these corsairs were composed of the scum of the inhabitants of Canton, reinforced by many of the fishing and boating population of the coast. Their sole object was plunder, and one of their principal sources of wealth consisted in the ransoming of such prisoners as they thought worth their while to spare from the death which was the usual fate of those who refused to join their ranks. From the experience of Mr. Turner and other Europeans, they treated their prisoners harshly, but at the same time they themselves passed a miserable and half-starved existence. Nothing but the inefficiency and apathy of the Imperial officials enabled these pirates to

achieve the success they did ; and whether they were made participators in the booty, or were really afraid of these depredators, the fact was clear that they attempted nothing against them, and that the authority of the Emperor was completely ignored and set on one side.

The only rebuffs with which these pirates met were inflicted by the boats of English men-of-war. Their anxiety to make prizes sometimes led them to mistake these war-vessels for peaceful traders, when they were unpleasantly undeceived ; but although these reverses caused them some loss of life, they were too few to check their depredations in the China seas. Their successes over every other opponent were so decisive that they were inspired with the greatest confidence, and declared that one of their junks was a match for four of the vessels occasionally fitted out against them by the mandarins. That this belief was not without foundation may be judged from the fact that when, by a great effort, a large fleet was despatched against them, under a mandarin of reputation from Peking, they still gained a signal victory. Nor did a joint expedition of Chinese war-junks and six Portuguese vessels, sent in the same year (1809), fare any better. The Ladrones were left masters of the sea, and the stronger from being attacked by the vessels captured during these engagements.

Although poor in their resources, and without differing in their mode of life from the lower classes of Chinese, the Ladrones showed the possession of a capacity for organization in the strict regulations which alone rendered their confederacy possible or likely to endure. How much of this was due to the instinct of self-preservation, or to the capacity of their chief, will never be known. The latter has been described as "a man of dignified presence and manner, of sound discretion, temperate habits, and bold and successful in all his enterprises." One proof of his remarkable energy was furnished when, on engaging an English ship and discovering the size of the shot fired from it, he expressed surprise, but at the same time declared that it would not be long before he would use the same. What the Chinese authorities could not obtain by force they resolved to secure

by other means. The enormity of the Ladrone's offence was brought home to them by their endeavouring to seize the four vessels bearing the tribute embassy from Siam, and the attempt would undoubtedly have succeeded but for the promptitude with which the Canton officials induced some English merchants to fit out one of their vessels to proceed against the marauders.

The cruise of the *Mercury* was remarkable in a small way, and recalls the naval adventures of an earlier era. The Ladrone's were severely dealt with, the Siamese tribute was rescued from the robbers of the sea, and the credit of the Middle Kingdom was saved from a damaging admission of national weakness. The bribes of the Chinese then promoted discord in their ranks, and promises proved more effectual arguments than the swords of the Emperor's lieutenants. Internal dissension broke out. The chief of the Red division quarrelled with his comrade at the head of the Black, and, in a community addicted to violence, force was the only and simple remedy. The two divisions met in mortal combat. The waters of the Bogue were strewn with the wrecks of their war-junks, and the great power of the Ladrone's, which had endured during the better part of ten years, was overthrown by their own acts. The Canton mandarins, cautious if not apathetic in attempting to crush a warlike association, were prompt in availing themselves of its disintegration to complete its overthrow. Two chiefs were received into the official service, and with them eight thousand of their followers were pardoned and returned to civil life. The junks were disarmed, the old rendezvous near Lantao was dominated by a Chinese fort, and there disappeared from the China coast a most formidable band of piratical rovers who, in the picturesque official language of a literary people, were designated "the foam of the sea."

The excitement raised in the Chinese mind by the military occupation in 1802 of Macao—the settlement which they had rented to the Portuguese—has been mentioned. It was allayed by the shortness of the stay of the English troops, but peremptory orders had been sent from Peking to demand the instant withdrawal of the force. Six years later, the

whole subject was again opened by the fresh occupation of Macao as a measure of protection against the French, and the correspondence assumed at once an angry tone. In the interval some communications had passed between the Governments of London and Peking. A present had been sent to the minister Sung Tajin, one of the most enlightened men in the country, as a remembrance of his kindness to Lord Macartney's embassy, and a letter from Kiaking to George the Third had been duly received in England. The fate of Sung Tajin's present was not merely unfortunate; it proved disastrous for that minister himself. It was haughtily returned to Canton, with a notification that a minister of the Emperor dare not so much as see a present from a foreigner. There can be no doubt that in this the Chinese were perfectly in the right, and only pursuing the same course as was the better tradition in Europe. The letter of Kiaking also was couched in terms of the most lofty condescension, not wholly out of place on the part of a potentate who ignored the whole universe outside his sphere, and who asked no favour of any foreign prince or people.

The nature of the position of the Portuguese at Macao had been made plain by the events of 1802. Although in their possession, the Chinese had established the fact that the Portuguese were only their tenants, and that Macao was an integral part of the Chinese Empire. Yet, notwithstanding this undoubted fact, the authorities in India resolved to repeat the mistake by sending another expedition to Macao, at the same time that Goa was occupied by an English force in order to defend them against any attack on the part of the French. Ill-judged as the step was as a measure of general policy, it was still more unfortunate in the way that it was carried out. A squadron was duly sent, under the command of Admiral Drury, and a small force landed to garrison Macao. But the Chinese were furious at this fresh interference with their rights. They withheld all supplies, ordered the suspension of trade, and refused to hold any communication whatever with the commander. Unfortunately, Admiral Drury entertained the opinion that a display of force would suffice to bring the Chinese to reason, and, in the persuasion

that there was "nothing in his instructions to prevent his going to war with the Emperor of China," he resolved to obtain by force an interview with the Viceroy of Kwantung. With this end in view, after much useless discussion, he proceeded up the river to Canton, escorted by all the boats of the squadron. The Chinese had made every preparation in their power to resist this unwarrantable proceeding, and they had placed a line of junks across the river to bar further progress. On perceiving these signs of hostility, Admiral Drury sent a fresh request to the mandarin's yamen for an interview, with a threat that unless it was conceded within half an hour he would force his way into Canton. Whether the Chinese detected some infirmity of purpose in the language of the commander, or whether they were resolved to brave the worst, they did not deign to send a reply. The fated half-hour passed; but instead of Admiral Drury ordering his boats to attack, he adopted the safer course of retiring. A similarly ignominious method of proceeding was adopted on several later occasions; but, towards inducing the Chinese to alter their manners, neither Admiral Drury's threats nor his concessions availed anything. A pagoda was erected at Canton to celebrate the repulse of the English, and after a three months' unnecessary and inglorious occupation of Macao that port was evacuated, and Admiral Drury returned with his ships to India. The Chinese were satisfied with having carried their point, and thereupon allowed the reopening of the trade. Their national self-esteem and their confidence in their ruler rose immensely when they could feel that the Edict of their Emperor on this very subject had been realized to the letter by the course of events.

It must not be supposed that there was on this occasion, or, indeed, at any time, a disposition on the part of the Chinese or their Government to show favour to one European nation more than another, or to refuse to the English at Canton what was conceded to other people at different places. The policy of the Empire has always been consistent, and it was then the same at all points, to exclude foreign trade and to keep away from the Emperor's presence the pretensions of those rulers who claimed to rank on an equality with him.

Had Kiaking possessed incorrupt officials, and shown himself something of the indomitable vigour of his predecessor, China might have remained to this day as forbidden a land to European inquisitiveness as some of her tributary States still are. But the self-seeking mandarins at Canton opened the door to the outer peoples, and although many rebuffs were experienced in their attempt to gain a footing in the country, the ultimate success of their project was ensured by the political weakness and disunion of China herself.

During the interval between the first and second occupations of Macao, the Russians despatched an embassy to Peking: but it did not succeed in accomplishing its object. It left Russia in the year 1805, and it appears to have been arranged on a scale of unusual magnificence. Count Goloyken, one of the highest dignitaries of the Russian Court, was specially selected as ambassador, and a large number of costly presents were entrusted to him for the Chinese Emperor. After encountering weather of exceptional severity, he reached the vicinity of the Great Wall, where the objections of the Chinese officials took the place of the obstacles of Nature; and of the two they speedily proved themselves the more formidable. The delays for reference to Peking soon resulted in a refusal to allow the embassy to pass within the Wall unless the Russian envoy pledged himself to perform the prostration ceremony. This Count Goloyken, encouraged by the indulgence shown to Lord Macartney, strenuously refused to do, whereupon he was curtly informed that it would be well for him to return as quickly as possible to his own country, for his journey had already been over-prolonged.

Disappointed at this ending of a mission that had been prepared with much care and at considerable outlay, the Russian Government turned an ear to the representations of their naval officer, Krusenstern, that it would be wise to open a trade with Canton like other European countries. The attempt was made with two ships, which found no difficulty in disposing of their cargoes; but the appearance of a new foreign people at Canton raised fresh apprehensions in the mind of the Peking Government. An edict was at once issued, ordering that "all vessels belonging to any other nation than

those which have been in the habit of visiting this port shall on no account whatever be permitted to trade, but merely suffered to remain in port until every circumstance is reported to us and our pleasure made known." The course of events under Kiaking's guidance was, therefore, equally unfavourable for all Europeans. But for the corruption at Canton we do not doubt that there would then have been an end of the intercourse, until, at least, the Chinese should have come to see of their own accord its advantage to themselves.

The triumph of the Chinese in the matter of the Macao occupation did not tend to promote a feeling of confidence among the English community at Canton. Yet, strange and almost contradictory as it may be, there was, after that event, which might have been expected to increase the arrogance of the Chinese, greater harmony than there had been before. So far as trade was concerned, a period of more than twenty years passed away without any grave disagreement arising between the European merchants and the agents of the Hoppo. But, on the other hand, the political difficulties and complications between the naval representatives of the English Government and the provincial mandarins continually increased. Several collisions actually occurred, and the captains of English men-of-war could only obtain by force the supplies and water they might urgently require. Under these circumstances, it was hoped that the despatch of an embassy to Peking from the King would have a good effect, and that the demonstration that England was a great country, and not a mere trading company, might tend to secure some fresh privileges for her subjects and some greater consideration for the King's representatives. In coming to this decision, the Home Government was guided not merely by the precedent of Lord Macartney, but by the experience it had acquired in the cases of Persia and other Asiatic States, whose rulers considered it derogatory to treat with any of lower rank than the ambassador of a sovereign. But in China the reasoning should have been exactly the opposite. The Peking Government would much rather have dealt with the East India Company's agents at Canton alone; them it could treat as mere traders. But it was very different when it had

to deal with the spokesmen of another powerful and independent Empire. Their rights and prejudices were expected to be so far considered, that the strict and never-varying ceremonial of the Son of Heaven should be waived in favour of the claims of their ruler to rank on an equality with the sovereign of the Middle Kingdom. Such a pretension was both inconvenient for the present and dangerous for the future. Embassies from kingdoms of undoubted inferiority were welcome enough at Peking, but those from States claiming a position of equality were quite beyond the comprehension of the Celestials, and, as such, to be deprecated, and if necessary prevented.

Great expectations were naturally formed by those who saw only their own interests, and thought nothing of the practice and dignity of China, as to the probable benefits that would accrue to England both politically and commercially from such a mission. The untoward fate of the present to Sung Tajin, the lofty tone assumed by the Emperor in his letters, and the vigilance shown in asserting the sovereign rights of China at Macao, all pointed, indeed, to a different conclusion, but they were ignored as irrelevant to the subject. It mattered not also that the treatment of those Europeans who came to China on any different errand than the buying of tea or the selling of opium did not support the sanguine views prevalent in both London and Calcutta as to the reception that awaited Lord Macartney's successor at Peking. One traveller, among the most courageous and successful of all explorers of unknown lands, Mr. Thomas Manning, came to Canton with every circumstance in his favour that could recommend him to the Chinese. He was an excellent Chinese scholar, well-versed in their history and politics, and thoroughly enthusiastic in his desire to acquire a close knowledge of their character in order to bring the great people of the East prominently before the eyes of his countrymen. All his efforts failed, however, and he turned in despair from the sea-coast in the hope of realizing from India his object of entering the Chinese Empire.* Yet where the individual failed it

* Mr. Thomas Manning succeeded in this design to a certain extent. Although the Indian Government refused to have anything to do with

was confidently anticipated that the Government would succeed.

By a singular coincidence the second British embassy to Peking was, like the first, contemporaneous with a disturbed state of things in the Himalayan country of Nepal. Lord Macartney, it will be remembered, reached the capital at a time when the Chinese, having concluded a brilliant campaign, were congratulating themselves on the addition of one feudatory the more to their Empire, at the same time that they felt genuine gratification in having afforded timely protection to their unoffending and ill-provided subjects of Tibet. When Lord Amherst was on his journey to the China coast, an English general was on the point of bringing to a victorious termination operations that had been in progress during three years for the chastisement of the same offenders, the Goorkhas of Nepal. That war had been, in more than one respect, singular in the military annals of British India. It began in the year 1814, and, whether the cause was the difficulty of the country, or the incapacity of their commander, the English troops met with several slight reverses, and were constrained to admit the valour of their opponents and the first inconstancy of fortune in India. A new commander and fresh troops promptly asserted the natural superiority of English power; but another year, and one memorable in the records of English victory, had to pass away before the result was rendered assured. Sir David Ochterlony's brilliant tactics formed no unworthy counterpart of those triumphant at Waterloo. But the Goorkhas were not finally brought to their knees until the year 1816, when a force of nearly 50,000 men in all, assembled under the Company's flag, had arrived within three days' march of the capital, Khatmandoo. The aid of the Chinese had been implored, but neither from the Amban at Lhasa, nor from the Viceroy of Szchuen, nor from the Emperor in Peking, did the Nepaulese get the smallest grain of comfort. They were told that they were a race of

his undertaking, he managed, at great personal risk, to make his way across the Himalayas into Tibet. He resided at the capital of the Dalai Lama during the greater part of the year 1812, and remains to the present time the only Englishman who has ever visited Lhasa.



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THE EARL AMHERST.

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robbers, who richly deserved any punishment inflicted upon them.

An embassy having been decided upon, the next important point was to select the ambassador, and the choice fell upon Lord Amherst, a diplomatist of experience and a nobleman of distinguished parts. The embassy left England early in the year 1816, and reached the mouth of the Peiho in the month of August. The principles by which Lord Amherst intended to guide his action were those of "conciliation and compliment," but it was clear to the experienced mind of Sir George Staunton that the embassy had arrived at a wrong moment to have much chance of effecting its object. The arrival at Tientsin was immediately followed by the commencement of the difficulties which, throughout the whole of the time Lord Amherst resided in China, continually presented themselves. It is certain that, but for some curiosity on the part of the Emperor to see these strange visitors, and a much stronger desire among some of the officials to receive the presents brought from Europe, the embassy would not have been allowed to land. It is not certain, also, how far the sentiment of vanity entered into their calculations; and, no doubt, if the British ambassador had consented to perform the prostration ceremony, he would have been received in audience, and the fact would have been duly chronicled to the glorification of the Middle Kingdom.

Lord Amherst and his companions were, after many altercations, permitted to proceed to Peking on the understanding that the prostration ceremony would be dispensed with. The circumstances of the journey were little calculated to inspire much confidence as to the good results likely to accrue from an interview with the Emperor. The embassy was hurried along at a rapid rate without being allowed time for rest or refreshment; and when Lord Amherst had been led outside the city walls, and by a roundabout way to the Palace of Yuen-min-yuen, he was told that the Emperor awaited him in immediate audience. The plain truth, as was afterwards discovered, was that Kiaking had not been apprised of the approach of the English ambassador; and when he learnt that he had actually arrived in his palace, he

could not repress the curiosity to see him without delay. Hence the sudden summons to the envoy to proceed into his presence. It is impossible to say with any confidence whether Lord Amherst was right or wrong in begging to be excused, under the circumstances, from this precipitate interview. He was undoubtedly exhausted by the hardships of the hurried journey from Tientsin, the uniforms of his suite and the presents for the Emperor had not arrived, and it might even be that the tired and travel-stained appearance of the former would have thrown some stigma on the fame and greatness of the English sovereign. Moreover, the proposal was in violation of every diplomatic punctilio; and Lord Amherst was supported in his refusal by both of the Assistant Commissioners, Sir George Staunton and Mr. Henry Ellis.

And yet there is scarcely any doubt that Kiaking's proposal was meant in a friendly spirit, and as a mark of honour. It was so disinterested that it absolutely disconcerted all the schemes formed by his principal minister and brother-in-law, Ho Koong Yay, who was resolved on compelling the English ambassador to perform the kotow. One refusal, a single pleading of the ancient excuse of indisposition, did not suffice to put off an irresponsible ruler from the gratification of a wish; and Ho Koong Yay came himself to use every argument to induce Lord Amherst to consent to the immediate interview. His final assurance that it should be strictly in accordance with English ceremony—*ne-muntihlee*, "your own ceremony"—failed to induce the English representative to modify his decision. Whether Lord Amherst was right or wrong, there can be no question of Kiaking's having gone very far out of his way indeed, for a Chinese sovereign, towards acquiescing with the requirements of his visitors. After the events of that night, it should, however, have been clear that the embassy would not be received at all, and that, after having overcome many difficulties and reached the capital, it would be barren of result. The circumstances attending its dismissal and return journey* were such as to

* These cannot be better given than in the words of Mr. Henry Ellis. "We returned by the same road to Haiteen. . . . The house of Sung Tajin, selected for our residence, was extremely commodious and

leave a very unpleasant impression on the minds of those who were the victims ; and the Amherst embassy, far from having improved the relations between the two Governments, placed matters in rather a worse position than they had been in before. Among the English there was a feeling of indignation at the indecorous treatment of their representative, while Kiaking undoubtedly thought that his condescension had not been appreciated, and that his favour had been spurned. The views of the Emperor found expression in a letter to the Prince Regent and in a Vermilion Edict. These official notifications closed the negotiations, and Kiaking suggested to the Regent of England that, as his country was so remote, it would not be necessary for him to send another embassy.

The Amherst embassy served one useful purpose in throwing a great deal of fresh light on the Chinese Court, and on several of the leading men in the country. Foremost among these was Ho Koong Yay, to one of whose sisters Kiaking was married. His influence with the Emperor was supreme at the time of the English mission, and he was reported to have shown great bravery and sound judgment in operating against the insurgents. If they were as striking as his pride and haughty bearing throughout his interviews with Lord Amherst were conspicuous, then they must have been great indeed. The uncertainty of Imperial favour was well demonstrated by the disgrace of Ho Koong Yay, which fell upon him when apparently his influence was at its height. The Imperial Edict in the *Pekin Gazette* dismissing Ho from all his posts expressly states that he was disgraced for

pleasantly situated, with flowers and trees near the principal apartments. Its aspect was so agreeable that we could not but look forward with some satisfaction to remaining there a few days. Such, however, was not to be our fate ; before two hours had elapsed a report was brought, that opposition was made by the Chinese to unloading the carts ; and soon after the mandarins announced that the Emperor, incensed by the ambassador's refusal to attend him according to his commands, had given orders for our immediate departure. The order was so peremptory that no alteration was proposed ; in vain was the fatigue of every individual of the embassy pleaded ; no consideration was allowed to weigh against the positive commands of the Emperor" (p. 181).

having concealed the truth from his master in connection with the English embassy, and for having generally mismanaged the whole affair. He was fined to the extent of his pay as Duke for five years, and deprived of his yellow silk riding-jacket—one of the highest honours in China, and only conferred on successful soldiers outside the reigning family. But as a special favour he was allowed to retain the title of Duke, and he may have regained his place in the esteem of his sovereign before he died.

Another of the leading men at Kiaking's Court, and one of whose prudence and moderation early proof had been afforded, was Sung Tajin, who, at the time of Lord Macartney's visit, had been a trusted mandarin under Keen Lung. Reference has already been made to the unfortunate present sent in 1805 by the English Government, which had been returned without his being so much as allowed to see it. Its evil consequences, unluckily, did not stop there. Sung Tajin was one of the most remarkable of the ministers who contributed in the later days of Keen Lung to the maintenance of his widespread administration; and had his successor only known how to utilize his services, and to follow his advice, the condition of China during the early years of the present century would have been very different from what it was. Sung Tajin was a man of neither birth nor fortune. He owed his introduction to official life to the fact that he was a descendant of those Mongols who had joined the Manchu Taitsong when he began the invasion of China, and who had thereby acquired for their descendants the privilege of an entry into the official service. Sung Tajin began his career in the modest but useful post of interpreter. From that office he was soon raised to the confidential position of secretary to Keen Lung's Council, in which capacity he acquired an intimate acquaintance with the external relations of the Empire. When the Emperor wanted an experienced and trustworthy man to send to the Russian frontier, where difficulties had arisen, his choice fell upon the secretary Sung, who justified his master's favour by the arrangement he very shortly effected with the Russian Governor of Irkutsk, Major-General Nagel.

This was not the only service that he was able to render the Emperor in the capacity of Amban at Ourga. He showed great tact and resolution in arresting an impostor who, claiming to be a connection of the Emperor, was endeavouring to form a party of his own, and to create disturbances among the Mongol tribes. In reward for this vigorous proceeding Keen Lung selected him to be his representative to meet the English ambassador, and to conduct him to Jehol. He was subsequently employed as Governor-General at Canton, but on Kiaking's accession he returned to Peking to fill the post of chief minister to the new Emperor. Here, however, he was out of his element, as the new ruler gave himself up to amusement, and showed very little desire to follow in the footsteps of his father. Kiaking was particularly addicted to the play, and loved the society of actors. He even requested them to accompany him on his visits to the temples where he offered up sacrifice. This indifference to appearances excited the disapproval of the minister Sung, and in a memorial to the throne he called marked attention to the delinquencies of the sovereign. Such a measure, although true to the best traditions of the Chinese service, was, of course, the inevitable prelude to the disgrace of the audacious minister. Unable to profit by his wisdom, or to put up with his reproofs, Kiaking banished his faithful adviser to the Central Asian province of Ili, although with the title of its Governor.* He was recalled in 1816, as the Emperor thought his former experience would be useful in dealing with Lord Amherst, but the English embassy had departed before he reached Peking. He was then employed as Amban at Kalgan, and also in a similar capacity at Moukden. But although his administration was always attended with good results, he was more feared by Kiaking than liked. An

* Padre Serra, in "Asiatic Transactions," vol. iii., says, "On being asked if he was the author of this admonition, he firmly acknowledged that he was. He was then asked what punishment he deserved? and he answered 'Quartering.' They told him to choose some other; whereupon he said, 'Let me be beheaded;' and on a third command he chose to be strangled. After these three answers he was told to retire, and on the following day they appointed him Governor of Ele (the country of the banished)."

excuse was made for dismissing him from the service, and he had to wait until Kiaking's death before he emerged from the obscurity of an official out of favour and without a post.

The last four years of Kiaking's reign were not made noteworthy by any remarkable occurrence. The Emperor had no hold on the respect of his subjects, and it followed of necessity that they could not be very warmly attached to his person. But for the moment secret societies had been crushed into inaction, and the remotest quarters of the Empire continued to enjoy tranquillity. The capital, or, indeed, the palace, alone revealed practical evidence of disunion and internal dissension. The princes of the Manchu family had increased to such proportions that they numbered several thousand persons, each of whom was entitled by right of birth to a certain allowance and free quarters. They purchased the possession of the right to an easy and unlaborious existence at the heavy price of exclusion from the public service. They were the objects of the secret dread of the Emperor, and they were only tolerated in the palace so long as they appeared to be insignificant. No matter how great their ambition or natural capacity may have been, they had no prospect of emancipating themselves from the dull sphere of inaction to which custom hopelessly consigned them. It is only in the present day that a different practice is coming into vogue, and that only through there having been two long minorities.

Whether Kiaking's fears got the better of his reason, or whether there were among his relatives some men of more than average ability, certain it is that an outbreak was organized among the Manchu princes, and that it very nearly met with success. The details remain a palace secret, but the broad fact is known that a rising among the Hwang-taitsou, or Yellow Girdles, as they are called, was repressed with great severity. Several were executed, and many hundreds were removed from Peking to Moukden and other places in Manchuria, where they were allowed to employ themselves in taking care of the ancestral tombs and other offices of a similar character. About this time the country, or a large part of it, was visited by a severe famine; and the

river Hoangho proved another source of trouble by overflowing, as it had often done before, its banks, and breaking through the dams constructed to confine its waters. The most interesting circumstance in connection with this visitation of a periodical calamity was the fact of voluntary contributions being invited towards defraying the expenses of the necessary works. The Emperor bestowed honorary rewards and titles on those who showed any public spirit in this way ; and the impulses of benevolence were developed by the conferring of titles in a country where rank in our sense has no meaning. It would be instructive to know what measure of success this experiment in the sale of unmeaning titles had ; but the archives are silent, and the promptings of curiosity have to rest satisfied with the knowledge that it has not been repeated. There is consolation in the reflection, that even in the stress of pecuniary embarrassment a Chinese ruler refused to put up public offices for sale, or to vitiate the system of public education by affording to wealth a golden key of admission.

Under such circumstances the reign of Kiaking drew to its close, and, bowing to the decree to which all men must equally submit, the Emperor made his will, and nominated as his successor his second son Taoukwang, the Prince Meening who was the hero of the conspiracy attack in the palace. Kiaking died on the 2nd of September, 1820, in the sixty-first year of his age, leaving to his successor a diminished authority, an enfeebled power, and a discontented people. There is generally some mitigating circumstance to be pleaded against the adverse verdict of history in its estimation of a public character. The difficulties with which the individual had to contend may have been exceptional and unexpected, the measures which he adopted may have had untoward and unnatural results, and the crisis of the hour may have demanded genius of a transcendent order. But in the case of Kiaking not one of these extenuating facts can be pleaded. His path had been smoothed for him by his predecessor, his difficulties were raised by his own indifference, and the consequences of his spasmodic and ill-directed energy were scarcely less unfortunate than those of his habitual apathy. So much

easier is the work of destruction than the task of construction, that Kiaking in twenty-five years had done almost as much harm to the constitution of his country, and to the fortunes of his dynasty, as his father had conferred solid advantages upon the State in the course of a reign of sixty years of unexampled brilliance.

It must not be supposed that, because the available records of Kiaking's reign are few, and refer to detached events rather than to the daily life and continuous political existence of the country, the Chinese people had no other thoughts save for the foibles of their ruler, and for the numerous efforts made by the outside peoples to establish with them relations of intimacy and equality. Although we have not the means of describing it, the great life of the nation went on less disturbed than would commonly be supposed by the disquieting events of Kiaking's tenure of power, and the people, as ever, were resolutely bent on performing their mundane duties after the fashion and precepts of their forefathers. The effect of the secret societies on public opinion was unquestionably great, and the people, fond of the mysterious, and ingrained with superstition, turned with as much eagerness to the latest propagandum as they did to the predictions of the village soothsayer. Had these societies remained secret, and consequently peaceful, there is no saying whither their limits might not have stretched ; but the instant the Water-lily sect threw off the mask, and resorted to acts of violence, a different condition of things came into force, and the majority of the people held aloof from open rebellion.

In no country in Asia, and perhaps in the world, do the people themselves form the national strength more incontestably than in China. It is not a question of one class, or of one race, but of the whole body of the inhabitants. The administering orders are recruited from and composed of men who, in the strictest sense of the phrase, owe everything to themselves and nothing to birth. They gain admission into the public service by passing a series of examinations of more or less difficulty, and, having entered the venerable portals of the most ancient Civil Service in the world, there is no office

beyond the reach of the humblest—even though it be to wield almost despotic power in a great province, or to stand among the chosen ministers round the Dragon Throne. The interest of every family in the government of the kingdom is a matter of personal concern. There is a sure element of stability in such an arrangement as this. A people does not quarrel with its institutions when the best brains in the land form the pillars by which they are supported. Kiaking's errors of judgment were a source of grief and anxiety to experienced ministers like Sung, who knew how easily the provincial officials neglected their duties when they perceived apathy at the centre; but they interfered in a very slight degree with the daily life of the nation at large. The people were not contented, but they were still able to obtain their own subsistence; and thus occupied they felt no inclination to disturb the tranquillity of the country by denouncing the shortcomings of the executive.

Although causes of coming trouble were beginning to reveal themselves, the material prosperity of the people* was probably higher during the first fifteen years of Kiaking's reign than it had ever been before or since in modern times. A greater portion of the country was undisturbed, and consequently a larger extent was under cultivation. The Chinese have never neglected any means of developing their agricultural resources, and, if left in security to themselves, they till every kind of land, and raise on it one crop or another. They drain the valleys, which become rich pastures, and on the slopes of the mountains they grow in successive terraces rice and opium, alternating the crop with the period of the year. Nor are they less skilful and energetic as traders. The deficiencies of one province are supplied by the abundance of another; and the necessities and luxuries of the capital are provided for by the numerous productions of a country which, in size and varied features, might rank with a continent. The great rivers connect the Western provinces with the Eastern; and the omission of Providence is supplied by the magnificent

* A census held by order of the Emperor Kiaking in the year 1812, gave the population at 362,447,183.

canal that should, if kept in repair, afford a highway for all between the South and the North. Nature was bountiful ; its one oversight has been repaired by the enterprise and sagacity of man.

Revolts among the savage tribes of the remote frontier, an unsuccessful campaign in the interior, disturbed the daily life of the bulk of this fortunate people as little as the impact of a pebble thrown into a stream checks its course. Kiaking's misfortunes had only a small effect on the existence of his subjects, who, engrossed in the struggle of life, paid no heed to the mishaps or the blunders of the sovereign. A dearth in Shansi, an overflow of the Hoangho, or a block in the passage of the Grand Canal, these came home to the people with the force of a real affliction. It mattered nothing to the inhabitants of seventeen provinces and many tributary kingdoms that an insurrection should have broken out in the eighteenth province—only, as they felt fully persuaded, to be repressed with severity. In estimating the significance of Kiaking's misfortunes, and of the greater disasters that were to follow, too much importance must not be attached to their supposed effects. They tended to show the incapacity of the ruler, the weakness and corruption of the Government. But the great mass of the people were almost unaffected by them. Not until the Taeping rebellion, which with its imitators had for its sphere the greater portion of the Empire, were these seditions felt by the people as a grievous calamity ; and, although the origin of that revolt may be discovered in the secret societies and other organizations of disaffected persons in the reign of Kiaking, it must not be supposed that either the country or the people felt or thought themselves to be suffering from any irreparable malady during the life of that ruler.

CHAPTER II.

THE EMPEROR TAOUKWANG.

IMMEDIATELY after his father's death, Prince Meenning was placed upon the throne and recognized as Emperor by the functionaries of the Court as well as by the people at large. There were not wanting those who thought that he was not the best fitted for the dignity to which a mere accident had raised him ; and his brother Hwuy Wang, as son of the living Empress-mother, was strongly impressed with a sense of the superiority of his own claim. For a moment it seemed as if these rival pretensions might lead to a conflict ; but the good sense of the Empress-mother fortunately averted what might have proved a national calamity. There had been passages of arms in earlier days between the two branches of the family, and Meenning's mother had died, as it was reported, through the machinations of this Empress. But, in face of a dynastic crisis, public spirit displaced personal animosity, and Meenning's position was assured by his prompt recognition as Emperor by the Empress-mother. Having thus made good the tranquil possession of the throne, there remained the next and highly important step to be taken of declaring what should be the name of the first year of the new reign. Momentous consequences depend on the selection made, and the records of the Hanlin are searched, and the positions of the starry heavens are scanned, to discover what may be the most suitable name and the most auspicious characters. In the case of Meenning the search seems to have been one of exceptional difficulty ; but at last the official announcement was made that the name of the first year of the new reign

would be Taoukwang, which signifies Reason's Light, and by that name this ruler has become generally known.

The personal appearance of Taoukwang was not calculated to inspire respect or to strike the stranger with awe. He was in his thirty-eighth year when he mounted the throne, and one writer speaks of him in rather contemptuous terms as being, at that time, "thin and toothless." The description of a more sympathetic writer is hardly more flattering to him, but it formed a true index to the character of the man. This writer calls him "lank in figure and low of stature, with a haggard face, a reserved look, and quiet exterior." The early life and training of Taoukwang had not been of a nature to bring out his good points, or to quicken whatever warm sympathies and natural talent he may have possessed. Brought up in a licentious court, and surrounded by ministers of pleasure with whom unquestionably he had not the least fellow-feeling, he had always lived a retired life, as far aloof from the pursuits of the palace as possible. He had thus obtained a reputation for reserve, if not for stupidity, that secured him against the antipathy of many, if it prevented his obtaining the friendship of more than a few chosen companions. Taoukwang's life had been neither a very happy nor a very pleasant one. It had been one of great self-restraint, and while he had passed his leisure in reflection it seems to have increased his natural irresolution, and to have rendered him still more unfitted to assume that active part in the guidance of affairs which the condition of China at the time of his coming to the throne absolutely demanded.

Taoukwang's first acts were marked by singular moderation, and afforded an appropriate commencement for his reign. While professing the greatest esteem and veneration for the person of his predecessor, he devoted his early attention to reversing his policy, and to undoing the mischief he had caused. The usual acts of clemency were granted and carried out in a spirit of wide-reaching generosity, and the prisons, which Kiaking had filled with the victims of his suspicion, were emptied by the clemency of the new sovereign. Injured merit found a vindicator, as well as those who had fallen under the ban of the laws through their nearness in blood

to the Emperor, or through their having refused to gratify the whims of a tyrant. The minister Sung was recalled to office, and many of the exiled Manchu princes were reinstated in the privileges of their rank. The strict ceremonial of the Chinese Court leaves little for the most original intelligence to devise in the way of demonstrating how completely the ruler claims to be the father of his people, or how strongly he aspires to the possession of the great virtues. The sincerity of his protestations is frequently shown by his subsequent acts to be hollow; it was Taoukwang's distinction to prove by his conduct that with him they were not empty expressions, and that they really came from the heart.

The restoration of Sung Tajin to power was a practical proof of good intentions, and meant much more than the moral platitudes enunciated in Vermilion Edicts. Sung had gained a popularity with the people that far exceeded that of the Emperor, through the lavish manner in which he had distributed his wealth—consistently refusing to accumulate treasures for the benefit of himself or his family. But his independence of mind rendered him an unpleasant monitor to those princes who see in the truth a constant reflection on their own conduct, and even Taoukwang appears to have dreaded in anticipation the impartial criticism of this minister. However, Sung returned to official life, and in a little time was appointed to the elevated dignity of President of the Board of Censors, after he had for a brief period exercised great administrative power as Viceroy of Pechihli. The edict placing Sung at the head of the Censorate is expressive of the Emperor's respect, mingled with a certain amount of fear of the greatest of his ministers. "Let Sung carefully attend to the established routine of his office instead of wildly confusing and puzzling himself with a multiplicity of extraneous matters. If he treads in his former track, he will involve himself in criminality." Even the strictures of the sovereign could not detract from the popularity of this minister, and although he was not admitted to the same responsible positions he had held at previous periods, he remained until his death unquestionably the most popular man in his country.

The release of prisoners, the restoration of Sung Tajin,

did not stand alone as acts calculated to give the Chinese people a favourable impression of their new prince's character. Kiaking had filled his harem with great numbers of women ; and crowds of players, buffoons, and idlers had been attracted to the palace, where they found a welcome and free quarters as long as they made themselves agreeable and pandered to the wishes of the Emperor. Taoukwang, when prince, had always held aloof from these companions of his father's leisure, and one of his first acts on coming to the throne was to take vigorous measures and clear the palace of their presence. All who could not show some good reason for their being retained in the public service were summarily dismissed, and the atmosphere of the Court was purified by the banishment of the influences likely to prove injurious to its tone and to the integrity, if not the efficiency, of the public service. The members of the harem were sent home to their relations, where possible, and Taoukwang proclaimed his one wife by the title of Empress. Whatever else the new ruler might prove to be, the whole tenour of his conduct went to show that he was resolved to observe the most laudable customs of his nation, and to thus make himself appear, if not a capable administrator, at least worthy of the respect of his subjects, and of the favourable regard of posterity.

The misfortunes left by Kiaking to his successor were not confined to the discontent among some classes of the people. Malversations among the officials and natural disasters in the provinces, completed the effect of manifest incompetence and indifference. These further calamities seem to have commenced with inundations in the province of Pechihli, which were followed by a period of drought, and they formed the subject of edicts in the *Pekin Gazette* without any remedy being provided. Taoukwang's Government did the best it could to alleviate the prevailing distress, and a fixed allowance was made to those who were in a destitute condition. But the suffering was so intense that the Emperor gave up his annual visit to Jehol, the hunting palace and park beyond the Wall, whither the Tartar rulers had been in the habit of proceeding during the summer heats. While these events of general interest and importance were in progress, the doctors

of the Hanlin had been busily employed in collecting the materials for the history of Kiaking's reign, and in the year 1824 this was completed and placed in the mausoleum of the Manchu family at Moukden.

The intensity of the general suffering was amply proved during the famine by the increase of crime in the capital and throughout the country. Robbery became rife, and cases are frequently mentioned in the official publication of the theft of bread and other provisions from the shops or stalls. Special Acts were passed for the punishment of this crime; but the only effectual remedy was found in providing gratuitously those in absolute want with the means of subsistence, thus adding greatly to the embarrassments of a straitened Government. Another form of crime revealed itself in the increased number of forgers and issuers of counterfeit coin, who attracted much attention about this time, and who were summarily punished on detection in accordance with the fears of an executive which felt that it had few means of defending itself against those who sought to foist false coin upon the public. For the principal coin of China consists of a clumsy piece of money called "cash," which requires little ingenuity to imitate, and which, when spurious, may escape detection for a long time.

During this period of popular suffering and discontent, although it hardly amounted to absolute disaffection, Taoukwang gained a name for clemency and moderation which never subsequently deserted him. The laws were harsh, and, in face of new crimes and fresh dangers, had been made more rigorous; but Taoukwang always sought to moderate them, and to give his decision on the side of mercy. He also endeavoured to avert danger by anticipating it, and he was fully impressed with the truth of the saying that it is better to prevent than to cure a malady. In this spirit an edict was passed in 1824 forbidding private persons to possess arms, and authorizing the officials to search for them in any houses where they might suspect them to be concealed, and to confiscate all they should find. So far, therefore, as Taoukwang's personal influence was felt or exerted in the work of government, it was undoubtedly beneficial; but while Taoukwang's

desire for personal rule was keen, he lacked either the will, the application, or the method to accomplish his desires, and to give the bark of State the direction he might wish it to take. Taoukwang had the inclination to play the part of an independent sovereign, and even persuaded himself that he did so with effect; but in reality he was, more than most rulers, swayed by the counsels of powerful and self-seeking ministers, who sometimes made him the victim of their machinations.

Several of these ministers were men of note and ability, of whom much will be heard during the later stages of the reign; but at this point only the four principal need be named, Hengan and Elepoo, Keying and Keshen. While Hengan was the most reckless and ambitious of them all, his influence was exerted rather in private affairs and matters of the Court than in public business. Elepoo, on the other hand, was neither an intriguer nor ambitious. Without any special gift, he might have remained in the obscurity of incapacity, but for his one great quality of honesty, the rarest of all possessions at the Manchu Court. But both Keying and Keshen were men of more striking ability and influence. Keying was a Manchu in blood, and a member of a family famous among the ruling race both for wealth and for its descent and connections. He had passed all the examinations, and before his appearance at Court had amassed considerable wealth in the capacity of Superintendent of the Customs at Shanhai-kwan, the important town at the eastern extremity of the Great Wall. As Taoukwang's most capable minister, he was able for many years to exercise a salutary influence over the councils of the Empire, although his advice was not always heeded as it deserved.

But of all Taoukwang's advisers, Keshen was the most remarkable for address and natural capacity. He came of Mongol race, being a member of one of the tribes which had joined the Manchus at an early period of their career, and which in return had been allowed certain privileges. In all his characteristics, as well as in the trained intelligence which made him pre-eminent, the genius of Keshen was that of a pure Chinese rather than of a Tartar. No emperor brought

into contact with him failed to feel the fascination of his bearing, or to pass a compliment on the clearness of his understanding and the subtlety of his resources. There were many other ministers of note besides these four at the Court of Taoukwang, but the ability of those named may suffice to show that the new ruler had no lack of men capable of giving him sound advice ; nor must it be supposed that, because they were unable to avert many national calamities they were necessarily incompetent or unpatriotic. The affairs of foreign countries attracted the larger amount of the Chinese Government's attention during Taoukwang's reign, and we must therefore be prepared to perceive some deficiency in method through want of practice in the way of dealing with strange and better equipped peoples. Excuses may fairly be made for a people claiming, and exercising the rights of, a position of pre-eminence, when suddenly called upon to encounter other States that not only disregarded its pretensions, but that undoubtedly possessed greater power. The illusions which had been successfully maintained against a body of missionaries and a few traders were destined to be hopelessly shattered when brought into contact with a Government that thought only of its dignity and of supporting the just rights of its subjects. If allowance be made for the critical turn events took during the first twenty years of Taoukwang's reign, it will be seen that his ministers were not personally to blame for the unpleasant results that followed, however unpleasant they were, if the old ideas of the Chinese can be considered as having been in any way worthy of perpetuation.

The theory that the country is happy which has no history has been converted to the use of showing that the early years of Taoukwang's reign must have been prosperous because they have left no record. The fact seems to have been, on the contrary, that they were marked by numerous disasters and by much public suffering, all the deeper and more serious because they did not admit of mention. On one point alone was it possible to feel that times had improved, but even in this matter the sense of satisfaction required large qualification. The secret societies were dormant, if not extinct ; on

the other hand, the discontent of a large section of the people had been substituted for the machinations of a small clique. The scarcity of work and want of food entailed still wider dissatisfaction, and a people accustomed to regard the Government as the agent and representative of Heaven had little hesitation in arriving at the conclusion that its own wants reflected the shortcomings of the ruler.

The first year of Taoukwang's reign beheld the arrival at Peking of a Russian mission, which, if it did not partake of the formal character and importance of an embassy, was rendered remarkable by the character of its chief, and by the considerable addition it furnished to Western knowledge about the Chinese Empire. Although the Russians had been treated on terms of inferiority by the Chinese, who assumed in their official correspondence the tone, as they expressed it, "of an elder brother," they had succeeded in establishing a not inconsiderable trade from Kiachta, and also in obtaining one great concession in the right to possess a college at Peking. Periodically, once in ten years, the residents are changed; and the students, having acquired a knowledge of the Manchu and Chinese tongues, return to Russia to be utilized as interpreters on the frontier, and their places are taken by fresh scholars. The vastness of the distance from Siberia to Peking, and the occasionally strained nature of the relations between the two Governments, frequently resulted in the prolonged stay of this small foreign colony in the Chinese capital; but, if allowance is made for all the attendant circumstances, it may be said that the stipulations of the arrangement were fairly, if not rigidly observed. In 1820 a relieving mission, under the guidance of Mr. Timkowski, crossed the Chinese frontier, and proceeded in due course to Peking. The exact character of the relation between the two Empires may be gathered from the fact that while the conductor of the mission was allowed to reside in the city and to go about the streets in comparative liberty, and when he had completed his task to return in safety to his own country, he held no official position, and had consequently no dealings with the Government. His principal charge, indeed, was to place at the disposal of the descendants of the garrison of Albazin, which

had surrendered as prisoners of war to Kanghi in the seventeenth century, the sum allotted by the Czar for their support.

It might have been thought that in this institution lay a sure and excellent means of obtaining information concerning the progress of affairs in China, or at least at the capital. Such has not proved, unfortunately, to be the case, and knowledge lies under no obligation to the Russian college at Pekin. Whether because its members have been unlettered, or afraid to imperil their position by making inquiries, or by revealing what they knew, the result is clear that the world is none the wiser or the better for the exceptional privilege the Russians have enjoyed during two hundred years.

Although Taoukwang's attention was at this early period of his rule directed to these strange nations, who were every day obtruding themselves more and more on the attention of his Government, he sought during the first years of his reign to banish the subject from his mind ; and the better to effect his object he ordered the dismissal of the Portuguese officials employed in the astronomical department and in the rectification of the Calendar, whom even the distrustful Kiaking had spared from the general penalty of expulsion which he had passed against the Christian missionaries. The question had, however, by this time got beyond any such remedy as attempting to ignore the foreign traders who came in increasing numbers to the one port of Canton ; and all Taoukwang's studied indifference, and resolve to exclude them from his presence, could not avail to arrest the course of events, or to prevent the approach of that complication which he had most desire to avert.

Affairs at Canton fortunately continued to progress in a favourable manner, although the arrogance of the Chinese officials had been greatly increased by their successes in the encounters with the representatives of the English Government, both in the matter of the Macao occupation and in the general regulations of trade. Yet the existence of a good understanding did not prevent the occurrence of some difficulties or the outbreak of disputes which easily assumed an angry tone. In 1821 trade was suspended, if but for a

few hours, and only the firmness of the Company's representative, Mr. Urmston, succeeded in thus promptly bringing the mandarins to reason. But no satisfaction was ever given for an attack on a boat of the man-of-war *Topaze*, wherein fourteen Englishmen were wounded. This was not the only instance of open attack on English vessels, and in no case was it found possible to exact reparation.

Nor were the English alone in their naval complications with the Chinese. The relations of the French with China, which had once promised to be of a most friendly and intimate character, had dwindled away to nominal proportions and utter insignificance. In 1802 the flag of the Republic was hoisted at Canton, but was very soon hauled down, and for nearly thirty years French intercourse with China absolutely ceased. In the year 1828 the French merchantman, *Le Navigateur*, was compelled by stress of weather to seek shelter on the coast of Cochin-China, and the crew were obliged in their distress, and on account of the unfriendly attitude of the native authorities, to sell both their cargo and ship, and to take passage in a Chinese junk for Macao. On the journey the Chinese formed a plot for their murder, and the design was carried out. The massacre was accomplished within sight of the haven whither they were bound, and only one sailor escaped by jumping overboard. His evidence served to bring the criminals to justice, and in the following year seventeen of the murderers were executed. The tragedy served one useful purpose. It enabled the French Government to establish a right to place a commercial representative at Canton.

The grievances of the merchants consisted principally in the heavy dues exacted from them, by the Hoppo and his agents, for the right to trade. Among the most deeply felt of these was the cost of the permit to proceed from Canton to Macao, without which the journey could not be undertaken. This passport, or chop, as it was called, cost in all between seventy and one hundred pounds; and seeing that in these days no ladies or children ever visited Canton, but that the merchants always left their families at Macao, this costly and rigorous imposition was felt very keenly by the European

merchants. Exceptionally heavy taxes on articles of commerce were hard enough to bear without murmur; but they sank into insignificance beside those that fettered the liberty of movement, and interfered with the relations of families.

When the dissatisfaction caused by this state of things was at its height, an English merchant, Mr.—long afterwards Sir—James Matheson, the principal representative of one of the chief houses in the China trade, took upon himself to demand an interview with the mandarins, and succeeded in bringing the hardship of the regulation so clearly before their minds that its rigour was at once abated, and some of the most objectionable features were removed.* It was not until four years later that the further privilege was granted of allowing the English merchants to bring their wives and families up to Canton. The failure of some Chinese trading firms, or hong, was the immediate cause of this further concession to the foreigner. The Hoppon and his agents were most anxious that the trade should not be in consequence suspended, and, while they were constrained to publish the Edicts of Peking, they were fully resolved not to put an end to their own source of profit.

Although Taoukwang was in reality less disposed to cultivate relations with the outside peoples than any of his immediate predecessors, and notwithstanding that the anti-foreign party had never been more active than it was at this period, still the first ten years of Taoukwang's reign witnessed a remarkable development in the trade of Canton, and a not less striking improvement in the relations between Chinese officials and the English merchants. There was a corresponding disadvantage to be taken into account as a set-off against this agreeable progress. The more the trade increased, the firmer the foot-hold of the foreigner on the soil became, the more did the transaction present a mark to and attract the indignation of the old-fashioned party at Court, which

* The interview was not without a dramatic side. One of the mandarins present, catching hold of Matheson, passed his hand round his neck, signifying by this action that he deserved to be beheaded. Mr. Matheson was equal to the occasion, and, seizing the official, repeated the process on him, with the difference that he performed the operation twice!

regarded this growing outside intercourse in the light of an unmitigated misfortune, and which foresaw only the evils that its continuance might entail.

Even in this matter Taoukwang appears to have had no decided conviction and no settled views of his own. Personally he was too much given to reflect not to see that there were merit and strength in European knowledge ; yet he was so swayed by his fears, and by the representations of his most intimate counsellors, that he banished all foreigners from the capital. Irresolute even in his new decision, he allowed the trade at Canton to go on assuming larger proportions, and, although the ultimate consequence of that course of proceeding was plain, he took no measures towards checking the development of or abolishing external commerce. Each year made the exclusion of the foreigner and the cessation of trade a matter of greater difficulty, but Taoukwang preferred to wait on the course of events rather than to take a bold initiative. He was at a later period of his life to find a counsellor whose boldness was equal to his ability ; but at the period which we have been describing the Emperor had no adviser of the courage and capacity of Commissioner Lin. Had he possessed one, and struck as boldly in defence of China's right to remain a secluded country as he did in 1842, there is no saying but that the object might have been attained. If the Chinese had been as clear of vision in any of the years between the departure of the Amherst embassy and the close of Taoukwang's first decade on the throne, as they were resolute in action and unyielding in their lofty pretensions, they might have put a stop to the foreign commerce ; whether they could have prevented smuggling on the very largest scale or not is quite an independent matter. The opportunity was not utilized, and, although the attempt was subsequently made, the attendant circumstances were never equally propitious. Never again was China as strong relatively as she was then, and never afterwards did the China trade appear of as little importance to the English people and Government as it did for a short time during this period, which witnessed the withdrawal of the East India Company's monopoly.

CHAPTER III.

INTERNAL DISSENSIONS.

THE overthrow of the Eleuths and the conquest of Central Asia had been among the most remarkable of the military exploits of the great Keen Lung. During fifty years and more there was after that triumph complete tranquillity from the Kansuh borders across the great desert of Gobi to the plateau of Pamir. The people had not the power to revolt, and with the loss of vigour they seemed to have forfeited the inclination ; and even the nomad tribes of Kokonor on the one side and of Kobdo on the other, forgot to pursue their accustomed avocations at the expense of their neighbours. The Chinese had, therefore, every reason to feel gratified with the results of their most extensive conquest, and, so far as there was any indication of popular feeling, the great mass of the subject people appeared to appreciate the benefits conferred on them by their rulers, and to have no desire for change.

The Chinese, none the less for these satisfactory results, had undertaken a most difficult task, and one in which success becomes more difficult as the method of performing it approaches a higher ideal of perfection. They had accepted the responsibility of providing a people more numerous by far than their garrison, of a different religion, and of military habits, with a wise and provident administration, having as its foremost objects the promotion of trade and the maintenance of order. They made it their object, as it might have been their boast, to associate the natives with themselves in the work of government. The civil administration, the

dispensation of justice, and even the collection of taxes, were left to the Mahomedan peoples ; and the Celestials trusted to the presence of a small army to preserve their rights, and to keep the conquered pacified. When will Governments learn that there is no way of popularizing a foreign dominion, and that the search for a model method of giving the law to subject peoples by raising them to a position of equality and independence can only end in making their own overthrow easier and more simple ?

The reputation of China—which seemed to the States of Asia, who are here to-day and gone to-morrow, and whose stability is no more certain than that of mounds of sand on a seashore, to be a thing past comprehension among Empires, and built on the rocks of enduring Time—served her lieutenants in Ili and Altysahr in such good stead that they were able to maintain their master's authority undisputed throughout all the dark hours of Kiaking's reign. During that period the Chinese, who had placed their ambans, or military governors, in all the chief towns, and who had constructed outside them forts, or gulbaghs, were left in undisputed possession of the vast region lying on both sides of the Tian Shan range, and their relations with their neighbours were conducted on the basis of conscious power and undoubted superiority. The people prospered, trade increased, the population multiplied, and no sign was perceptible of any popular dissatisfaction until outside ambition interfered to make an opportunity of aggrandizing itself.

Even then the machinations of a jealous neighbour, and the personal motives of a ruling family, would not have availed to produce any result, but that the Chinese had abated somewhat of the vigour necessary to the effectual maintenance of their dominion. For the preservation of an Empire it is incumbent that the vigilance of the ruler shall never be relaxed, and that the infallible and unchanging law should never be forgotten or lost sight of, which tells us in the clearest characters that a foreign dominion can never be popular, and that to overthrow it is the first and bounden duty of every child of the soil. The Chinese were well aware of the fact ; they had only allowed themselves to forget some

of its attendant circumstances. Their military power had been suffered to fall to a low ebb, and a momentary sense of weakness, or a diplomatic blunder, had allowed the introduction of an alien element into the southern portion at least of their Central Asian jurisdiction.

The former circumstance arose from the natural tendency of Empires which, having overcome every adversary and enjoyed a long period of good fortune, acquire a habit of believing that success is for them assured, and that the violent principles of superior might may be safely discarded, although in no case have they any better sanction for their position than the law of the stronger. But the origin of the latter cause of weakness claims more careful consideration and elaborate elucidation. The nearest neighbour of the Chinese was the Khanate of Khokand, a State with which, from olden times, the Kashgarians had been intimately connected both in commerce and in politics. Khokand had felt the force of Chinese valour when Fouta led the Celestial armies over the Pamir, and when Keen Lung's troops withdrew from Tashkent it was on the understanding that the Khan would acknowledge himself the dependent of China, and send tribute to the Emperor of Peking. For fifty-two years that arrangement was strictly observed in the letter and the spirit; and during that period the intercourse between the two neighbouring States increased in proportion as commerce was fostered by the Chinese governors. Although the peoples were Mahomedans, and consequently antipathetic to the Confucian or Buddhistic Chinese, no restrictions were placed upon trade or travellers, and in all essential matters no difference could be detected to show whether the country was ruled by a Celestial Viceroy or by a Khan of its own.

This state of things continued uninterrupted until 1812, when Mahomed Ali, the Khan of Khokand, a man of capacity and ambition, came to the resolution to pay tribute no longer; and the Chinese, seeing that they had not the force to compel his obedience, acquiesced in his refusal. A first concession has soon to be followed by others. The Khokandian prince next obtained the right to levy a tax on all Mahomedan merchandise sold in the bazaars of Kashgar and Yarkand,

and deputed consuls, or aksakals, for the purpose of collecting the duties. These aksakals naturally became the centre of all the intrigue and disaffection prevailing in the State against the Celestials, and they counted it as much their duty to provoke political discontent as to supervise the customs placed under their charge. Before the aksakals appeared the Chinese ruled a peaceful territory, but on the advent of those foreign officials symptoms of trouble soon revealed themselves.

Nor did the Khokandian ruler want a pretext for undertaking hostile action against his neighbours. He had long been the supporter of the Khoja family, which, expelled from its native kingdom by the generals of Keen Lung, lived, in the person of Sarimsak, on the bounty of Khokand; and when he wished to proceed to extremities he had only to proclaim his intention to restore the rightful ruler to his possessions in Altysahr. Sarimsak had escaped the pursuit of Fouta when a mere child, and he grew up to manhood and passed into old age without having the inclination, or finding the opportunity, of asserting his pretensions. He left to his sons the duty and the privilege of expelling the Chinese, and of giving the people of Kashgaria a native rule. Those sons were named in the order of their age, Yusuf, Barhanuddin, and Jehangir; and each of them at different times proved a source of serious trouble to the Chinese.

Of these princelets Jehangir was the most active, as for a time he seemed destined to be the most fortunate. It was he who struck the first blow in the cause of liberty, or, it would be more correct to say, of tyranny. As early as the year 1822 he had quitted his retreat in Khokand, and, while his elder brothers remained in security at the capital of that State, he resolved to make an attempt to regain what his grandfather had lost sixty years before. The nomad Kirghiz of the Kizil Yart, who refused obedience to the authority of any of their settled neighbours, and who only needed the incentive of plunder to attach themselves for the nonce to any cause that offered, supplied him with the followers necessary for the adventure. With a band of these, rendered more formidable than they would otherwise have been by the

presence of their chief, Suranchi Beg, Jehangir advanced on Kashgar. The distance was short, and his advance rapid; but the Chinese garrison proved to be on its guard, and his motley gathering was repulsed with some loss. Such was the ignominious ending of the first expedition to disturb the Chinese in Kashgaria, and to restore the Khojas to their throne.

Jehangir, although beaten, did not lose heart. The Khan of Khokand, seeing that he had failed, repudiated all responsibility for his action, and, instead of returning to his former refuge, Jehangir fled to the region south of Lake Issik Kul, where the Syr Darya or Jaxartes takes its rise, and is long known by the name of Narym. Neither his pretensions nor his personal necessities allowed him to remain inactive, and it suited both his own purpose and the ideas of his Kirghiz hosts for him to lead forays across the Tian Shan into Chinese territory. The Chinese, mindful of their own dignity, and not regardless of their subjects' welfare, resolved to punish the robber, even at the risk of pursuing him to his hiding-place. An expedition was fitted out, and advanced through the Kirghiz camping-places to as far as Fort Kurtka. The objects of the force were ostensibly obtained, and the Chinese were retiring in good order, and with every right to feel satisfied, when their active adversary fell upon them in a difficult defile, and almost annihilated them. This disaster, the first which had befallen the conquering race, was magnified by rumour, and Jehangir at a bound became a formidable opponent and a dangerous competitor for ruling honours.

The fortitude of Jehangir had confirmed the attachment of his friends, and the Chinese reverse rallied many supporters to his side. The Khokandian ruler again threw aside the mask, and lent his troops and a general—instructed, no doubt, to advance his master's interests as much as the cause of the Pretender. Encouraged by the sight of so many fresh followers, Jehangir left his mountain fastness in the year 1826, and marched for a second time on Kashgar. The Chinese garrison quitted the citadel and attacked the invading force. The combat was fiercely contested; but, although the details have not been remembered, the result was the

overthrow of the Chinese. This further defeat was the signal to the people of Kashgaria for a general rising, and the discomfiture of the Chinese was made complete by an insurrection throughout the country. Their garrisons were, after more or less resistance, overwhelmed, and those Chinese who had the misfortune to become captive experienced the cruelty of a vindictive and fanatical adversary.

Successful in the field, Jehangir was proclaimed at the capital by the title of the Seyyid Jehangir Sultan, and his authority was soon recognized at Yarkand also. His personal satisfaction certainly was not abated from his being able to check the excessive pretensions and demands of his friend Mahomed Ali; but his gratification at the departure of the Khokandian contingent must have been short-lived when he heard that the Chinese were returning in force. Reinforcements had been sent from Kansuh on the news of Jehangir's rising, and fresh levies had been raised among the Tungan colonies at Hami and Turfan, so that in the course of a few months a large army was collected at Ili for the purpose of reconquering the southern province and driving out the Khoja. A mandarin with a reputation for military capacity was sent from Peking to take the supreme command, and some nine months after the fall of Kashgar a Chinese army of nearly a hundred thousand men was assembled on the Tian Shan. It was thought for a time that the Emperor would himself take the command; but in the end he deemed it better to leave the supervision of the arrangements to the mandarin Chang, from whose capacity much was expected thirteen years later, on the occasion of the first war with Europeans.

Jehangir was not disposed to surrender all he had won without making a fight for it, and he took up a position near the town of Yangabad, a little distance east of Kashgar. There the Chinese attacked him, and, after a fierce but brief engagement, completely defeated him.* He attempted to

* The following incident of this battle claims preservation: "When the armies sighted each other they pitched their camps in preparation for the decisive contest that was at hand. In accordance with immemorial custom each side put forward on the following day its champion.

make a second stand at Kashgar, but his troops were too disheartened for further resistance. Nor was he more fortunate when he sought to provide for his personal safety by flight. The passes were snowed up, and the Chinese, closely pursuing, succeeded in capturing him. Jehangir was sent to Peking to show in person the thoroughness with which Taoukwang's lieutenants had carried out their commission. The Emperor or his advisers did not temper their victory with clemency; for the unfortunate Jehangir, after being subjected to various indignities, was executed and quartered as a traitor.

The defeat of the Khoja pretender was followed by various repressive measures against the peoples of Kashgaria. Not content with punishing all caught in the act of rebellion, the Chinese removed a large number of the Mahomedan population from Kashgar to Ili, on the northern side of the Tian Shan. Twelve thousand families were thus forcibly compelled to emigrate, and in their new home they became known as the Tarantchis or toilers. The energy shown in punishing refractory subjects was for a moment imparted to the policy adopted towards their neighbours, and trade and other intercourse was broken off and forbidden with Khokand. It would have been well for China if this resolve had been rigidly adhered to, for all her later misfortunes were due to the hostile influence of that State and its ruler. But the Khan was resolved not to lose so valuable a perquisite as the custom dues of Kashgar, and he accordingly proceeded to invade that State as soon as he learnt that the greater number of the Chinese troops had been withdrawn. For a second time he put himself forward as the champion of the Khojas, and employed the name and person of Jehangir's eldest brother, Yusuf, to conceal his own designs and ambitious motives. Suffice it to say that his operations

On the part of the Chinese a gigantic Calmuck archer opposed, on the part of Jehangir, an equally formidable Khokandian. The former was armed with his proper weapons, the latter with a gun of some clumsy and ancient design; and while the Khokandian was busily engaged with his intricate apparatus, the Chinese archer shot him dead with an arrow through the breast."

were so far successful that the Chinese agreed to revert to the previous arrangement, and Mahomed Ali, on his part, promised to restrain the Khojas. Of Yusuf and his brothers we hear no more, and fourteen years of peace and prosperity followed for the subject peoples under the auspices of the Chinese Government.

Misfortunes rarely come singly, and while the Mahomedans in Central Asia were causing much trouble, there occurred at the opposite extremity of the Empire another insurrection in the island of Formosa, where the untamed tribes of the interior fell in ferocity and hostility little short of those of Turkestan. It is impossible to say with any confidence what was the origin of the rising that took place in Formosa in the month of October, 1832, and that continued with scarcely abated force until the following summer. In 1833 tranquillity was finally restored, or, as the official edict put it, "all are now again quiet, and the mind of His Majesty is filled with consolation." But before that desirable consummation was attained many Chinese soldiers were killed and the resources of the maritime province of Fuhkien were severely strained in the task of restoring the Imperial authority. The divisions between the insurgent leaders seem to have rendered the task of Taoukwang's officers more easy than at first it appeared that it would be. In this case, however, the end was effected; the result justified the conduct of the Imperial commissioners.

The very same year was marked by another rebellion in the island of Hainan, where the Chinese, surrounded by a region of the most remarkable natural wealth and fertility, have long been content to exercise little more than a nominal authority, and to pursue the unremunerative and restricted career of fishermen. The interior of that island consists of a mountain range, whither the aboriginal inhabitants, the Black Li of an earlier period, had retired before the encroachments of the Chinese settlers. Some time before the year 1830 they broke loose from all control, and, profiting by the weakness or apathy of the Celestials, descended into the plains and committed many depredations. This onslaught by a savage people on the unprepared and peaceful settlers

drew attention to the weakness of the tenure of Chinese authority, and many petitions were forwarded to Canton for aid. At last the entreaties of the settlers could be no longer ignored, and troops were sent to attack the aborigines. The Viceroy even went in person, and his measures were completely successful. Security was obtained for the people, and Hainan reverted to its natural position as a Chinese island. By right both of its resources and situation this is an island of which the outer world is certain before long to hear more.

The Emperor had many causes of anxiety in his own domestic affairs and in the condition of the country. Famine in the North, and inundations from the overflow of the great rivers, entailed an amount of suffering and a loss of human life that would appear almost incredible if stated in the bald language of figures. But in a country in parts not merely over-populated, but with a population rapidly increasing to excess, such sweeping calamities seemed to be the providential remedy of a permanent evil. Yet under a combination of difficulties the Government never showed itself supine, or allowed itself to be suspected of indifference to popular suffering. Taoukwang's energy was laudably conspicuous, and no means were spared by him to mitigate suffering and to prevent the recurrence of national catastrophes.

In his domestic life, also, Taoukwang was not free from disquietude. In the year 1831, his only son, who had been selected as his successor, and who was then twenty years of age, gave him some cause of offence. The Emperor, enraged at the prince's conduct, is said to have inflicted personal chastisement with his own hand. The blow may have hastened the end of this prince, a weak youth addicted to debauchery in every form. He certainly died soon afterwards, leaving Taoukwang without a son. The grief at this occurrence was, however, soon appeased by the news that two of his favourite concubines had been delivered of sons, one of whom became, many years afterwards, the Emperor Hienfung. At this critical moment the Emperor was seized with a severe illness, which seemed likely to prove mortal ;

and his brother Hwuy Wang took steps to secure the succession for himself. Taoukwang fortunately recovered, and those who had hoped to profit by his disappearance became the objects of his suspicion, and felt the force of his righteous indignation. His troubles, however, were not yet over; the death of the Empress, his favourite wife, cast a still greater gloom over the year 1831, and made a permanent impression on the mind of the ruler, which, always disposed to brooding, became tinged with a deeper shade of melancholy.

These troubles in the palace and in the bosom of the reigning family were the fitting prelude to the far more serious perils which suddenly revealed themselves in the interior of the country. Taoukwang had had minor insurrections and popular disturbances to deal with, like all his predecessors; but they had not presented themselves in any grave form, and they had been confined to remote quarters of his dominions. Even the secret societies which had disturbed his father gave no symptoms of life, and were apparently deprived of the importance which they once possessed. These anticipations received, however, a shock not less severe than sudden in the year 1832, that following the deaths of the heir-apparent and the Empress.

The Miaotze have been mentioned on many previous occasions as a source of trouble to the governors in the southern provinces of the Empire. They had been kept in order of late years by the fear as much of losing their supply of salt as of active reprisals on the part of the Imperial authorities. But there was always a sense of strained relationship between these independent hillmen and the local mandarins, who interpreted their inaction as a testimony to their own power and vigilance, and who were disposed to be arrogant in proportion as their neighbours were humble. In 1832, tired of a life of inaction, or irritated by some more than usually dictatorial act on the part of the officials, they broke out into rebellion, and one of their chiefs was said to have taken the extreme step of proclaiming himself Emperor. However false that may have been, the conduct of the Miaotze could not have been more pronounced in its hostility than

it was, and a small body of Chinese troops was ordered to proceed against the insurgents and pursue them even into their fastnesses.

The Miaotze of the district round Lienchow, in the north-west of the province of Kwantung, were the most turbulent on this occasion. Their chief took the distinctive title of Wang, with the appellation of "the Golden Dragon." But perhaps the strongest proof that in this outbreak they were prompted by some deeper motive than an instinct of marauding was furnished by the marked forbearance they evinced towards the people. Four towns passed into their possession, but the inhabitants were spared and treated with consideration. The military alone were put to the sword. Were it conceivable that the Chinese could have accepted liberty and emancipation from a foreign yoke at the hands of a semi-barbarous tribe, then the Miaotze might have been joined by large numbers of the Chinese people, discontented with their lot and not over-well disposed to the authority of Peking. But the national dislike to the Miaotze as an alien and inferior race was not to be removed by any considerations of a temporary identity of interest, and although the Miaotze chief's proclamation and line of conduct showed political sagacity and a statesman-like instinct, it could not convert the ebullition of warlike fervour among his own people into a patriotic movement on a large scale.

Yet the valour of the Miaotze secures the movement from being consigned to the limbo of oblivion on account of its insignificance. A small detachment under the command of a Manchu officer was attacked in an ambush and exterminated. The arms of those who fell increased the scanty stock of weapons in the possession of the Miaotze. On the approach of a stronger force they retired to the security of their hills, covered with snow during the winter. Peremptory orders were sent from Peking to suppress the insurrection, and Le, the Viceroy at Canton, took the field in person, with all the troops he could collect. These were not very efficient, and when Le came into contact with the rebels he found himself compelled to remain on the defensive. Other measures were resorted to in order to effect the pacification of the country,

and the services of some of the Miaotze were utilized for the purpose of bringing their kinsmen to their knees. But for a long time neither manner of proceeding effected much to any purpose. The traitors were discovered and executed, and Taoukwang's levies were repulsed, although some successful skirmishes were magnified by the process common to all embarrassed administrations into great victories. Even the despatch to the scene of Hengan, one of the great functionaries of the Court, failed to produce any speedy improvement.

While the Canton troops were making this slow progress, those of Hoonan had been more fortunate. In May, 1832, they gained a decided success over the rebels at the town of Pingtseuen, and drove the Miaotze back into their hills. The blow was made still more severe by the death of the chief, Golden Dragon. So far as that portion of the country was concerned the rebels were completely overthrown, and the lieutenants of Taoukwang could conscientiously report that they had maintained and vindicated his power. This victory was, however, heavily compensated for by the signal defeat of the Viceroy Le and the Canton army in the following month. Encouraged by the success of his Northern colleague, Le attacked the main body of the Miaotze in their mountain fastness; but the result was not flattering to his skill and courage. The Chinese army was driven back in confusion, and eighty officers and many hundreds of soldiers were slain. Le endeavoured to conceal the extent of his discomfiture, and in his official report omitted to give the names of the men who had fallen. This produced great dissatisfaction in the army, and a mutiny was only averted by the prompt addition of the names of those who had deserved well of their country. For, as the soldiers said, "there is no use in our sacrificing our lives in secret; if our toils are concealed from the Emperor, neither we nor our posterity will be rewarded!"

Le was severely reprimanded for his incompetence or misfortune, and, under the goad of Imperial displeasure, raised his army in the field to an effective strength of 15,000 men, with which he prepared to exact a summary revenge.

He was not destined to effect the solution of the difficulty. The credit rested with the military of Hoonan, and with the resolute acts of the Imperial commissioner Hengan. Le was removed from his high post and recalled to Peking, when he was banished to Urumsti. His lieutenants were punished in different ways, and the successful Hoonan officer was appointed viceroy in Le's place. Whatever may have been the causes that contributed to the speedy pacification of the Miaotze region, Hengan was able to report, "ten days after his arrival," that the principal offenders had been brought to justice, that the Miaotze had given pledges of improved behaviour, and that some of them had become so submissive as even to shave their heads and adopt the Tartar tail. Although there were subsequent rumours of fresh risings and renewed disorders, the Miaotze never after that day disturbed the Emperor's peace of mind.

Some were disposed to think that Hengan's arrangement was a farce, and that the Miaotze remained as turbulent in their practices as ever. The lapse of time served to show that such scepticism was not justified by the facts, and that the fierce Yaoujin, or Wolfmen, as they were called, had indeed consented to abstain from violence. With the death of their chief, the Golden Dragon, at Pingtseuen, the tribe lost the man who had given a motive to their uprising, and who seemed to supply, in political capacity, the main deficiencies of a semi-barbarous people. The Miaotze have ever since been quiescent, if not altogether as dutiful in their allegiance as other Chinese subjects. But they are still independent, and their mountain homes constitute a region apart from the rest of the Empire. A later generation may witness some fresh ebullition of martial ardour or of predatory instinct. But when that time comes, the Peking Government will be able, by the aid of European weapons, to accomplish the task of correction with greater ease than at any previous period. The Miaotze have been magnified by Western writers into a source of national danger. They were never that, and even as the pest of certain localities their days of power are already numbered.

These insurrections, and the military operations which

they entailed, resulted in a great increase in the expenditure of the Government, and in 1834 the admission was made that there was a considerable deficit. The two Mahomedan risings and "the ugly monkey tricks," as they were officially termed, of the Miaotze, resulted in an excess of expenditure over revenue of not less than thirty million taels, or nearly ten millions sterling. Natural calamities had caused the decline of the revenue at the very moment that a full exchequer was most needed to meet the requirements of warlike operations in several distinct regions.

During these first fifteen years of Taoukwang's reign, the pretensions of the Emperor of China as the great sovereign of the world were preserved intact. During that period all diplomatic intercourse with the Western peoples was broken off; while the frequent embassies from the States of Asia confirmed the appearance of supremacy, and contributed to swell the pride of Taoukwang. Envoys from the tributary States of Burmah, Nepaul, Siam, and Cochin-China arrived in due succession, and resided for the stated period at the capital. The neighbouring potentates carried their grievances for settlement to the foot of the Dragon Throne, and the increasing intercourse with foreigners at Canton was a cause of anxiety within the Imperial Cabinet, rather than the sign of any waning power among the feudatory States. Riots in Szchuen and Kansuh, the revival of piratical efforts on the Canton river, were no more than ordinary occurrences in the life of a vast Empire; and although the introduction of high-priced and greatly prized European articles into the country had entailed the increase of smuggling, the evil was long nothing more than a local nuisance. Up to this point, China had remained undisturbed in a world of her own. The sense of superiority will remain much longer, but the time is now at hand when the Government and the people must be rudely awakened from several of their most cherished opinions. The great foreign question had long been approaching that crisis which has now to be described and considered, and on the settlement of which depended the right of foreign nations to trade and to hold diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese. Up to the year 1834 there was no sign that

the end of the old order of things was approaching, and when Taoukwang chose, at the close of the year, a new wife to succeed the deceased Empress in her high station, there was no reason to suppose that he was not as lofty and as unapproachable a sovereign as the greatest of his predecessors.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GROWTH OF FOREIGN INTERCOURSE.

THE monopoly of the trade with China had been granted by royal charter to the East India Company, but the term (it expired in April, 1834) of its rights and privileges was approaching at the period which we have now reached, and the question of its renewal, in whole or in part, was the one matter under consideration in Leadenhall Street, as well as with the authorities of Calcutta and the merchants at Canton. But if the subject was of the greatest interest to the English community, it neither concerned nor received much attention from the Chinese ; and were it not that the change in the manner of the relations between the two countries which ensued from it was followed by results of the greatest importance, the topic would not claim much notice here.

The views of Chinese officials were extremely simple. They had no objection to foreigners coming to Canton, and buying or selling articles of commerce, so long as they derived personal profit from the trade, and so long also as the laws of the Empire were not disputed or violated. The merchants of the East India Company were content to adapt themselves to this view, and they might have carried on relations with the Hong merchants for an indefinite period, and without any more serious collision than occasional interruptions. The renewal of the monopoly would have left things in exactly the same position as when intercourse was first established ; and, although the English merchants were on a distinctly inferior footing, they would have been able to continue the trade in its actual restricted limits at Canton.

If the Chinese thought very little in a political sense of the Company and its representatives, they thought a very great deal about the English sovereign, and they regarded with indignation, not unmixed with alarm, the pretensions of the latter to equal rights, and to a rank of dignity in no way short of that of the Celestial ruler himself. Their opinions on this point were strengthened by the proceedings in connection with the two embassies from the King of England, and by every visit of a British man-of-war to their ports. It became clear to the most obtuse mandarin mind that, although these foreigners might not be placed in the same scale of power and civilization as the favoured people of the Middle Kingdom, they did possess in their formidable warships a power of inflicting damage with which China had nothing to cope. The cardinal point in the foreign policy of the Peking Government thus turned on the exclusion of the representatives of the English sovereign. The officials were not unwilling to hold intercourse with a body of traders; they would willingly have nothing whatever to do with an independent and exacting sovereign. The former could be kept at a respectful distance, and in a mood thankful for the smallest favours. The latter would have to be treated after a different fashion, and one for which the records of the Empire, at any period of its existence, afforded no precedent.

The surprise and the indignation of the Chinese authorities were great, therefore, when in the year 1834 they learnt that by the decree of a remote potentate the conditions of the barely tolerated intercourse with the principal of the outer peoples had undergone a complete and radical alteration. So far as Chinese affairs were concerned, the East India Company passed out of history, and the merchants of Canton became entitled to and received the direct protection of the English Government. The Chinese neither understood nor cared to understand the causes or the precise meaning of this change. They would have thought it rather an aggravation than a mitigation of the offence, that a foreign prince should make trade with China free instead of the monopoly of certain persons. They saw clearly enough that the alteration could not possibly redound to their national honour and

security, and that it must be followed by the more frequent appearance of the formidable foreign war-vessels, and of officials intent on maintaining the dignity of their sovereign. The abolition of the Company's monopoly, and what is called the opening of the trade, were followed by a sharp revulsion of sentiment among Chinese officials. Their policy towards foreigners then became one of intensified and unqualified hostility.

In the animated discussions which were carried on in the Houses of Parliament during the years 1833-34, great stress was laid upon the probable increase that would take place in the trade with China, if free intercourse were proclaimed. In this speculation hope was allowed to get the better of reason, and these favourable anticipations were only to be realized after considerable delay, and when other and violent agencies had been enlisted in the work. High authority, however, was ranged in support of these opinions; but, speaking with all the advantage of later experience, it is only possible to have the opinion that, however necessary in itself, however beneficial to English commerce, and indirectly to China as quickening her political growth, the opening of the trade may have been, it at the same time not unreasonably irritated the Chinese, and inflamed their Government against Europeans.

The transfer of authority was demonstrated by an act which left the Chinese in no doubt as to what had happened. On the 10th of December, 1833, a Royal Commission appointed Lord Napier chief superintendent of trade with China, and two other officials as assistant-superintendents, of whom one was Sir John Davis. The arrival of Lord Napier in July of the following year brought matters to a head, and his instructions left him no choice in the execution of his duties save to perform them at Canton, or at such other place as the English sovereign might appoint. His arrival at Canton was promptly followed by difficulties with the Viceroy of the province, while the European merchants were threatened with the stoppage of the trade. Lord Napier's first act was to address a letter of courtesy announcing his appointment and safe arrival to the Viceroy. But the Chinese officials, perceiving that its tone was different from the petitions of the Company,

refused to so much as receive it, and returned the document to the writer. Such a commencement did not promise well for the success of the new relationship.

The arrival of the Chief Superintendent excited great attention among the Chinese, and official requests were sent to the merchants of the guild, or hong, to ascertain exactly what were the objects and intentions of this new functionary. Their views were tersely summed up and expressed in the name by which they designated the representative of the English king. He was a "barbarian eye," come to take stock of the mysteries and resources of the Flowery Land. The Viceroy was not content with instituting inquiries; he issued an order. The foreigners had, by the laws of the Empire, the right to reside only at Macao, but as an act of special grace they had been permitted, on receiving and paying for a passport, to proceed to Canton. A special order was made that the new "barbarian eye" was not to be allowed to visit Canton, except after request made in compliance with established regulations. Lord Napier asked neither permit nor favour. He hardly deigned to touch at the so-called Portuguese possession of Macao, and went straight to Canton as the representative of his sovereign to the Chinese ruler. The mandarins were not merely furious at the audacity of the English official, but full of apprehension at the consequences that might follow to themselves when it became known at Peking that a foreign ambassador had forced his way through one of the gates of the Empire. There was, under the circumstances, little to wonder at in the Viceroy curtly returning Lord Napier his letters of announcement, and refusing to hold any intercourse with one who came uninvited, and who established himself of his own accord in the position of a welcome guest.

The Hong merchants and the Hoppo, or Superintendent of Trade, being responsible for the good behaviour and prompt obedience of the foreigners, who were only allowed to come to Canton on their guarantee, it was always a very easy matter for the Viceroy to assert his official authority. On this occasion he brought all the pressure he could to bear on the native merchants in order that the mission of Lord

Napier might be rendered abortive, and that the foreign traders should be subjected to the most complete subservience under the laws of China. He succeeded as well as he could have possibly desired. The Hoppo and his subordinates were all devoted, for "the national dignity was at stake," and presented a memorial for the suspension of the trade. Lord Napier was confined to the factories. All business transactions were discontinued. The native servants left the employ of the Europeans; even their boatmen refused to perform their duties, and they became virtually prisoners. The trade was suspended in the most practical and pronounced manner, and the Europeans were confined to their small settlement. Such were the immediate consequences and the attendant features of the transfer of the supervision of English trade from the Company to the Crown.*

In addition to the national dislike of the foreigners, and to the official desire to maintain intact the dignity of the Empire, another circumstance contributed to increase the Chinese indignation against Lord Napier, and to make them regard with more or less indifference the prospect of a cessation of the foreign trade. This was the steady decrease through exportation in the amount of silver coin in the country. A report to the throne in 1833 stated that during the previous eleven years nearly sixty million taels of silver had been sent out of the realm, and that the Empire was

* It may be parenthetically observed at this point that comment on these facts is reserved to the end of this chapter. It must not be supposed that, while giving this summary of events in the most favourable light for China from her point of view, we are able to see any ground for acquiescing in the lightly formed and easily adopted view that England was "forcing a trade on China"—a phrase first used during the debates of 1833. In one form or another the change was inevitable. Respect for Chinese pride, admiration for an undeviating and historic policy, will not blind the eyes of the thoughtful to the truth that the attitude of the Chinese was one that could not be maintained save by superior force. There will be agreement also that it was well for the world at large, well probably for China herself, that pre-eminence in war was wanting to leave the Celestial Empire an unsolved mystery—the inscrutable embodiment, as a Government, of the most intense selfishness—to the end of time.

consequently poorer by this amount. Various edicts were passed prohibiting the export of silver, and ordaining severe punishments for the infringement of the law. But as the people continued to purchase opium and other articles from the foreigners, they were compelled to give in return their silver. In all sincerity the Chinese authorities most ardently desired the stopping of the trade.

Lord Napier had a very difficult task to perform, and one in which it was, perhaps, impossible to attain complete success with honour. He presented to the personal abuse and violent attacks of the mandarins a courteous firmness which almost repelled their efforts. But he did not confine his action to defensive measures ; he assumed a vigorous offensive by giving expression to several home-truths. His first document, which was of the character of a public notice to the Chinese merchants, closed with the following sentence : "The merchants of Great Britain wish to trade with all China, on principles of mutual benefit ; they will never relax in their exertions till they gain a point of equal importance to both countries, and the Viceroy will find it as easy to stop the current of the Canton river as to carry into effect the insane determinations of the Hong." There is not much reason to feel surprise if the Chinese officials construed this proclamation into an open defiance of their power, and viewed it as an arrogant claim to prosecute a trade with China by or against their will. They retorted with an edict absolutely and unconditionally prohibiting all intercourse whatever with the English people.

That the Chinese were quite in earnest and fully prepared to brave the worst was clearly shown when their military appeared at the factories and forcibly removed all Chinese servants, and when the batteries of the Bogue forts fired on two English men-of-war. Lord Napier's difficulties were aggravated by his ill-health, and, in deference to the requests of the English merchants, he consented to leave Canton and to retire to Macao. The Chinese thus obtained another diplomatic victory, and they reasserted in this way, and with undiminished vigour, the principle that no foreigner, merchant or envoy, should be allowed to come to Canton, save by

their permit, granted only to the petition and on the guarantee of the Hong merchants. Lord Napier published a formal protest against "this act of unprecedented tyranny and injustice." But it had no effect, and, allowing for the views of the Chinese Government, it cannot be disputed that, not only were they fully in the right, but that their fortitude and fearlessness may not unjustly attract some admiration.

A correspondence which, at this early stage, assumed so acrimonious a tone, could hardly have proved beneficial to either country by being continued. It was suddenly interrupted by the death of Lord Napier, who had been taken ill before leaving Canton, and who suffered many privations on his journey to Macao, where he died less than three months after his first arrival in China. Although Lord Napier's method of dealing with the Chinese officials was blunt, if not dictatorial, he saw clearly enough that there was nothing to be gained by truckling to them, and his position as a representative of England forbade his resorting to those concessions which the mercantile community had previously been in the habit of offering as the price for the toleration of their presence.

The departure of Lord Napier from Canton was followed by the opening of the ships' holds, and by the resumption of trade. But the trade superintendents were ignored, even after his death, which shortly followed, and a petition was sent home to the King praying for his protection and effectual intervention in the interests of English commerce in China. Trade with foreigners was placed under certain provisions, which received the express sanction of Taoukwang himself, and became the recognized law. These provisions were divided under eight heads as Regulations, of which the principal were the prohibition of the entry of men-of-war into the inner seas, and the compulsion on Europeans to make all their requests through the Hong merchants in the form of a petition. The powers conferred on the superintendents of trade by the Commission of William IV. were completely ignored, and so far as it lay in mandarin power to decree the manner in which the foreign intercourse should be carried on, the position reverted to the conditions under which it

was managed during the days of the Company. For a short space of time it seemed as if the appointment of Lord Napier were to be only a passing episode, and that the Chinese had effectually attained their one object, "to prevent the English establishing themselves permanently at Canton."

While the English officials were busy reporting their opinions on the new system, the Chinese, flattering themselves that they had carried their points, did not further interfere with the dealings between the Hong merchants and the Europeans. There was the usual amount of opium smuggled into the country, followed on rare occasions by the detection of those engaged in it, and by their punishment and the forfeiting of their goods. Sometimes the opium was publicly destroyed, but more often only a portion was burnt for the benefit of public morals, while by far the larger part was reserved for the gratification of the mandarins in their privacy. More serious cause of disturbance arose out of the piratical attacks on merchant vessels becalmed off the coast, or in distress. One vessel, the *Troughton*, was attacked in the Canton estuary by two junks filled with armed natives. The ship was plundered, and the captain and several of the crew seriously injured and maltreated. It was a matter of surprise how, under the circumstances, they escaped with their lives. Some attempt was made to discover the assailants, and several arrests were made, probably of innocent persons. But, although the subject was long under discussion, no one was ever punished for this daring outrage in Chinese waters.

The death of the Canton viceroy, named Loo, who had conducted affairs during this period of change, was attended by a certain modification in the relations between the two peoples. After long discussion and many threats to put an end to the trade altogether, the new superintendent, Captain Elliot, was granted permission, in March, 1837, to come to Canton; but the privilege was only conceded in the usual way on the petition of the foreign merchants through those of the Hong. During the interval of more than two years since Lord Napier's death the matter had been several times referred to Peking, and it was only by special Imperial decree

that Captain Elliot's arrival was sanctioned in order that he might fulfil his official duties of "controlling the merchants and seamen." The value of this concession was very greatly reduced by the stipulation that he was to strictly observe the old regulations, and not to rank in any way above the super-cargoes. The conditions which the Chinese sought to, and did for a time, impose on these English officials, were those that a proud and arrogant Government might seek to inflict on a body of traders. They could not possibly have proved enduring in the case of a Government not less proud and solicitous of its dignity than any other.

A new element of discord revealed itself with steadily increasing force during these years. The foreign trade, regarded in the abstract, had always been distasteful to the Government of Peking and to the old school of ministers, but it had become a means of livelihood to a considerable class in the population of Canton and the maritime provinces of the South; it was also a source of profit to a large number of the active officials. Its abolition would, therefore, excite as much disapproval as approbation, and the Peking authorities felt constrained to allow matters to progress in the natural way, consoling themselves with the reflection that so long as the trade was confined to Canton, the influence of the "outer barbarians" could not do much mischief. But if it was just endurable that foreign races should come to traffic with the Celestial people for the purpose of enriching them, and in order to place at their service articles unknown in the Flowery Land, it was simply intolerable that these strange traders should carry off with them much of the national wealth, and in the form of all others the most disagreeable, its money—the silver bullion of the realm. The Doctors of the Hanlin, the most prejudiced of the students of Confucius, availed themselves of the fact to stir up the prejudices of the people, and to arouse the Emperor's mind to the terrible dangers that would accrue from the impoverishment of the State.

The facts, too, were startling enough, and would have excited apprehension in the minds of any thoughtful Government. The Chinese were neither unreasonable nor exercising

any questionable right in attributing this extraordinary drain of public treasure to the foreign intercourse, and in denouncing it accordingly. It was officially stated—and the figures do not appear much exaggerated—that ten million taels of silver were annually taken out of China; and it was not difficult to draw from this the conclusion that, if it were allowed to proceed unchecked, the country would be reduced to a state of bankruptcy. The Chinese did not attempt to analyze the matter, and they could not lay any consolation to their hearts about the balance of trade being against them. They saw the plain fact of the depletion of the national treasure, and they angrily denounced the trade with foreigners as its sole cause. The mind of the Government being cleared up on this point, it only remained to decide how best to put a stop to, or at least to reduce to its smallest possible limits, the cause of this glaring evil.

Never at any period of their history had the ruling powers in China been more desirous of curtailing and arresting the growth of intercourse with foreigners than in the years immediately following the expiry of the monopoly, and the transfer of authority from the Company to the Crown. But with the will the power of doing so did not come. The difficulty of summarily ending the matter had been indefinitely increased by the fact that the foreign trade had become an integral part of the national life in the great emporium of the south, and that it could only be discontinued at the cost of some popular suffering and discontent. Dislike of the whole connection with foreign countries screened itself behind the opposition to one item in particular, and the immutable principles of morality were invoked to cast a stigma on those who supplied the people, in defiance of the law, with the means of gratifying their passions.

There had been references at an earlier period to the import of foreign opium, and the Emperor Kiaking had begun a reign of misfortune with an edict denouncing its use as the indulgence of a hopeless sin. But the lesson he strove to inculcate had never been learnt. A new generation had grown up, which only knew that the life of Kiaking and his courtiers had been in flat contradiction with these fine moral

theories, and who continued to follow their inclination in the matter of opium-smoking. When attention was officially drawn to the same subject under Taoukwang, it was not as a question of morality, but of finance. The annual drain of the silver coin, not the deterioration in the moral or physical qualities of the Chinese, was the motive which stirred Taoukwang's Government into action. The proof of this is furnished by numerous edicts and decrees issued by both the Emperor and the Viceroy at Canton. If further proof were needed, it would be found in the simple fact that the first official utterance on the subject was a proposal to legalize the importation of opium, and for the simple reason that the greater the penalties passed upon its use, the wider had the practice spread.

The views of this memorialist, although stated in clear language, were not such as to commend themselves to the minds of Chinese officials. At Peking it seemed that to legalize the importation of opium would have exactly the opposite effect from what was contemplated. By increasing the opportunity of purchasing opium, it was said that the quantity consumed would increase in the like proportion. An angry discussion followed in the pages of the *Peking Gazette*, and the memorialist was roughly handled, although his arguments remained unanswered. The one remedy received with any favour was to expel the foreigner, and to destroy all the stores of opium on which the authorities could lay their hands. Many threats were made to execute the former project, and some attempts to carry out the latter; but although a little opium was burnt, and a great deal more appropriated for the personal use of the mandarins, the Peking Government long hesitated, not so much from fear of foreign reprisals as from a not unnatural dread of the consequences of disturbing the existing order of things, to give effect to its own wishes and decrees.

Increased significance was given to this controversy by the interruption of official communications between Captain Elliot and the Chinese authorities at the end of 1837, less than six months after he had been permitted to proceed to Canton. He sent home a letter of complaint, in general

terms, as to the difficulty of conducting any sort of amicable relations with the local mandarins, and endorsed the growing demand for the right of dealing with the Peking Government direct. So far as official intercourse was concerned, this rupture proved complete. Captain Elliot hauled down his flag at Canton and removed to Macao—thus showing, for a second time, that the attempt to conduct diplomatic relations on a basis of trade involved circumstances that were incompatible with one another, and that could not be reconciled.

Twelve months later, when a small squadron had been sent to the Bogue from India, Captain Elliot returned to Canton and re-hoisted his flag. A conflict seemed likely to ensue when the Chinese forts fired on an English ship and compelled her to undergo a search. The English fleet proceeded to Canton, and the Chinese mustered their forces, both on the river and on shore, for the purpose of making such resistance as they could. When the affair looked at its worst, and seemed to hardly admit of a peaceful ending, a friendly understanding was happily effected. The admirals met and exchanged cards ; and the mandarins, being assured of the general good-will of England, seemed disposed to relax their hostile regulations towards her subjects. But the import of opium and the steady outflow of silver continued to excite their feelings ; and the antipathy arising from these causes, after a very brief interval, regained the upper hand in their councils.

It will be appropriate to close this chapter at a point when the growing dimensions of the trade, and the extraordinary conditions under which it was conducted, were beginning to raise grave doubts as to the possibility of placing it, until the Chinese had been compelled to recognize in foreign countries nations with rights equal to their own, on any basis likely to endure, but before the hope had been abandoned of discovering a solution save by force. Chinese policy was of a double kind, and it was hampered in its action by two rival influences, urging it in opposite directions. Neither the knowledge nor the traditions of the Peking Government allowed it to look with a favourable eye on the possibility of close intercourse with foreign nations. The

admission of equality with outside peoples could not but exercise a corrosive effect on the ideas and political existence of the Celestials. On the other hand, the people themselves, particularly those in the great commercial capital of the South, were most strongly disposed to trade, and in the indulgence of these natural instincts it mattered comparatively little with whom they carried on commercial relations. The one condition, from their point of view, was that the trade should be profitable to them. It became the chief object of the Government, in its endeavour to arrest its development, to show that the profits were secured by the foreigner; and in this, as later events will reveal, it met with more than partial success.

An event had occurred which, although having apparently no direct connection with the further progress and development of China's external relations, was destined to prove the precursor of many circumstances calculated to bring the minds of two great peoples to an inclination of greater friendship, and to make the policies of their respective Governments more harmonious and compatible with each other. It so happened that, at the most critical point of the question of English intercourse with China, a new sovereign, young and accomplished, succeeded to the discharge of the difficult duties of ruler of the British Empire—a circumstance which, if in itself not calculated to ensure conviction as to a satisfactory issue from a tedious and intricate controversy, raised a hope in at least some loyal breasts* that the yet unwritten pages of Queen Victoria's reign would record the settlement of the relations between England and China, not on a footing of distrust and latent hostility, but on one of confidence and mutual consideration. Glancing back in the full light of our present knowledge to the events of a reign which with each year has gathered new glory, and in which each achievement, whether in peace or in war, has seemed to

* “‘A new reign is fertile in brilliant projects,’ and one might argue from probabilities that the plans that are to fill one day with their details the yet unwritten history of Queen Victoria, will be distinguished by no common lustre. From such a series of noble attempts one, at least, should not be wanting—a sincere and persevering endeavour to improve the British relations with China.”—“Chinese Repository,” vol. vii. p. 149.

prepare the way for some still more remarkable triumph, it is clear that even in this particular the reign of Queen Victoria has been illustrious, for the acts of her successive Governments have gone far to improve the character of English relations with China. If it was reserved for Queen Victoria to be the English sovereign to twice draw the sword in anger on China, it remains to the glory of her reign, and as demonstrating her sincere and effectual efforts to promote the interests of her subjects and the cause of peace, that her present relations with the Celestial Empire are such as promise a durable and friendly understanding, and a peace which nothing but some untoward event or ill-timed accident can prevent being permanent.

CHAPTER V.

THE BEGINNING OF FOREIGN COMPLICATIONS.

THE Chinese character has always been marked by a certain astuteness in seizing upon the most convenient and plausible argument to support their contentions, whether it be in politics or in commerce; and, as time went on, they fastened in their foreign relations more and more on the question of the opium traffic, about the merits of which they found opinion to be divided among the Europeans themselves. This detail seemed to offer more vulnerable points of attack on moral grounds than the whole question of foreign intercourse. Not merely were edicts drawn up and published, forbidding, in the most peremptory language, the use of the drug, but severe punishments were threatened and sometimes inflicted on the unhappy individuals who yielded to the temptation. In one province it was even said that the singular punishment of cutting out a portion of the upper lip was resorted to; but those who suffered always belonged to the poorer classes of the community. The officials, more addicted to the practice than any others, screened their delinquencies behind the zeal with which they prosecuted those who had neither the means nor the influence to protect themselves. Without going so far as to directly question the sincerity of the Chinese Government's abhorrence of the use of opium, the fact remains that those who suffered for its offended majesty were the poor, or those only who could not defend themselves. The most inveterate opium-smokers continued their practice, amused perhaps at the credulity or the ignorance of the Peking authorities.

The question might have gone on for a long time in this way—enthusiastic fervour among the theoretical statesmen and doctors at Peking, and self-seeking and systematic apathy and indifference among the practical officials at Canton—but for the despatch to the South, in the character of Special Commissioner, of one of the most remarkable men China has produced, to our knowledge, within this century. It need hardly be said that we mean the Commissioner Lin. In January, 1839, when the trade had been twice suspended and timidly resumed, the Emperor commissioned Lin Tsihseu, an official of good reputation, and governor of the double province of Houkwang, to proceed to Canton to report on the exact position of affairs, and to propound the best remedy for the evil.

Before Lin's arrival affairs had become extremely critical. The Hong merchants, who were held responsible by the Viceroy for the good conduct of the foreigners, had been compelled by the officials to go so far as to threaten to pull down the house and factory of one English merchant who was assumed to be an opium trader. The officials themselves caused the execution of criminal delinquents, for the use of opium or of some different offence mattered little for their purpose, to be held in the square outside the very doors of the foreign houses. Increased significance was given to this latter event by the collision it entailed between the mob and the foreign residents, who, under great provocation, took the law into their own hands, and cleared the square of spectators and executioners alike. The consequences of this riot might have been most serious, but the timely arrival of a magistrate and a small body of soldiers restored order before dangerous passions had been given full play. None the less this riot is worthy of record as the first symptom of the latent antipathy smouldering on both sides. A public notice was then issued by the English superintendent, Captain Elliot, warning all English subjects to discontinue the illicit opium trade, and stating that "Her Majesty's Government will in no way interfere if the Chinese Government shall think fit to seize and confiscate the same."

After this formal repudiation of all sympathy and

connection with the illicit opium traffic on the part of the representative of the English Government, it became essentially a question for the Chinese authorities to deal with as they felt able and thought fit. Protection had been officially withdrawn from those engaged in this trade, and thus one of the first consequences of the cessation of the monopoly was that the Crown declined to sanction the most important branch of the Indian trade which the Company had done everything in its power to foster and extend. This important decision naturally increased the energy of the Canton mandarins, who issued numerous proclamations to the people, calling upon them to follow the path of virtue and to abstain from vice—exhortations, it may be added, that were very much needed then and at all times. The announcement of Lin's forthcoming visit still further fired their zeal; and, not satisfied with denouncing the traffic in one condemned article, official notices were circulated to the effect that the true remedy lay in the cessation of all foreign intercourse, and that the presence of strangers and their ships on the Canton river detracted from the dignity of the Middle Kingdom. Commissioner Lin made his formal entry into Canton on the 10th of March, 1839, and with his arrival the question at once entered upon a more acute—and, as it proved, its final—stage.

The zeal of the High Commissioner was matched by his energy. He had not been a week in his new post when he drew up an edict of remarkable literary power, and one also, it must be allowed, breathing the noblest moral sentiments. But the only terms in which he condescended to address the foreigners were those of superiority, and he called upon them to listen to, and to obey with trembling, "his commands." Those who had no sympathy with the opium traffic saw in Lin's declarations clear evidence that no trade could long be compatible with the natural arrogance of the Chinese official who regarded commerce as beneath his notice, and Europeans as a barbarian but dangerous people, living in hopeless ignorance. Lin did not confine himself to words; he resorted to action. He peremptorily forbade any foreigner to leave Canton for Macao, or elsewhere, until the matter about which he came had been satisfactorily settled. Within a few days

of his appearance it was evident that what he wanted to achieve was the complete humiliation of the foreigners.

But by far the most important of Lin's earlier proclamations was that demanding the surrender of all stores of opium within the space of three days. This naturally produced great excitement among the European community ; but after a little delay, and mainly by the action of individuals and not by the collective decision of the Chamber of Commerce, more than a thousand chests were surrendered to the Chinese to be destroyed. Almost simultaneously with this act of subservience on the part of the merchants, Captain Elliot issued a proclamation announcing that, as Her Majesty's subjects were detained against their will at Canton, all English ships should assemble at Hongkong and prepare to resist with force any act of aggression. The inevitable collision was thus at length approaching with rapid strides, for the Chinese mandarins could neither understand nor tolerate the foreigners in any other capacity than as traders ; and Captain Elliot spoke, and expected to be treated, as the representative of a ruler as proud and as powerful as the Emperor of China himself. The English Superintendent publicly declared that he had lost all confidence in the justice and moderation of the provincial Government. Nor did the matter stop at this point. Captain Elliot hastened to Canton, where an apparent attempt had been made, under cover of an invitation, to get possession of the person of one of the foremost and most influential merchants, Mr. Dent ; but on the hoisting of his flag the excitement among the Chinese knew no bounds, and the settlement was not merely abandoned by all its native servants, but forthwith surrounded by a vast concourse of armed men, half coolies, half soldiers. For a moment the apprehension spread that the settlement at Canton might prove a second Black Hole.

The next move in this intricate question was in seeming contradiction with the steps that had immediately preceded it. While the whole British community, official and commercial alike, remained cut off from the outer world in the settlement at Canton, Captain Elliot, in response to a special edict or address from Lin, called upon the English merchants

to surrender to him, for paramount considerations of the lives and liberties of themselves and their countrymen, all the stores of opium in their possession. More than twenty thousand chests, of an estimated value of over two millions sterling, were at once placed at the disposal of the superintendent. These were duly handed over to the Chinese at Whampoa, and other places in the Bogue; and the process of destroying the drug was commenced with all due ceremony, and under the direct auspices of Lin, at Chuenpee.

But the surrender of these stores did not satisfy the ends of the Commissioner, who wished to crown his work by the complete stoppage of all further supplies. With that object in view he addressed a letter to the sovereign of the English nation, calling upon her to interdict the traffic in opium for ever. Even in this letter the arrogance of the Chinese revealed itself, and the arguments employed were weakened by minatory language as to the penalties that would follow refusal or procrastination. However, the friendly attitude of the English superintendent and merchants during this critical period was not without some effect. The cordon established round the foreign settlement was gradually withdrawn, and after six weeks' incarceration the Europeans were allowed to leave the factories, and the passenger ships resumed their trips to Macao.

But a still more serious complication sprang out of what in its most interesting aspect was a literary controversy. The law of China made the sale of opium a penal offence, and the Chinese officials claimed the power to execute their law on the persons of Europeans. Not merely did they claim it, but they announced their intention to carry it out in the cases of sixteen Englishmen, whose names were published. Some of these had notoriously never had any connection with opium at all, and they were every one of them honourable merchants, innocent of any culpable wish to injure the Chinese. Not only did Commissioner Lin and the Canton authorities claim the right to condemn and punish English subjects, but they showed in the clearest possible manner that they would take away their liberty and lives on the flimsiest and falsest testimony. Captain Elliot felt bound to

declare that "this law is incompatible with safe or honourable continuance at Canton."

The Chinese authorities seemingly acted also on the assumption that so long as there remained even one offending European, the mass of his countrymen were to be hindered in their avocations; and consequently a number of petty restrictions were placed upon the transaction of all business relations between the native and English merchants. One of these possessed more than a usual degree of importance as furnishing some clue to the real considerations guiding the policy of China on the foreign question. The withdrawal of silver had excited the keenest alarm among the Celestials, and as some means of putting a stop to it, a rule was passed to the effect that each foreign ship should take away as much bulk of exported Chinese goods as it brought of English articles. By this device it was hoped to ensure the equalisation of the trade. By their acts the mandarins proclaimed that much more than the opium of the foreigners was objected to; and the English superintendent issued a further notice warning all of Her Majesty's subjects to leave Canton with him, or to remain at their own personal peril.*

The very next day after Captain Elliot's notice, a memorial, signed by all the principal English and Indian merchants, was sent home to Lord Palmerston, then Secretary for Foreign

* This was dated the 22nd of May, 1839, and in it occurs the following important paragraph with reference to the opium that had been surrendered. "Acting on the behalf of Her Majesty's Government in a momentous emergency, he has, in the first place, to signify that the demand he recently made to Her Majesty's subjects for the surrender of British-owned opium under their control had no special reference to the circumstances of that property; but (beyond the actual pressure of necessity) that demand was founded on the principle that these violent compulsory measures being utterly unjust *per se*, and of general application for the forced surrender of any other property, or of human life, or for the constraint of any unsuitable terms or concessions, it became highly necessary to vest and leave the right of exacting effectual security, and full indemnity for every loss directly in the Queen." Unfortunately, Captain Elliot's earlier statements had conveyed the impression, and certainly bore the construction, that the English Government was disposed to agree with Commissioner Lin and the Chinese authorities as to the moral iniquity of the practice of smoking opium.

Affairs ; and in this document support and protection against "a capricious and corrupt Government" were demanded, as well as early compensation for the two millions' worth of opium surrendered to China at the urgent request of the English superintendent. For the moment Commissioner Lin had triumphed, and his gratified sovereign forthwith rewarded him by raising him to the very dignified post of Viceroy of the Two Kiang, which includes in its jurisdiction the three important provinces of Kiangsi, Kiangsu, and Anhwei, and of which the principal city is Nankin, one of the former capitals of the Empire. The confidence and self-congratulations of the Chinese were certainly not weakened by the fact that, in this critical state of affairs, there was not a single English man-of-war in any part of the Chinese waters. The English residents were at the mercy of the Chinese, and without either sure means of escape or efficient sources of defence. The second anniversary of the Queen's birthday after her accession to the throne found the Chinese question portending the gravest danger, and an accident was nearly producing an immediate conflict ; for one of the merchant vessels, whilst firing a salute on this auspicious occasion, discharged a shot in the direction of a Chinese war-junk. No damage, fortunately, was done, but a less event than that might have provoked a hostile collision at such a time. A catastrophe might indeed have ensued but for the simple fact that only two or three Englishmen had remained in Canton.

Up to this point the English merchants and subjects had endured with meekness all that the ill-will and reforming enthusiasm of the Chinese could do them ; but the indignation and resentment felt at their treatment were naturally extreme, and needed only an occasion to display themselves in acts. No class of the community is as sensitive of a slight on the national honour as the English sailor, and none is more prone to resent it in the simple and effectual way of his forefathers. The merits of diplomacy are concealed from a nature that sees only the object before it, and takes no count of the attendant circumstances. The caution and circumspection which seemed prudent to the English superintendent were beyond the understanding and beneath the notice of the

numerous sailors who, by the stagnation of the trade, were kept in a state of idleness in the Bogue. Collisions necessarily occurred when parties went on shore from the ships, but no serious mishap took place until the 7th of July, 1839. On that occasion a large party of sailors were drawn into a quarrel with the inhabitants of a village near the anchorage at Hongkong, and a villager named Lin Weihe was so much injured that he died the next day of his wounds. A demand was at once made for the surrender of the murderers, as the law of China demanded a life for a life; but, as such a surrender meant handing over the sailor accused to a certain and cruel death, the demand was, of course, refused. There was also no evidence to incriminate any one in particular of this act of manslaughter; but five sailors were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for rioting on shore.

The Chinese authorities could not, perhaps, be expected to regard this affair with the same discriminating power as is presumably vested in an English jury. As soon as the circumstances were reported in the Canton Yamen, the Commissioner Lin seized his pencil, and proceeded to pour forth his wrath, and to demonstrate over again his literary skill in an edict on the occurrence, which he characterized as "going to the extreme of disobedience to the laws." If an Englishman had been killed, the Commissioner argued that he would at once have ordered the execution of his murderer, therefore it was only right that the slayer of a Chinese subject should be handed over to justice. That a man may not be a murderer intentionally, is beyond Chinese comprehension—in short, all, or almost all the circumstances that we term extenuating are unknown to the Chinese Statute Book. Lin's final commands were that the murderer must be surrendered, and that, until he was, supplies were to be withheld from the foreign ships. Nor was this an empty threat. Although the English had removed to Macao, where it is right to say that, old jealousies forgotten, they received a most hospitable welcome from the Portuguese, the power of the Commissioner reached them even there; and both supplies and servants vanished on the publication of Lin's decree. With the view of not

compromising the Portuguese, Captain Elliot, a few days later, removed his quarters to Hongkong.

The death of the Chinese villager did not long remain without an outrage on the side of the Europeans to in some sense counterbalance it. A small schooner was boarded on its way from Macao to Hongkong by a band of pirates. The crew were all killed, the single English passenger was grievously wounded, and the miscreants escaped with the plunder of the vessel. It was thought, at the time, that this attack was committed by order of the Chinese officials; but later discoveries showed, what ought never to have been doubted, as the capture of a living Englishman would have entitled the taker to Lin's gratitude and highest reward, that it was one of those piratical outrages which, unfortunately, fill a great place in the annals of the Canton river and the Bogue. At this critical moment the opportune arrival of an English ship-of-war restored confidence among the residents, by showing that, although distant, they were still under the protection of the Queen's Government.

At this point the gravity of the complication was still further increased by an official proclamation, signed by Lin and the Viceroy of Kwangtung, calling upon the people to arm themselves, and to oppose with force any attempt on the part of the foreigners to land. Despite the surrender of a vast quantity of opium, the departure of the greater number of the Europeans from Canton, and the practical stoppage of the foreign trade, the Chinese officials were not disposed to rest satisfied with what they had accomplished, and, trusting to their overwhelming numbers, on which their official notices never tired of dwelling, they sought to complete the humiliation of the "outer barbarians." The appeal to force was an act of indiscretion that betrayed the height of confidence, or a strange depth of ignorance; and when the mandarins sanctioned the withholding of water and other necessary supplies, they voluntarily surrendered the advantage which the definiteness of their plans and their diplomatic capacity gave them over the English. The English naval officers at once denounced the withholding of provisions as an act of hostility, and declared a blockade, which was raised

in a few days, only, however, to give place to vigorous measures for the seizure of supplies whenever necessary.

Several encounters took place between the two English men-of-war at last placed on the station, and the small forts situated at Hongkong and on the adjoining peninsula. But nothing serious happened until the 3rd of November, 1839, when a naval engagement was fought off Chuenpee. A Chinese fleet of twenty-nine junks, under the command of a high admiral named Kwang, ventured to menace the two English frigates, when they were attacked and dispersed with the loss of four of their number. Although this encounter arrested the hostile measures of the Chinese, it further embittered the conflict, and it was no longer doubtful that the solution of the question would have to be accomplished by force of arms. The capture and imprisonment of an English subject, Mr. Gribble, in the last days of the year 1839, showed that no improvement was likely to take place by means of an amicable agreement; and the arrival of the English war-ships outside the Bogue, to demand the surrender of the English captive, brought the one effectual remedy still more clearly into view.

When Taoukwang received news of the fight at Chuenpee, described to him as an engagement reflecting the highest credit on the valour of his sailors, if not as an absolute victory, he issued a special edict rewarding the admiral with a high Tartar title for his courage, and commanding his officers at Canton "to put a stop at once to the trade of the English nation." In consequence of this decree from the Vermilion pencil, the Canton authorities published an edict calling upon all English subjects to quit Chinese territory for ever. They were peremptorily commanded to leave even Macao. At this juncture the news that an expedition was about to be despatched with the view of asserting the dignity of the English crown, and of affording protection to English commerce, exercised a tranquillising effect. A lull ensued, and although the English were placed outside the pale of the law, and although the whole motive of their presence was removed by the suspension of the trade, Mr. Gribble was released from his confinement, and the merchants with their families

continued to reside partly at Macao, and partly on board ship at the anchorage of Tungkoo near Hongkong.

Considering the events of this troubled period—the seven years following the removal of the monopoly—it cannot be contended from an impartial review of the facts, and divesting our minds as far as possible from the prejudice of accepted political opinion, and of conviction as to the hurtful or innocent character of opium in the mixture smoked, that the course pursued by Captain Elliot was either prudent in itself, or calculated to promote the advantage and reputation of England. Captain Elliot's proceedings were marked by the inconsistency that springs from ignorance. The more influential English merchants, touched by the appeal to their moral sentiment, or impressed by the depravity of large classes of the Canton population, of which the practice of opium-smoking was rather the mark than the cause, set their faces against the traffic in this article, and repudiated all sympathy and participation in it. The various foreign publications, whether they received their inspiration from M. Gutzlaff or not, matters little, differed on most points, but were agreed on this, that the trade in opium was morally indefensible, and that we were bound not only by our own interests, but in virtue of the common obligations of humanity, to cease to hold all connection with it. Those who had surrendered their stores of opium, at the request of Captain Elliot, held that their claim for compensation was valid in the first place against the English Government alone. They had given them up for the service of the country at the request of the Queen's representative, and, considering the line which Captain Elliot had taken, many believed that it would be quite impossible for the English Government to put forward any demand upon the Government of China. The two millions sterling, according to these large-hearted and unreflecting moralists, would have to be sacrificed by the people of England in the cause of humanity, to which they had already given so much, and the revenue of India should for the future be poorer by the amount that used to pay the dividend of the great Company!

The Chinese authorities could not help being encouraged

in their opinions and course of proceeding by the attitude of the English. Their most sweeping denunciations of the iniquity of the opium traffic elicited a murmur of approval from the most influential among the foreigners. No European stood up to say that their allegations as to the evil of using opium were baseless and absurd. What is more, no one then thought it. Had the Chinese made sufficient use of this identity of views, and showed a desire to facilitate trade in the so-called innocent and legitimate articles, there is little doubt that the opium traffic would have been reduced to very small dimensions, because there would have been no rupture. But the action of Commissioner Lin revealed the truth that the Chinese were not to be satisfied with a single triumph. The more easily they obtained their objects in the opium matter, the more anxious did they become to impress the foreigners with a sense of their inferiority, and to force them to accept the most onerous and unjust conditions for the sake of a continuance of the trade. None the less, Captain Elliot went out of his way to tie his own hands, and to bind his Government, so far as he could, to co-operate with the Emperor's officials in the suppression of the opium traffic.*

* That this is no random assertion may be judged from the following official notice issued several months after the surrender of the stores of opium. Captain Elliot announced, "Her Majesty's flag does not fly in the protection of a traffic declared illegal by the Emperor; and, therefore, whenever a vessel is suspected of having opium on board, Captain Elliot will take care that the officers of his establishment shall accompany the Chinese officers in their search, and that if, after strict investigation, opium shall be found, he will offer no objection to the seizure and confiscation of the cargo."—"Chinese Repository," vol. viii. p. 322.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST FOREIGN WAR.

THE inevitable crisis long foreseen, had, therefore, at last arrived, and the English Government, forced to send an armed expedition as the only way of preventing the expulsion of its subjects, could not expect to overawe a proud and powerful empire such as China was, without using the means which it had been reluctantly compelled to invoke for the occasion. The humility of the representatives of the East India Company, and the absence of that naval and military power upon which the Europeans placed implicit reliance, had encouraged the Chinese to proceed to extreme lengths in their attacks upon foreigners, and, although there is not room to doubt the sincerity of the opposition to the opium traffic on fiscal grounds, the main object with Taoukwang and his ministers became to limit the extent of the intercourse with foreigners, if not to put a stop to it altogether. More than one cause contributed to the result, but in 1840 the question had been reduced to the simplest proportions. The Chinese did not wish the foreigners to remain even at Canton, except in the most subservient capacity. Did the English possess the power and the resolution to compel what the stronger race ever calls proper treatment, and, as it was a contest of wits as well as of armaments, would they show themselves sufficiently diplomatic to obtain from the astutest people in Asia some valid guarantee for the security of their persons and property, and for respect towards their Government, when the naval and military forces that obtained these

concessions had been withdrawn? Those were the two questions that had to be decided.

From the outset it was plain that no mere demonstration would suffice. The presence of a few men-of-war carried no sense of terror to the hearts of the mandarins. The arrival of English soldiers, after many months' delay, seemed only to prove, from the smallness of their numbers, that the Chinese had little to fear from an invasion, and that the victory must incline to the countless myriads of the Celestial armies. Nor are these opinions to be wondered at. The Chinese have never admitted the vaunted superiority of the European. At this time they had had no experience of the advantages he possessed from better weapons and an improved system of warfare. The prestige of the Empire was undiminished, and not a Chinese patriot doubted that, as he inherited from his forefathers a position of pre-eminence among the nations, so did the great Emperor wield the power and dispose of the resources necessary to support and maintain this indefeasible birthright of a son of the Middle Kingdom. It is nothing to the point that these assumptions were untenable, and, it may be, absurd. They must be realized as constituting the public opinion of China at the time, if the events of a critical period are to be followed and appreciated. Not even now do the Chinese, with all their increased experience, not free, as it has been, from bitter and painful incidents, see in our persons and civilization the proofs of the superiority that is the first article of our faith. In 1840, without their subsequent knowledge, they believed implicitly in themselves, and reposed unshaken faith in the majesty of the great Emperor.

Yet if the precedent of other Asiatic countries might be applied to China, the English expedition was sufficiently formidable to make Taoukwang tremble on the Dragon Throne. A less formidable force than that Sir Gordon Bremer disposed of had before decided the fate of famous dynasties and effected the conquest of flourishing kingdoms on the plains of India. Fifteen ships-of-war, four steam-vessels, and twenty-five transports with 4000 soldiers on board arrived at the mouth of the river in June 1840, and

with such a force on the spot it seemed scarcely probable that the Chinese would long hold out against the reasonable demands of the English representative.* Such an anticipation was destined to be soon dispelled, as the reply of Commissioner Lin to this display of force was to place a reward, not merely on the persons of English officers and men, but also on their ships.† The establishment of a blockade was a not ineffectual mode of replying to the empty threats of the Emperor's officials, but it was becoming clear that the most energetic action at Canton alone would not avail to obtain a settlement of the question. The difficulty could only be satisfactorily arranged by direct communication with the Pekin Government; and consequently Sir Gordon Bremer proceeded northwards after the arrival of the whole of his troops. For a time the destination of the fleet remained obscure, but it was soon made known that its object was to effect the occupation of the island of Chusan, which had been praised by more than one English captain for the salubrity of its climate and the convenience of its harbours, and on which as far back as the middle of the seventeenth century the East India Company had established stations.

* The Queen's Speech for the year 1840 contains the following passage relating to the Chinese imbroglio:—"Events have happened in China which have occasioned an interruption of the commercial intercourse of my subjects with that country. I have given, and shall continue to give, the most serious attention to a matter so deeply affecting the interests of my subjects and the dignity of my crown." Lord John Russell summed up the whole policy of England, not only on this particular occasion, but generally, towards China in the following words:—"The expedition was authorised for the purpose of obtaining reparation for the insults and injuries offered to Her Majesty's Superintendent and Her Majesty's subjects by the Chinese Government; and in the second place they were to obtain for the merchants trading with China an indemnification for the loss of their property incurred by threats of violence offered by persons under the direction of the Chinese Government; and, in the last place, they were to obtain a certain security that persons and property in future trading with China shall be protected from insult or injury, and that their trade and commerce be maintained upon a proper footing." Macaulay called the war "a most rightful quarrel," and Sir George Staunton thought it was "a just and fitting war."

† One hundred dollars were to be paid for an English prisoner, and twenty for each killed. Twenty thousand dollars for an English man-of-war of eighty guns; others in proportion.—*Canton Register*.

The operations of the English expedition commenced, therefore, in a way calculated to impress the Chinese authorities at Canton with the idea that the foreigners were so far in earnest that they would treat the integrity of China with scant respect. The occupation of Chusan was intended to convey this lesson to the Celestials quite as much as to supply our force with a convenient base. Its prompt execution left no room to doubt that the English possessed the power to execute what was necessary. The capture of Chusan presented no difficulties to well-trained troops and a formidable navy; yet the fidelity of the inhabitants to their charge afforded a touching, and by no means isolated, instance of patriotism and courage. To the summons to surrender, the officials at Tinghai replied that they could not yield, although they admitted resistance to be useless. Their duty to the Emperor, and their military pride, would not allow of their acquiescing in the loss of one of their master's possessions. It was their duty to fight, and the enemy must overcome them by force. The English commander resorted with reluctance to extreme measures against so insignificant, if gallant, a foe; but the obstinacy of the Chinese left him no choice. Tinghai was subjected to a brief but destructive bombardment; the troops were landed, and the island of Chusan passed into the possession, for a time, of the Queen of England.

The first act in the drama was promptly followed by another, not less important in itself, and still more striking in its attendant features. An English subject, Mr. Vincent Stanton, had been carried off from Macao as a prisoner to Canton, and the reiterated demands for his surrender had failed to obtain any satisfactory answer. At the same time the Chinese forces were more than doubled in the permanent camp outside Macao, the junks were collected for the defence of the barrier, and all the able-bodied men of the coast were summoned to wage war by sea and land against the barbarians. There was no alternative save to assume the offensive and to arrest the hostile preparations of the Chinese before they had attained a more advanced stage of strength and efficiency. The first action with the barrier forts was

carried out by two English war-ships and two smaller vessels. The bombardment was for a time heavy, and 400 blue-jackets and sepoys were landed to complete its effect. The objects of the attack were obtained with trifling loss, and the dismantled forts and ruined barracks brought home to the minds of the Chinese that the hour of foreign moderation had passed by, and that it only remained for them to prove themselves the stronger, or to accept, with as much resignation as they could muster, the portion of the weaker. As it was said at the time, "China must either bend or break."

But the main difficulty was still to obtain some means of direct communication with Peking, and to place Lord Palmerston's official letter in the hands of Taoukwang's ministers. The first attempt to effect this object at Amoy had failed, and almost resulted in the massacre of the officer and boat's crew sent under the white flag to establish communications with the local mandarins. Amoy itself was bombarded in retaliation by an English man-of-war, but the incident did not bring our authorities any nearer to the realization of their object. Nor did the occupation of Chusan facilitate the matter, for the authorities at Ningpo stood upon their dignity, and refused to forward to the capital any document from a people in hostile possession of a part of Chinese soil. No other course remaining, the fleet sailed northward for the mouth of the Peiho, where Lord Palmerston's communication was at once delivered to Keshen, one of Taoukwang's principal ministers, and forwarded to Peking.

Taoukwang's indignation was aroused by Keshen's representations, although he could no longer deny the necessity of making some concession in form to the English. The English fleet was supplied with everything it required by his order, and payment was for a time emphatically declined, while the main object of the expedition seemed to be obtained by the nomination of Keshen as High Commissioner to treat with the English for a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulty. But the suppleness of the Tartar official secured an honourable issue from his dilemma, and Captain Elliot, whose work at Canton has been described, proved to be no match for the wily Keshen. Even at Peiho there were delays; yet the

English representative was weak enough to allow himself to be persuaded that the despatch of business would be more expeditious, and attended with greater advantage, if the scene were shifted to Canton. After a short negotiation, it was decided that the fleet would withdraw from the Peiho, and that Keshen should proceed to Canton to conduct the negotiations for some definite arrangement.

Meantime the operations in Chusan, and the blockading of Canton, Amoy, and Ningpo, had spread confusion along the coast, and even disturbed the equanimity of the Imperial ruler. The first contact with the Europeans had exposed the defencelessness of the kingdom. It brought to light also the corrupt state of the public service, whose members had grown rich on the treasure that should have been expended on the administration; and the indignation of the Emperor found expression in several edicts from his own pencil. The first burst of the Imperial wrath fell upon the man who had seemed the most fortunate individual in China, because allowed to be the favoured executioner of the high morality of the Boards and Cabinet of Peking. Lin had been entrusted with a task of extreme difficulty, and he had proceeded towards its effectual performance with zeal and devotion. The most exacting master could not have complained of his being lukewarm or negligent in the carrying out of his commission. Honours had been showered upon him, in the belief that the whole question was settled, that the supplies of "the flowing poison," opium, had ceased, and that the foreigners were possessed with a due sense of their subordination. For a few months Lin was the object of official envy; but the arrival of the English fleet dispelled these expectations, and showed that Lin's action, far from reducing the foreigners to submission, had roused their resentment and opposition. Lin had stirred up a hornet's nest, and Taoukwang's indignation was in proportion with the annoyance he felt at having to deal direct with the foreigners, and to make his own arrangements for the future. Lin was removed from all his posts, and ordered to proceed with "the speed of flames" to Peking, there to meet with his deserts.

But even Lin's disgrace and the arrival of Keshen at

Canton did not produce that satisfactory arrangement which had been too confidently expected. Keshen's first official act was to send the Emperor a memorandum approving, if not of the method, at least of the objects which his predecessor had pursued; and the Peking Cabinet, relieved of its most pressing fears, resumed the arrogant tone which was its habit. The days of delay outside the Taku barriers lengthened into weeks of inaction before the river forts of Canton, and, although Mr. Stanton was released from imprisonment, the question was not much advanced towards settlement at the close of the year 1840. Sir Gordon Bremer had again succeeded to the command, through the enforced departure of Admiral Elliot* on account of ill-health, but, although six months had elapsed since the arrival of the expedition, the results accomplished by it remained invisible. Keshen's tactics were the same at Canton as they had been at Taku. Procrastination in the north had saved the dignity of the Emperor; in the south it would give time for all the levies to be raised, and for the maritime provinces to be placed in a condition of defence. It might be harsh, under all the circumstances, to apply to this policy the term of treacherous; but certainly, in the eyes of those who were to suffer by it, none would be more appropriate. In the alternations of negotiation and violence which constituted English action at the time, Keshen's wilful neglect to carry out the conditions of his appointment made it again evident that the moment had arrived for resorting to that force which had been fitfully but vainly applied before.

The first week of the year 1841 witnessed, therefore, the preparations for the attack on the Bogue forts, which had been strongly and skilfully constructed on the many islands that dot the intricate channels leading to Canton. Those who regarded them with the unprejudiced eyes of scientific knowledge saw that they were formidable obstacles, and that, if defended by brave and capable troops, they could not be forced without heavy loss to the assailant. Fortunately for

* Rear-admiral the Honourable George Elliot, son of 1st Earl of Minto, not to be confounded with the superintendent, Captain Charles Elliot.

the English, the Chinese troops, although always evincing a sort of courage, were quite ignorant of modern warfare, and incapable of directing with any precision even the artillery which they possessed. The 7th of January was the day selected for the attack, and early in the morning the troops were landed on the coast to operate on the flank and rear of the forts at Chuenpee. The advance squadron, under Captain, afterwards Sir Thomas, Herbert, was to engage the same forts in front, while the remainder of the fleet proceeded to attack the stockades on the adjoining island of Taikok. The land force, consisting of some 1400 men and 3 guns, had not proceeded far along the coast before it came across a strongly entrenched camp, in addition to the forts of Chuenpee, having in all several thousand soldiers and many field-pieces in position. The forts were, after a sharp cannonade, carried at a rush, and a formidable Chinese army was driven ignominiously out of its entrenchments, with hardly any loss to the assailants. The forts of Taikok were destroyed by the fire of the ships, and their guns were spiked and garrisons routed by storming parties. A large number of war-junks were also captured or blown up. The Chinese lost at the least 500 killed, including their commander, besides an untold number of wounded. Yet, although the loss of the English was only 38 wounded, it was generally allowed that the Chinese defence was "obstinate and honourable." A considerable proportion of the Chinese were slain in consequence of a treacherous attack on the English troops after they had given every token of surrender.

The consequences of the capture of the outer forts in the Bogue were immediate and important. The Chinese begged for a cessation of hostilities, and Keshen, although his reports to the Emperor were still full of his plans for circumventing and driving off the barbarians, accepted, as the preliminaries of a treaty, terms which conceded them everything they had demanded. A large indemnity, the cession of Hongkong, and direct official intercourse between the two Governments, seemed to cover every point on which the English Crown had either the right or the wish to make a claim. The one stipulation which was carried into immediate effect, was that

relating to Hongkong. While the other provisoes remained the subject of future discussion, and, as it proved, disagreement, the troops were withdrawn from Chusan in order to occupy Hongkong, and Captain Elliot issued a proclamation, dated 29th January, 1841, announcing the fact that this island had henceforth become part of Her Majesty's dominions. The prevalent opinion at the time attached but little value to the acquisition, and most persons believed that Hongkong would never prove a possession of any great importance. Certainly no one was sufficiently far-seeing to realize the material prosperity and political importance that lay before that barren island.

That the concessions made by Keshen at Canton were due solely to his own embarrassments, and not to any intention on the part of the Imperial Government to admit the equal rights of foreign nations, was shown by an edict issued in Taoukwang's name two days before Captain Elliot's notice. In this order from the Vermilion pencil, it was said that no other course was left save "to destroy and wash the foreigners away without remorse;" and with the intention of carrying this bold decision into execution, troops were ordered from the interior, and even from Szchuen, to proceed with all despatch to Canton. Although Hongkong had been annexed to the possessions of the English Crown, the attitude of Taoukwang himself showed that the hope of a durable amicable settlement must still remain remote. The Chinese Emperor denounced the English by name as "staying themselves upon their pride of power and fierce strength," and called upon his officers to proceed with courage and energy, so that "the rebellious foreigners might give up their ring-leaders to be sent engaged to Peking to receive the utmost retribution of the laws." So long as the sovereign was swayed by such opinions as these, it was evident that no arrangement could endure. The Chinese did not admit the principle of equality in their dealings with the English, and this was the main point in contention between them, far more than any difference of opinion as to the evil of opium-smoking. So long as Taoukwang and his ministers held the opinions which they did not hesitate to express, a friendly intercourse

was quite impossible. There remained no practical alternative between withdrawing from the country altogether, leaving the Celestials to their own exclusiveness, and forcing their Government to recognize a common humanity, and an equality in national privileges.

Hostilities were, therefore, suspended only to be resumed. Fresh proclamations were issued offering an increased reward for the heads or persons of Englishmen, and, the period fixed for the ratification having expired, Sir Gordon Bremer felt compelled to resume the offensive, and to re-occupy those places from which he had retired. Keshen, who, with all his faults, saw from the commencement the impossibility of opposing the English forces, and who had had the courage to state his opinion in plain language to the Emperor, no longer possessed the direction of affairs even at Canton, where the Governor Eleang, another of Taoukwang's ministers, and for the time an ardent admirer of Lin, had assumed the chief power. On the 25th of February, therefore, five days after the date when the treaty should have been ratified, Sir Gordon Bremer made his arrangements for attacking on the following day the forts which guarded the inner approaches to Canton. Three howitzers and a small body of troops were landed at a spot which the Chinese had neglected to fortify, and whence the British were able to shell some of the principal batteries and forts on the adjacent islands and mainland. The Chinese position was not only strong, but exceedingly well arranged, the defences being covered with sand-bags, and, had their artillery been well served, they must have offered a protracted if unsuccessful resistance.

As it was, however, neither the advantages of position, nor the tardy advance of our men-of-war on a slack tide, enabled them to defend their forts. The English ships approached to within less than a quarter of a mile of the batteries with impunity, and then delivered their broadsides with terrible effect. In a short time the Chinese showed that they had had enough of this unequal cannonade, by abandoning their positions. This they did with comparatively little loss, as not more than 20 Chinese were killed, but they left the formidable lines of Anunghoy, with 200 pieces of artillery, in the hands of the

victors. Similar encounters, with like results, took place at the other forts on North Wangtong; and Captain Herbert, on the following day, attacked with great gallantry a force of 2000 men in an entrenched camp with 100 guns, and compelled them to flee ignominiously. The Chinese had erected masked batteries, and made other preparations for defence, the whole way up to Whampoa (the port of Canton eleven miles below the city), but none of these offered any strenuous defence. On the 1st of March the whole of the forts had been carried, and the English squadron drew up off Howqua's Folly in Whampoa Reach, at the very gateway of Canton. The day after this signal success the new English commander arrived at Hongkong. Sir Hugh Gough landed there on March 2, 1841.

In consequence of the entreaties of the local officers at Canton an armistice was granted for a few days, but this fact was not sufficient in itself to provide a remedy for the evil. The Emperor and the high ministers were still pronounced in their resolution to resist and exterminate the foreigners, and there was no official at Canton who would dare to take upon himself the responsibility of negotiating for a durable understanding with the English. The fears of the commercial community obtained a brief respite, but, that period having expired, the advance of the English to Canton was resumed. When there was every reason to no longer defer decisive measures, Sir Hugh Gough was certainly not the man to favour delay. The outer defences of Canton having been carried, it only remained to capture and occupy those which guarded the approach from Whampoa to the city. A proclamation was issued to the people of Canton informing them that their town would be spared, while the English expedition resolutely attacked and speedily captured the fort known as the Dutch Folly. Here again the official documents admit the constancy of the Chinese, although they were unable to inflict any serious loss on their opponents. The defences of Canton were carried with as much ease as those of the Bocca Tigris had been, and the navigation of the river from that city to the sea was at last under the complete control of the English.

The first English successes had cost Lin his offices and

reputation ; the later effected the ruin of Keshen. Taoukwang, in his indignation, not merely ordered Keshen to return to Peking forthwith, in order to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, but he sent a Tartar official with the strictest injunctions to drag him into his presence. In his misfortunes his colleagues turned upon him, and he was made responsible for the incompetence or ill-luck of the time. An indictment of eight charges was drawn up against him, and not the least grave of the offences laid to his fault was that he had held interviews and carried on a correspondence with Captain Elliot on terms of equality. Everything went to show that the Celestial Government had not learnt a single lesson from its latest experience, and that it still based its claims on an intolerant and unapproachable superiority. Keshen's trial was held at Peking a few months later, when the court of inquiry decided that his policy was very bad, which signified that it had not been successful. His large property * was sequestered to the Crown, and he was himself sentenced to decapitation. It may be interesting to state that by an act of special favour this sentence was commuted, some months later, to one of banishment to Tibet, where he was appointed the Emperor's Resident at Lhasa.† His career was not yet run, if the result showed that he could not escape his allotted end.

But the settlement of the question of the hour was passing

* The list of his treasures recalls his predecessor Hokwan, and shows that if he did not abuse he certainly did not neglect his opportunities. The inventory of his possessions reads as follows :—" Gold, 270,000 taels weight ; sycee silver, 3,400,000 taels weight ; foreign money, 2,000,000 taels weight ; land cultivated, 39 *king* (a *king* equals about 30 acres) ; 4 pawnshops in the province of Pechihli ; 2 pawnshops at Moukden ; 84 banking-shops ; large pearls, 94 ; strings of pearls, 14 ; pearl lamps, 8 ; arrow thumb-rings, made of the feathers of the *fei tsuy* bird, 34 ; deer horns, catties, 25 ; lengths of silk, 420 ; broad cloth and English camlet, 30 pieces ; striking clocks, 18 in number ; gold watches, 10 ; fur garments, 24 ; images of horses, made of precious stones, 2 ; images of lions, made of precious stones, 2 ; crystal wash-hand basins, 28 ; tortoise-shell bedstead, 1 ; chariots, 4 ; female slaves 168."

† In this capacity he amassed considerable wealth, and succeeded in making such powerful friends at Court that he was subsequently appointed Governor-General of Szchuen.

out of the hands of Taoukwang, and the indignant astonishment of the Emperor at the uselessness of his threats and commands contributed as little towards victory as the disgrace and punishment of his lieutenants. The foreign factories were re-occupied on the 18th of March, two years, it was observed at the time, after Commissioner Lin's first edict demanding the surrender of the opium; and several merchant vessels proceeded up the river as far as Whampoa. While the central Government maintained its attitude of hostility the resumption of commercial intercourse had, therefore, been partially attained by force in the one place of trade open to foreigners. Even Eleang signified his acquiescence in what he was unable to prevent, and both the native and the English merchants renewed with ardour those commercial relations which had been so long and reluctantly suspended. Captain Elliot returned to Canton, and received visits of ceremony from some of the authorities of the town. Unfortunately, the State policy had not changed in the least. The arrival of three new Commissioners, and of a Governor, expressly appointed for the purpose of informing the Emperor of the exact state of affairs, was the first indication that the feeling of China had undergone no change. Their careful avoidance of all contact with our officers made the suspicion more or less a certainty.

If the month of April, 1841, gave much promise of things settling down on a satisfactory basis, the following month as rapidly dispelled the expectation. The merchants of Canton were willing enough to trade, and the inhabitants of a city which felt itself to be under the command of the guns of the English fleet, were naturally reluctant to do anything to provoke an enemy whose power they could no longer deny. But if what may be termed the local opinion was averse to sanctioning the desperate chance of a fresh encounter, the views of the capital and the central authorities were formed in a happy sense of security. Taoukwang did not so much as know that the English had practically gained their points when he despatched his Commissioners to drive them out, and to succeed where Lin and Keshen had failed. And they, not so much with the fear of death as the certainty

of disgrace before them, were fully resolved that, whether they succeeded in getting rid of the English or not, they would do nothing to recognize the position they had acquired, or to admit that there was a possibility of its enduring. The confidence of the Commissioners was increased by the fact that there were still large bodies of troops, nearly 50,000 men, in the neighbourhood of Canton, and that reinforcements had been summoned from the extremities of the Empire. Such being the position of the case, it was very evident that the apparent settlement rested on an insecure foundation, and that the tranquillity was only the lull that precedes the storm.

The Emperor's resolution to hold no relations with the foreigners found expression in acts as well as words. He summoned to his private cabinet the most narrow-minded Manchu ministers of his court, believing that their counsels would be inspired by the same fears and prejudices as played so strong a part in moulding his own policy. At the same time he ordered strenuous efforts to be made for the effectual defence of Chusan and Ningpo, should the English attempt to take them a second time. At the very moment that trade was being renewed with spirit, and under circumstances that seemed to promise for it a satisfactory continuance, the Emperor decreed that the leaders of the barbarians should be captured and sent in cages to Peking, in order to suffer the extreme penalty that could be inflicted upon them. The strong and the brave were especially invited to take up arms, and their patriotism was encouraged by the promise of reward. Commissioner Lin was restored to some portion of his former favour, and sent to Chekiang to levy forces, and to provide for the defences of the coast. The greater quickness of the foreigners, it was said, had given them a momentary advantage, which would speedily vanish when the forces of the Empire had been rallied. The war-spirit * was excited on all sides, and the hope of a better

* It was said of Taoukwang at this time he threatened to punish with death any one who suggested making peace with the barbarians. The order of the day was to exterminate them as rebels. The contrast between this implacable hostility and the pacific desires of Queen Victoria was

issue from the conflict emboldened the official and governing classes to appeal to national instincts that had long been dormant, because consistently discouraged.

While the foreign merchants were actively engaged in their commercial operations, and the English plenipotentiaries in conducting abortive negotiations with a functionary who, far from representing the views of his Government, was only put forward to amuse the barbarians, and to keep them occupied, the Chinese authorities were busily engaged raising and drilling troops, casting new guns at Fatshan to replace those lost in the Bogue forts, and at the same time in lulling the foreigners into a false sense of security, so that when all was ready they might be taken at a disadvantage. The plot was kept secret for a few weeks ; but such extensive preparations could not be wholly concealed, even in a city of the size of Canton. On the 11th of May, Captain Elliot paid the Prefect of Canton a visit of ceremony, and, the better to show the friendliness of his intentions, he was accompanied by his wife. The hollowness of the Chinese professions for a friendly agreement was at once exposed in the military preparations visible on all sides, and in the discourteous demeanour of the mandarins. Captain Elliot was so astonished and alarmed at the change that had taken place, that he hastened back with all speed to Hongkong* to concert with Sir Hugh Gough as to the best measures to be adopted in the face of a new danger.

The prefect, Yu, was instructed to make one further attempt to allay the rising apprehension of the foreigners ; and, while his militant colleagues were punishing in a summary manner those who ventured to declare that the

striking, and requires noting. In the speech from the throne for the Session of 1841 it was said, "My plenipotentiaries were by the last accounts in negotiation with the Government of China, and it will be a source of much gratification to me if that Government shall be induced by its own sense of justice to bring these matters to a speedy settlement by an amicable arrangement."

* Hongkong was already growing apace. Sixteen thousand Chinese had taken up their residence there. On the 7th of June, 1841, it was declared a free port, and about the same time the first sale of land was held. An acting governor was also appointed in the same month.

maintenance of peace was in every way desirable, he issued an edict calling upon all nations, and the Chinese also, to remain quietly at home, to pursue their usual avocations, and to fear nothing. The most expressive commentary as to the soundness of his views and the accuracy of his information was supplied by the effect of this proclamation. The respectable Chinese quitted the city in thousands, and Captain Elliot felt compelled, the day after Yu's edict reached him, to publish a notice recommending all foreigners to leave Canton before sunset on the same day, 21st May, 1841.

The necessity for this precaution was promptly demonstrated, as well as the accuracy of Captain Elliot's information. That very night the Chinese made a desperate attempt to carry out the plot they had so patiently laid. The batteries which they had erected at various points in the city and along the river banks began to bombard the factories and the ships, at the same time that many fire-rafts were sent against the latter in the hope of creating a conflagration, and of thereby effecting their destruction. These designs were fortunately baffled, and the first attempt of the Chinese was repulsed with loss to themselves, and without injury to either the English or their vessels. The combat was resumed on the following day, the English this time taking the offensive for the purpose of silencing the land batteries. They accomplished their purpose, destroyed the fortifications erected on Shameen, now the site of the foreign concession, and burnt a fleet of nearly forty war-vessels. It was only a poor equivalent, and a sorry sop for even Chinese military ardour to feed upon, that when the day closed the Emperor's Commissioners could only count as a set-off to this loss of life, ships, and guns, that the Cantonese mob had sacked and gutted the foreign factories. Nor had the similar attempts made lower down the river any better fortune. They were all baffled without loss to the English, save in one instance, when a raft blew up and injured a boat's crew, of whom four ultimately died. All the Chinese Emperor had gained by his continued and arrogant defiance was to bring home to the English a sense of the depths of his

animosity, as well as of the treachery to which he would not hesitate to have recourse in order to free his land from their presence.

These events made it clearer than ever that the views of the contending parties were quite incompatible with each other. The Chinese wished to be rid of the outer barbarians at any price; the foreigners, and among them the English prominently, were as resolved to remain in the country, and, still more than that, not on the old conditions of subordination, but on terms of absolute equality. The sword alone could decide such antagonism, and the hostilities which had been carried on spasmodically during more than twelve months were now resumed with fresh vigour and bitterness, and assumed the dimensions of open war.

The main body of the English force was summoned from Hongkong, and Sir Hugh Gough made the final dispositions for an attack on Canton. The preliminary arrangements were completed on the 24th of May to the sound of the volleys which celebrated the Queen's birthday, and which informed the people of Canton of the near approach of the English. On the following morning the attack commenced with the advance of the fleet up the Macao passage, and the landing of bodies of troops at different points which appeared well suited for turning the enemy's position and attacking the gates of Canton. The landing of the military portion of the expedition presented exceptional difficulties, and could not have been accomplished without very heavy loss had the Chinese only shown ordinary activity. More than 2500 fighting men were, however, conveyed, on the evening of the 24th, to the shore, without the loss of a single man either by the enemy or from accident; and during the next night the artillery, the remainder of the troops, and the necessary stores and ammunition were landed in perfect safety, and without encountering the least opposition. Although this very considerable force was placed in a position not more than two miles distant from Canton, the Chinese did not seem to be aware of its presence, or, if they were, they thought it most prudent to affect ignorance. Yet no thought of surrender had entered the minds of Yihshan,

or of any other of the great officials sent to Canton to uphold the Emperor's dignity.

The Chinese commanders had selected a position along the hills which lie north of the city, and this they had fortified with no mean skill, and had connected their lines with several forts. Their position resembled a series of fortified camps, and in these were gathered many thousands of the picked soldiers of the southern provinces. Little fault could be found with the judgment they had shown in the selection of their position, and, although the result of every previous encounter had been unfortunate, there is no doubt that both the Chinese leaders and their men were sanguine that the fortune of war was about to declare itself in their favour. Their anticipations were not without some reason, as their more strenuous resistance sufficiently testified.

The English force* was divided into two columns, which advanced in parallel lines upon the Chinese entrenchments. The advance was slow, for the difficulties of marching through the paddy-fields, which were rendered harder of passage from being frequently occupied as burial-grounds, effectually restrained the ardour of the men; and here again the military incapacity of the Chinese was made very apparent by their allowing the English force to cross this tract without opposition. When they did attempt to hinder their advance, it was only by firing from their forts at too great a distance to do any harm. As soon as the troops had made their way through the rice-fields, the artillery began to play with effect on the Chinese positions. After an hour's bombardment the Chinese made a movement which may have been misunderstood by the spectators, but which certainly appeared to signify an inclination to take to flight; but if such was their intention, it was promptly abandoned on the advance of the

* The force comprised two line regiments, the 18th, 26th, two native regiments, 37th and 49th Madras Infantry, a large number of Royal Marines, 460 blue-jackets, a detachment of Bengal Volunteers, artillery, engineers, etc. etc. The guns included 4 howitzers, 5 mortars, 52 rockets, and 4 9-pounders and 3 6-pounders. Lieut.-Colonel Morris commanded one column, Major-General Burrell the other—the whole of the arrangements being under the immediate supervision of Sir Hugh Gough in person.

English troops to attack their positions. It will never be known whether they feared the artillery more than the foreigners personally; but certainly when the English advanced to storm their forts, they stood to their guns with no small degree of fortitude.

The task of carrying this line of entrenchments and the detached forts was by no means easy or without danger, especially as the walls of the city, which at one place were not more than 100 yards distant, were lined with gingall* men who kept up a sustained fire upon the English troops both while marching to, and while engaged in the attack. The four principal forts, which had nearly fifty pieces of artillery in position, were attacked simultaneously. Three of these forts were hurriedly evacuated by the Chinese; but in the fourth the garrison refused to retire, and, continuing an ill-directed resistance, were cut down to a man by the sailors to whom the capture of this fort had been entrusted. It was in this particular assault that the English suffered most severely, principally from the cross-fire kept up from the walls, but also in the hand-to-hand fighting that took place in the interior. The capture of the forts closed the first part of the battle, but more remained to be accomplished before the operations of the day could be considered at an end. The Chinese forces had retired to and rallied upon an entrenched camp situated about a mile from the scene of this contest, and acquiring fresh courage from their numbers they seemed disposed to make a resolute defence, and bade loud and prolonged defiance to the barbarians of the West. Their new-found confidence failed to supply the deficiencies of discipline and arms; and a vigorous attack by one English regiment—the Royal Irish, who have distinguished themselves on more memorable fields, although never more conspicuously—led to their speedy discomfiture and the capture of their camp. With this incident, the battle † of the 25th of

* The gingall is a long heavy gun, something like a duck gun. It is fixed on a tripod, and carries a 2-lb. ball about 1000 yards.

† The English loss amounted to seventy killed and wounded; that of the Chinese was never ascertained. Sir Hugh Gough had “a narrow escape, having been at one time completely covered with dust from a

May closed, and the English army bivouacked in its position as comfortably as the galling fire maintained from the city ramparts during the night would permit.

The following day, which was to have witnessed the storming and destruction of Canton, beheld instead the warring of the elements; and the deluge of rain, by delaying the arrival of the needed ammunition and ladders, saved in probability the city from the horrors of being carried by storm. In place, therefore, of any further operations against Canton, the 26th of May was marked by inaction within the lines of the English force, and by the precipitate withdrawal of all those among the Chinese who possessed the means of retiring to a place of safety. The suspension of military operations was utilized for another purpose—that of negotiating a pacific arrangement. The main object with the Chinese had become to save the city; and in order to effect that they were quite prepared to make every concession, if they only attached to their pledges a temporary significance. These negotiations only served to while away the wet day on the land-side, where Sir Hugh Gough saw the city at his complete mercy, and was very loth to provide Chinese tergiversation with fresh opportunities. On the 27th of May every preparation had been made for delivering the assault, but at the very moment of the signal for the attack a special messenger arrived from Captain Elliot to announce that he had come to terms with the Chinese, and that all hostilities were to be immediately suspended.

The Chinese authorities, and particularly those responsible to the people of Canton for their homes and property, entered into negotiations with Captain Elliot in person, and, in striking contrast with their usual dilatoriness, complied within a few hours with all the terms demanded of them. These terms were that the Imperial Commissioners and all the troops should leave the city within six days, and withdraw to a distance of not less than sixty miles, and that six millions of dollars should be paid over "for the use of the English Crown." The promptitude with which these conditions were

shot that struck the ground close by his side."—'Chinese Repository,' vol. x. p. 393.

acceded to and complied with brought into stronger relief the delay and deception previously practised by the Celestials; but it remained far from certain that they were moved to this decision by any more sincere desire for peace than their temporary difficulties imposed upon them as a matter of imperative necessity. To the military authorities * the conditions appeared totally inadequate, and a fresh proof of the precipitancy of Captain Elliot.

If there was ever any doubt as to the action of the Chinese being directed by opposite counsels, it was removed by the extraordinary contradiction that was revealed in their subsequent action on this very occasion. Five million dollars, more than one million sterling, had been actually paid over to Captain Elliot; and, so far as the attitude of the Canton population went, nothing could appear more remote than the idea of their resuming a hopeless struggle. Yet even at this eleventh hour Yihshan, and his fellow-Commissioners, had not abandoned all hope of reversing the decision of war; and impelled by alarm at the penalties that their failure entailed, or possibly encouraged to believe in the chances of success by the English confidence in their security, they made a sudden attempt to surprise Sir Hugh Gough's camp, and to retrieve many disasters at a single blow. The plan was not without some hope of success, although it demanded very prompt execution, and no hesitation in coming to close quarters. And the latter was precisely the point which the Chinese never seemed to understand. They could remain to be shot down without revealing the least symptoms of fear, or they could die with a certain phlegmatic desperation when driven into a corner. They could even, and this was more conspicuous among the Manchus than the native Chinese, turn their weapons against their own persons to escape the military dishonour of acknowledging their discomfiture. But when it came to making an assault, the whole success of which depended on its being delivered with vigour and rapidity,

* Sir Le Fleming Senhouse, who had greatly distinguished himself throughout the whole of the operations, and who died a few weeks later at Hongkong on the 13th of July, declared his objections in emphatic language: "I protest against the terms of the treaty *in toto*."

their ignorance and hesitation became plainly visible. So it was on this occasion. A large body of troops and armed men, between ten and fifteen thousand strong, suddenly appeared on the hills about two miles distant from the English camp; but instead of seizing the opportunity created by the surprise at their sudden appearance, and at the breach of the armistice, they contented themselves with waving their banners and uttering vain threats of hatred and defiance. As an expression of national scorn and antipathy this demonstration was not without character; as a mode of delivering the land from a foreign invader it can only be described as ineffectual.

The probability seems to be that the great majority of these men were armed villagers who had been incited to take up arms by the warlike proclamations of Taoukwang, and by the lavish rewards promised to approved valour. There must also have been a strong leaven of "braves" from the garrisons of the southern provinces, for they stood well under fire, and only dreaded coming into close contact with the foreigners. The English pursued them for three miles, without, however, succeeding in bringing them to a regular engagement, and further pursuit was rendered impossible by the outbreak of another tremendous storm which flooded the country and rendered the muskets of the English soldiers useless.

That the Chinese could not have suffered very heavily was clearly shown by the vigour with which they in turn harassed the line of retirement. In a novel form of combat they succeeded in pulling over several English and native Indian soldiers by means of a crook fastened to the end of a long bamboo stick, when they despatched them with their swords. Such success as they obtained was due to the fury of the storm, not to their own valour; but they very nearly obtained a more striking advantage than the cutting off of a few stragglers. A company of native infantry lost its way, and became detached from the main body. Its absence was not discovered until the force had regained its original position, and then the men were so saturated and exhausted that it was out of the question for them to attempt to discover and bring in the missing company. Fortunately, there

remained the marines in reserve, and these were at once sent out to find traces of the missing sepoy. The marines had been lately armed with the new percussion gun, which rendered them to some extent independent of the weather. After some search they were attracted by the sound of firing to a spot where they found the sepoy^s * drawn up in square, and surrounded by a large number of Chinese, who at once broke and fled on the approach of the relieving force. This terminated the contests of an eventful day. On the resumption of somewhat similar demonstrations on the following morning, Sir Hugh Gough, instead of exhausting his men in a vain pursuit, sent a notification to the city authorities that, unless these hostile attempts were discontinued, he would reply to them by bombarding Canton. It is almost unnecessary to add that this threat proved sufficient; but when the stipulated ransom had been received the English forces were withdrawn, leaving Canton for a second time, as it was said, "a record of British magnanimity and forbearance."

Once more, therefore, a certain degree of tranquillity was attained in the south, and the people and merchants of Canton, relieved by the departure of Taoukwang's Commissioners from expressing a patriotism which they did not feel, turned from martial pursuits to the practice of commercial affairs, for which they were better suited. The foreign merchants were nothing loth to follow their example, although their well-founded doubts as to the sincerity of the Chinese protestations of good-will, and the remembrance of many unatoned-for outrages on the persons of their friends and

* The steadiness of this company of native infantry (37th Madras), deserves special record. Lieutenant Hadfield and Mr. Berkeley were the English officers. Out of sixty men one was killed, fourteen were severely wounded, and Mr. Berkeley received a bullet in the arm. During the retirement it had to form square three times, but, although their guns were useless, they never wavered in face of several thousands of assailants. "Many of the sepoy, after extracting the wet cartridge, very deliberately tore their pocket-handkerchiefs or lining from their turbans (the only dry thing about them), and bailing water with their hands into the barrel of their pieces, washed and dried them;" they were thus able to fire a few volleys. The conduct of this company reflected the highest credit on the sepoy army, and deserves to be remembered with the earlier and more memorable achievements of the soldiers of Madras.

countrymen, impressed the necessity of caution upon them, if the conviction of superiority left room no longer for any sense of insecurity. We may turn from the review of the local position to briefly consider the report of Taoukwang's Commissioners to their sovereign. They had been charged, in the most emphatic manner, to free the Empire from the presence of "the rebel barbarians," and their instructions left them no choice save to succeed in their mission, whether by force or by fraud mattered nothing to Taoukwang's conscience. The failure of their predecessors increased the incentive and the necessity for their faring better in the great enterprise entrusted to them ; and, to do them justice, neither Yihshan nor any of his "rebel-quelling" colleagues, as they were termed, doubted for an instant their ability to bring the matter to a successful issue and to dispose of any number of the inferior races of the West. And now they had to tell a tale of failure and discomfiture. Within the space of a few short weeks their hopes of success were dashed to the ground, and they could not deny that all their measures had been in vain, and that they were no better than Lin and Keshen—only weak creatures for an arrogant potentate to lean upon in an hour of blindness and adversity.

For a Chinese officer to fail in any mission entrusted to him is a capital offence. In the case of Yihshan the offence was the greater because the peril was the more grave, and because his very nearness to the throne rendered success more of a personal obligation. Yet his memorial to the Emperor, describing the course of events and the position of affairs, was an unqualified confession of failure, and, although it naturally sought to place in the most favourable light everything Yihshan had done, there remained the undoubted facts that he had failed in his commission, and that he had come to terms with the English authorities. The one distinct misrepresentation of fact contained in this document was so characteristic of Chinese diplomacy, which aimed at preserving the dignity of the Empire much more than at promoting the material interests of the Chinese people, as to call for notice. The six million dollars paid in compensation for the losses inflicted on English merchants by Commissioner Lin's

destruction of the opium were represented as the private debts of the Hong merchants, and the contribution from the Imperial exchequer was stated to be a loan to these native traders, granted at their urgent petition, and on the promise of speedy repayment from "the consoo fund." Yihshan did not, of course, deny the greatness of his blundering, and prayed in the stereotyped form to be sent before the Board of Punishments for trial. The one fact that was revealed by the tone of this document was that with the barbarians there should be no permanent arrangement of amity, while Europeans could only see in it further proof of the untamed arrogance of the Chinese. The Canton convention was essentially a truce, not a treaty.

The operations before Canton had terminated about six weeks, and the trade had been resumed for half that period, when the arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger,* as sole Plenipotentiary to the Court of Peking, and of Sir William Parker to assume the command of the fleet, brought new characters on the scene, and signified that the English Government was resolved to accept no prevarication on the part of the Chinese, and also to bring the question of their relations to a speedy and satisfactory issue. Yet when the new representatives of English policy and power came, they found what purported to be a friendly relationship in existence, and, so far as it was possible to identify the situation at Canton with the Emperor's policy, that most of the objects of their mission had been attained before their arrival. There were not wanting many reasons to justify a certain scepticism as to the durability of the arrangement, but still for the time being there was peace at the spot of most immediate importance to the foreign trade.

Sir Henry Pottinger's principal object was to conclude a treaty with the Imperial Government. A commercial agreement for the conduct of trade at Canton could not be

* Sir Henry Pottinger was an Anglo-Indian officer of long experience and distinguished service. He had travelled through Beloochistan with Christie, and he had been Political Resident with the Ameers of Scinde. He was afterwards Governor of Madras, and died in 1856. His younger brother was Eldred Pottinger, the heroic defender of Herat.



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SIR HENRY POTTINGER, BART., G.C.B.

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considered an equivalent for the trouble and expense of fitting out and despatching large expeditions to the Far East. Moreover, there was no guarantee for its durability. Taoukwang had not taken the least step towards meeting foreign Governments on a common footing, and it was an open secret that he would repudiate all sympathy with, and responsibility for, Yihshan's personal engagement. The English plenipotentiary resolved, therefore, to follow up the recent successes without delay, and by moving the scene of action one stage nearer the capital he hoped to effect his object, and to bring home to the Celestial Government the necessity of conceding the just demands of the English Crown and people. Before the end of August, therefore, the English expedition sailed from Hongkong, and on the 26th of that month Amoy, which had for a time been a port open to foreign trade, fell into the hands of the invaders. The defence made by the Chinese was described as "short but animated," and with only trifling loss to the assailants a strong position, with 500 cannon mounted in its batteries, and defending vast supplies of munitions of war, was lost to the Emperor of China.

The Chinese authorities had neglected no means in their power of making Amoy capable of standing a siege; and in their hearts they trusted for a time to a belief in its impregnability. The town of Amoy is situated on an island, the largest of a group lying at the entrance to the estuary of Lungkiang, and it has long been famous not only as a convenient port, but also as a place of opulence. Nearly 200,000 persons dwelt in the city at this time, and about half as many more inhabited the prosperous villages that covered the island. On the eastern side of the harbour is the large but flat island of Quemoy, with abundant rice-fields and a toiling population; and on the western is the elevated but barren islet of Kulangsu. On the chief island, and facing the sea, the Chinese had raised a rampart of 1100 yards in length, and this they had armed with ninety guns of different sizes. The flank of this fortification was defended by another battery of forty-two guns, while on the island of Kulangsu were many other guns in position which may be designated by

the convenient term of batteries. No lack of energy or caution could be laid to the charge of the Chinese authorities. The town of Amoy was one of the principal places in the province of Fuhkien. Those entrusted with its custody were prepared to perform their duty.

When the English fleet appeared off the entrance of the harbour, the Chinese sent a merchant ship with a flag of truce—the use of which, when convenient to themselves, they had thoroughly learnt—to inquire what they wanted. The reply was the surrender of the town. It would be difficult to justify the necessity of this proceeding, for the people of Amoy had inflicted no injury upon our persons or our trade, and their chastisement might not bring our envoys any nearer to Peking; nor can the action be approved of on the theory that to have passed on without touching Amoy would have been to have left a strong hostile position in the rear of our expedition. Amoy was strong only for itself. It threatened nothing; its capture had no important consequences, and to have left it unharmed would not have interfered with the grand result.

The summons to surrender meeting very naturally with no response, the English fleet approached the batteries for the purpose of engaging them. The first shot was fired from an English vessel, and the batteries replied briskly from all sides. The Chinese stood to their guns "right manfully," to use the phrase of an English tar who was present in the action, and were only induced to abandon their position when a landing party, having gained the rear, opened a destructive fire upon them. Then, after a faint resistance in hand-to-hand encounter, the Chinese were worsted, and sought safety in flight. Some of the officers, preferring death to military dishonour, committed suicide, and one of them was seen to walk calmly into the water and drown himself sooner than yield to the hated foreigner. The defence of Amoy was creditable to the Chinese; and had the direction of the defence been as skilful as the construction of the lines, it is not improbable that Sir William Parker's attack on Amoy would have failed.*

* The fortifications and sand batteries were excellently built. "The

After a few days Amoy itself was evacuated, without any definite arrangement being made with the Fuhkien authorities, who had disappeared and did not present themselves to the victor. Three war-vessels were left at the anchorage, however, and a small garrison of 400 men was stationed on the island of Kulangsu ; but the main force of the expedition sailed northwards to bring the occupant of the Dragon Throne to his knees, or to what is called reason by the stronger power. The fleet was dispersed during a severe hurricane, after passing through the Formosa channel, and only reassembled off Ningpo after a week's delay and waste of time. But Ningpo was not the first object of attack, and the fleet, leaving that place behind, proceeded to again seize and occupy the island of Chusan, which, despite many proofs of insalubrity and the undoubted heavy loss which English soldiers had experienced from a fluctuating or inclement atmosphere, presented such inducements from its position that the English commanders held it to be necessary in the first place to make sure of its possession.

The chief town of this island is known as Tinghai, and great preparations had been made there to avert the fate which had befallen it in the previous year. Here, again, the defences were admirably constructed, the artillery far from inefficient, and many of the soldiers animated by a fierce spirit of hostility and by a laudable anxiety to do their duty. Moreover, in the artillery-duel that ensued the Chinese artillerymen held their own, for neither side succeeded in inflicting any serious damage on the other. But when the English batteries were never completely silenced by the ships' guns, and it is believed they never would have been." The stolid courage of the Chinese against Europeans and superior arms first attracted attention during this period, and it was prophesied about this time, "Let the Chinese be trained and well found with European implements and munitions of war, and depend on it they will prove themselves no contemptible foe"—a prophecy to be realized, perhaps, in a future generation. Another spectator describing the scene wrote as follows :—"An officer of low rank was the bearer of a paper demanding to know what our ships wanted, and directing us 'to make sail for the outer waters ere the Celestial wrath should be kindled against us and the guns from the batteries annihilate us!' The batteries were admirably constructed, and manned by Europeans no force could have stood before them."—"Chinese Repository," vol. x. p. 621.

troops landed and advanced to carry the batteries by storm, the superiority of Western discipline was asserted; and although the Chinese fought valiantly, and did not retreat until the line of bayonets was at spear's length, the batteries fell in rapid succession. Yet, to those who were not prejudiced against the Chinese as mere Asiatics, their valour on this and many other occasions had something in it noble and worthy of respect in the highest degree.*

Chusan having been thus speedily reoccupied, for the fall of Tinghai † signified the capture of the island, as no subsequent attempt was made at resistance, a garrison of 400 men was placed in charge of the island, similar to that left in occupation of the island of Kulangsu off Amoy. From Tinghai the main force still under the joint command of Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker, with the plenipotentiary Sir Henry Pottinger accompanying it, sailed for Chinhai, a seaport of some importance on the coast of Chekiang. With the futility of bombardments impressed upon them by their late experience at Amoy and Tinghai, the arrangements to attack this town were made almost independent of an useless cannonade. A force of rather more than 2000 men was landed, and Sir Hugh Gough made his dispositions for an immediate attack. Dividing his small army into three columns, of which he assumed the command of the centre in person, he moved his two flank columns towards the sides of the enemy's position. Thanks to some inequalities in the ground their approach was not observed, and when the

* "Many of the Chinese," wrote an officer in the attack, "seeing our men advance into the battery, quickly turned, and a very smart affair followed. They assembled in great numbers close to some brass guns, and there fought like Turks; in their haste, however, they fired too high to do much injury, and some of the advance saved their lives by making good use of their pistols. At this place General Keo, the chief naval and military commander, was killed, and all his officers sticking to him to the last also fell with him. Their conduct, in fact, was noble: nothing could have surpassed it."—"Chinese Repository," vol. x. p. 624.

† In Sir Henry Pottinger's proclamation to the people it was said that "years may probably elapse before the said city will be restored to the Emperor's authority," as it was to be held until the demands of the English Government "were not only acceded to, but carried into full effect."

Chinese saw only the few men that composed the centre body advancing to the attack they boldly left their lines, and, drawing up in battle array, hastened to engage the foreigners whom in their imagination they had already exterminated. The opposing lines had come within short musket-distance before the presence of the two flanking columns was revealed, and the rapidity of their fire left the Chinese not even the time for flight. Astonished by the sudden revelation of so many foes, those of the Chinese soldiers who escaped the murderous fire to which they were exposed, broke into panic-stricken flight; but many of the braver preferred, even in the midst of this disorder, an honourable death to a cowardly safety. Some fell by their own act. Hundreds perished at the point of the bayonet, hundreds more were drowned in the swift-flowing stream of the Tatsieh. Chinhai shared the fate of Tinghai, and its occupation left the English commanders free to devote their attention to the capture of Ningpo.

Apparently the Chinese had trusted so implicitly to the defences of Chinhai that they thought it was unnecessary to make any further preparations at Ningpo. When Sir Hugh Gough reached this important city, he found no one to resist him, and the townsfolk in their anxiety to allay the wrath of the victors had gone so far as to shut themselves up in their houses, and to mark their doors with the phrase "submissive people." The occupation of Ningpo, although effected without any military operation of consequence, was of the greatest importance, for it completed the effect produced by the successes at Amoy, Tinghai, and Chinhai; and showed a large number of the coast population of China that the foreigners possessed the military superiority, and were resolved to assert it without the least compunction. Ningpo was garrisoned, and a public notice was issued by Sir Henry Pottinger, informing the mandarins and other authorities that he held Ningpo to ransom, and that unless the amount were forthcoming within a stated time he would hand over the town to pillage and destruction. This threat, which struck even those on the spot as unduly harsh, was probably never meant to be put into execution, and was only employed with

a view of showing that the English were in earnest and were no longer to be put off with specious promises. The growing importance of the question was shown on the one hand by the steady arrival of reinforcements for the English army and navy, and on the other by the advent of a French commercial mission under Colonel de Jancigny who reached Macao in the last month of the year 1841.

But neither the swift recurring visitation of disaster, nor the waning resources of the Imperial Government both in men and treasure, could shake the fixed hostility of Taoukwang,* or induce him to abate the proud pretensions which imperatively demanded that he should triumph in some decisive fashion over the arrogant and hitherto too successful Europeans. Minister passed after minister into disgrace and exile.† Misfortune shared the same lot as incompetence, and the more the embarrassments of the State increased the heavier fell the hand of the ruler and the verdict of the Board of Punishments upon beaten generals and unsuccessful ministers. Preparations for defending the approach to the capital were made at Tientsin and along the Peiho; and in every other part of the Empire measures were taken to resume at the earliest possible date a vigorous offensive against the invaders. Long before the necessary levies had been made, the Imperial will which decreed the prolongation

* At this point in the struggle an interesting event occurred which merits attention. In 1839 the Dalai Lama of Tibet wrote to Lord Auckland (see Gleig's "Life") offering "to invade and conquer China" on the receipt of a sum of money and some horse artillery. This correspondence, of which nothing came, was in the possession of the East India Company; but, in reply to inquiries we have made as to its present existence, all we can ascertain is that it is not now in the Indian Office. Almost at the same moment the Goorkhas had come to a precisely opposite decision. Meng Pao, the Chinese Resident at Lhasa, wrote that an envoy came to him from Nepal, offering aid against the Li-ti, who had often molested the Goorkhas, and who were then at war with China. The Amban did not know that the English were the Li-ti, and proudly replied that "China should not trouble herself with the quarrels of such petty states."—See M. Imbault Huart's translation of "A Chinese Account of their Conquest of Nepal," 1879.

† Lin was appointed Commissioner of the Yellow River in consequence of great floods—an elevation. Elepoo, once one of the foremost ministers, was banished to Ili.

of the struggle was reflected in the acts of some of the more fanatical or desperate among his subjects, who lost no opportunity of attacking solitary individuals or weather-bound vessels. Outrages upon the Canton river again became frequent ; and more than one ship's crew, after having experienced the treachery of the China seas, felt that also of the Chinese people.

There ensued a lull also on the English side, partly because the trade went on smoothly enough at Canton, and because it was thought that the continued occupation of Amoy, Chusan, and Ningpo must eventually bring the Celestial Court to reason, but also and principally because the disaster in Afghanistan, which lent so sombre a colour to British history during the winter of 1841-2, monopolized the attention of the Indian executive and prevented the vigorous prosecution of the Chinese question until the Cabul catastrophe had been retrieved and avenged. Therefore the early months of the year 1842 proved uneventful, although a foreign army was in possession of several of the strongest and most important places along the coast south of the great river Yangtsekiang. This inaction greatly encouraged Taoukwang to adhere to his warlike resolutions, and invested with an appearance of increased credibility the official reports from the Chinese commanders, who alleged that, although defeated, they had inflicted heavy losses on the foreigners.

The month of February 1842 brought many rumours to the English head-quarters at Ningpo of the contemplated resumption of hostilities on the part of the Chinese, and small detachments sent out from that city to various places from ten to thirty miles distant never failed to come into contact with parties of braves. Nothing serious occurred until the following month, when the Chinese, having suddenly collected a number of men, made a vigorous attack upon Ningpo itself. It is not unlikely that the delay was caused by some disturbances which broke out in the province of Hupeh, probably in connection with the raising of recruits and revenue for the purposes of the war. The reconnoitring of the country beyond Ningpo had shown, indeed, that there were still armed parties of Chinese in the province, but it also seemed

to prove that the rumours current as to their numbers and military efficiency were exaggerated. Both Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker were absent at Chusan when these suppositions were suddenly and rudely dispelled by the appearance of a large body of Chinese troops on the 10th of March at daybreak, outside the south and west gates of Ningpo. Not fewer than ten thousand men, and by some as many as twelve thousand, were computed to have taken part in this attack, which fulfilled all the conditions of a surprise. The Chinese got over the walls and reached the very heart of the city ; but, instead of being the way to victory, this early success proved only a trap for their more complete discomfiture. Attacked in the market-place by artillery and foot, they suffered very heavy loss, and were only too glad to beat a hasty retreat from their meditated prize. During this contest at close quarters and the subsequent pursuit, which was kept up with great vigour, the Chinese suffered very heavily, and 250 killed alone were found within the city walls. At the same time an attack was made on Chinhai, at the mouth of the river, but it was comparatively feeble and was repulsed without difficulty. Similar attempts were made from the islands neighbouring to Chusan, but all were defeated. The Chinese lost a large number of men ; they suffered more seriously and irreparably in war material of every kind.

The Chinese, no doubt encouraged by the absence of the English commanders, had played a bold card, and they had lost. They were approaching the end of their resources ; for the Imperial Exchequer was exhausted, and the task of defraying the expenses had been cast on those provinces which were near the sea, and which were consequently the scene of operations. The prolongation of the war promised to become most unpopular, for it affected the people in their purses, and they really did not know what they were to fight for. But while these sentiments were acquiring further force from the failure of the attack on Ningpo, the English had determined to assume the offensive and to strike a decisive blow against the Chinese army reported to be assembled in some strength in the neighbourhood of the important city of Hangchow, the Kinsay of the mediæval travellers.

The first blow was struck at the small town of Tszeki, where the men who had attacked Ningpo, reinforced from Hangchow, had taken up a strong position in a fortified camp on a hill. A picked force, some 1100 strong, was conveyed by water to attack this position. The town of Tszeki offered only a nominal resistance, and was evacuated by the Chinese on the near approach of the English; but they had resolved to make a more vigorous stand in the fortified camps which they had constructed, with great pains and skill, on two hills of some altitude immediately outside the town. The operations of the day were carried out under the direct supervision of Sir Hugh Gough, who was accompanied by the admiral, Sir William Parker, and they were marked by all the dash and impetuosity for which the former was so well known. Although the Chinese position at first appeared imposing, it proved, on examination, to be extremely faulty. Large as the Chinese army was, it could only occupy a small part of the long range of hills which surround this place on three of its sides; and the Segau hills, on which they had pitched their camps, were commanded by some loftier altitudes in the same or the adjoining range. So it happened that, while they were confident in their fancied security, the English commander had detected the fact that their left was commanded from some hills on his right, and that their left again commanded their own right. It was, evident, therefore, that the capture of the left portion of the Chinese encampment would entail the surrender of the rest, and the attack of the key of the position was attended by such facilities that it left little or no doubt as to the result. The difficulties of the ground caused a greater delay in the advance than had been expected, and the assault had to be delivered along the whole line, as it was becoming obvious that the Chinese were growing more confident, and, consequently, more to be feared from the delay in attacking them. The assault was made with the striking impetuosity with which good troops always attack an inferior enemy, no matter how great the disparity of numbers may be; and, notwithstanding that the Chinese stood their ground in a very creditable manner, they were driven out of their encampments over the range of hills to the fields below,

and pursued for a considerable distance. The Chinese, it afterwards appeared, were picked troops selected from the Imperial Guard * and the garrisons of the frontier provinces of Kansuh and Shensi. They lost not fewer than one thousand men killed—a tremendous loss relatively to the number of men engaged and the shortness of the engagement. The English loss was only six men killed and thirty-seven wounded, of whom a large proportion were officers. As a consequence of this victory, the strongly-situated Changki pass fell into the hands of the English, and all the Chinese forces retired to Hangchow.

For a time it was thought that the next step would be to make a direct attack upon that city, where a new High Commissioner, Chulahang, had arrived with fresh warlike instructions, and with the Emperor's authority to freely confer decorations for valour and enterprise, but, above all things, for success. The arrival of large reinforcements from India for the English army more than compensated for the fresh forces Taoukwang had succeeded in putting in the field ; but the change in the plans of operation caused by the fresh instructions received from the new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, produced a still greater effect so far as the final result was concerned. Lord Ellenborough has been charged with committing some acts of doubtful policy, and with overlooking the practical side in the affairs with which he had to deal ; but it should be remembered to his credit, that he was the first to detect the futility of operations along the coast as a means of bringing the Chinese Government to reason, and to suggest that the great water-way of the Yangtsekiang, completely navigable for war-ships up to the immediate neighbourhood of Nankin, afforded conveniences for effecting the objects which the English Cabinet wished to secure. The opinion among the older English residents was altogether in favour of a direct attack on the capital itself ; but this presented too many risks, and, indeed, was hardly feasible, considering the smallness of the English force, and

* Five hundred of these were present, and Sir Hugh Gough described them as being "remarkably fine men."

the fact that the large naval squadron would be of practically little value in the Yellow Sea. On the Yangtsekiang the naval superiority of England could be both conveniently and effectually demonstrated.

Before the importance of this change of plan had been realized at head-quarters at Ningpo, there had been considerable debate as to whether it would be prudent to deliver an immediate attack on Hangchow or not. That proposal was finally overruled, and the English expedition sailed northwards from Ningpo, evacuating both that city and Chinhai in quest of fresh adventures. It had not to proceed far. On the opposite shore of the Han estuary, and near the northern limits of the province of Chekiang, is situated the seaport of Chapoo, well known in old days as the only authorized landing-place for Japanese vessels. At this port not only had many measures of defence been carried out, but a considerable number of troops had been assembled for purposes obviously the reverse of friendly. The heights were crowned with numerous defensive works, and batteries had been erected on several advantageous sites commanding the approaches from the sea. It was determined to attack and carry these positions without delay. The troops selected for the attack, some 2000 in number, were landed at a few miles distant from the town; and while the principal column, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough in person, attacked the position on the heights, his left wing effectually cut off the line of retreat which the Chinese meditated following into the city of Chapoo. The main body of the Celestials was routed without much difficulty, but 300 desperate men shut themselves up in a walled enclosure, and made an obstinate resistance. The survivors refused to surrender until more than three-fourths of them had fallen, when some fifty wounded men accepted the quarter which the English officers had from the beginning requested them to accept. The loss* of the assailants was severe, not so much in proportion to that of the defeated as to their own numbers

* Two officers killed and six wounded; eight privates, &c., killed and forty-nine wounded. The Chinese lost over a thousand.

and the expectations of their commander before the engagement; but the capture of a place of the importance of Chapoo was, on the whole, cheaply purchased, especially as the Manchu element was very strong there and suffered very heavily. The dispersion of the levies in Chekiang was thus carried to a further point, and might be considered as so far complete that there was no longer any reason to dread a descent on or attempt to surprise the garrison left in charge of the island of Chusan.

In pursuance of the new plans, the expedition then proceeded round the southern headland of the province of Kiangsu towards the entrance of the Yangtsekiang. Woosung, the port of Shanghai, was the first obstacle that presented itself, and here the resources and levies of a new province had been employed to oppose any attempt to land on the part of the invader, or to attack the important inland cities of Shanghai and Soochow. The entrance to the small river Woosung had been strongly guarded with batteries on both sides, and as many as 175 guns had been placed in position. The difficulties of attack consisted to a great extent in the difficulties of approach; for the channel had first to be sounded, and then the sailing vessels had to be towed into position by the steamers of the fleet. Twelve vessels were thus placed broadside to the batteries on land, a position which obviously they could not have maintained against a force of anything like equal strength. However, the naval attack was completely successful, and, notwithstanding that several of the English vessels went aground, the batteries were cleared one after the other, and the principal forts demolished. The Chinese were admitted to have stood their ground in a very creditable manner, but they were really helpless before the superior fire of the English artillery. The army was landed immediately after the cessation of the bombardment, and took possession of the batteries and camps in and around the small towns of Woosung and Paushau. Preparations were at once made for an advance on Shanghai.

The town of Shanghai, which has since become so well known as one of the principal foreign settlements in the

country, lies sixteen miles up the Woosung river, of which the English expedition had secured the entrance by the action of the 16th of June just described. While one column proceeded by a forced march across land to Shanghai, the main force was conveyed by the fleet up the river, but so well-timed or so fortunate were their movements that they arrived almost simultaneously at the desired object. The Chinese had for the moment no inclination to renew an encounter, the inequality of which it was no longer in their power to deny. They withdrew from the city after firing a few shots from the walls. Large quantities of warlike stores and many pieces of artillery were captured, while the people showed a more amicable spirit than in other places. Shanghai was taken only to be evacuated, and the expedition returned to Woosung for the purpose of resuming the journey up the Yangtsekiang, while orders were sent to the very considerable reinforcements * which had reached Chusan to proceed to the same destination, and form a junction with Sir Hugh Gough.

The next operation was to be the capture of Chankiang, or Chinkiang-foo, a town situated on the southern bank of the Yangtsekiang, and at the northern entrance of the southern branch of the Great Canal. At all times this had been a place of great celebrity, both strategically and commercially ; for not merely does it hold a very strong position with regard to that important artery—the Imperial canal—but it forms, with the Golden and Silver Islands, the principal barrier in the path of those wishing to approach Nankin. The movements of the fleet were delayed by contrary winds, as well as by the necessity for extreme care in navigating an unknown channel, so that the month of July had run most of its course before the English fleet of some seventy vessels in all appeared off the town of Chinkiangfoo. The first

* Prominent among these were the 98th under the command of Colonel Colin Campbell, afterwards Lord Clyde. They left England on the 20th of December 1841, with detachments for the regiments serving in China, and arrived at Hongkong on the 2nd of June, 1842. They joined Sir Hugh on the 21st of June at Woosung. For an excellent soldier's narrative of an excellent soldier the reader can refer on this point to General Shadwell's "Life of Colin Campbell."

matter of surprise was that there was no appearance of any military preparations either in the town itself or outside the city walls. The curious townspeople assembled on the ramparts to look at the foreign fleet as at some strange show or interesting spectacle. But a more careful reconnaissance revealed the presence of three strong encampments at some distance to the south-west of the town, and the principal operation of the day became to carry them, and to prevent their garrisons joining such forces as might still be stationed in the city. The execution of this portion of the attack was entrusted to Lord Saltoun's brigade, which included two Scotch regiments,* and portions of two native regiments. Three guns, all that were obtainable through some accident in landing the artillery, were sent with this force. The opposition they had to encounter was insignificant. The fire of the gingalls was promptly silenced and overcome by that of the guns, but a flank attack made by the Bengal troops led to some hand-to-hand fighting, in which the Chinese showed considerable gallantry.

While this engagement was in progress on the right, the attack on the city itself was being executed with spirit, but the strength of the walls, which were in excellent repair, and the difficulty of crossing the canal, which was too deep to be forded, prevented the success being as rapidly attained as was expected. The attack was chiefly directed against the western gate, which was blown in by the engineer officer, Captain Pears; and almost at the same point of time the walls were escaladed at two separate places, at one by the marines under Captain Richards, and at another by the 2nd Brigade under Major-general Schoedde. Taken thus in flank, front, and rear, the Tartar soldiers found themselves

* The 26th Cameronians and the 98th. Lord Clyde's biographer thus describes his part in this day's operations:—"The 98th had little or no opposition to contend with. A feeble fire from gingalls was opened by the Chinese. A few discharges from the guns quickly dispersed them. But a foe of far more formidable character had now to be encountered. The heat soon told on the 98th. Unprovided by the authorities with an equipment suitable to the climate, this regiment landed in its ordinary European clothing—a costume ill-adapted for the fierce summer heat of China. Thirteen men perished on the spot."

unable even to retreat, and a considerable number retired into a detached outwork which they held to the bitter death. These soldiers perished to the last man, either from the fire of the English or in the flames of the houses, which were ignited partly by their own act, and partly by the shot of the troops. The inner or Tartar city was stoutly defended, and the intense heat, having greatly exhausted the Europeans, favoured the Chinese renewal of the combat. Sir Hugh Gough had wished to postpone further operations until the evening, but the resolute stand made by the Manchus, who galled the English troops from their enclosure with a harassing fire, compelled the continuance of the engagement. The Tartars were driven back at all points, but the men were so distressed that it was found impossible to push home the advantage. The interval thus obtained by the Tartar citizens was employed not in seeking safety in flight, but in massacring their women and children, and in committing suicide. Their hatred of the enemy and their military honour were conspicuously shown in that, being unable to conquer, they would not grace the triumph of the victor, or experience either his clemency or vindictiveness. As soldiers of the Great Emperor, as representatives of the dominant race, they had no right to exist unless they were capable of commanding victory.*

* Sir Hugh Gough described the scene in the Tartar city in the following sentences:—"The Tartar general's house was burnt; that of the lieutenant-general, Hailing, it appears, had been set on fire by his own orders, and he was destroyed in it; his secretary, who was found the next morning by Mr. Morrison, principal Chinese interpreter, related this event and pointed out the body of the unfortunate chief. Finding dead bodies of Tartars in every house we entered—principally women and children—thrown into wells or otherwise murdered by their own people, I was glad to withdraw the troops from this frightful scene of destruction. A great number of those who escaped our fire committed suicide after destroying their families; the loss of life has been, therefore, appalling, and it may be said that the Manchu race in this city is extinct." An interesting summary is given of this engagement, from the Chinese point of view, in a translation by Mr. Morrison, the son of Dr. Morrison and chief interpreter to the Plenipotentiary, of the General Hailing's own account of it. From this document it appears that he was shamefully abandoned by his superiors, and that he had made various suggestions for the proper defence of Chinkiang, all of which had been disregarded and

The battle of Chinkiang was chiefly remarkable for the stubborn resistance of the Chinese soldiers, who were composed to a larger extent than had previously been the case, of Manchus. The casualties on the English side were heavy, more than thirty being killed and over one hundred wounded. When to these were added the many deaths that occurred during the following week from the exposure to the sun, it will be apparent that this battle was not cheaply purchased, and that their gallant resistance was highly creditable to the Tartar soldiers and their commander Hailing. It showed that the time may come when Chinese soldiers, with proper weapons in their hands, and led with such spirit as Hailing exhibited on this occasion, will be able to render a good account of themselves against even European soldiers. But although we may admire the Spartan resolution which would not recognize the possibility of having any intercourse with a victorious enemy, yet we cannot close our eyes to the fact that China lost some of her bravest and most competent officers by this blind devotion to duty, or this infatuation of a warrior caste. The Manchus of Chapoo and Chinkiang, had they only thought a little more of their lives, might have remained to render sterling service to their sovereign when his authority came to be challenged from within as well as assailed from without. Brave men are not so common in any state that their voluntary destruction, when no object is served by it, can be regarded as anything less than an irreparable loss.

Some delay at Chinkiang was rendered necessary by the neglected. Among these was a proposal for staking the river. "Now the whole fleet of the rebellious barbarians is approaching, ship quickly following ship. Your slave is under the banner of the Tartars, an hereditary servant of the Crown. He, then, can do no otherwise than exert his whole heart and strength in endeavouring to repay a small fraction of the favours he has enjoyed from his Government." The day after this he fought bravely for many hours, and when he found his troops all routed, and the city committed to his charge fallen into the enemy's hands, he sat down in one of the public courts of his official house, and, ordering fire to be set to it, remained there and perished in the flames. "And what else could he do?" is each Chinaman's remark, "he never could again see the Emperor."—"Chinese Repository," vol. xi. pp. 470-79.

exhaustion of the troops, and by the number of sick and wounded ; but a week after the capture of that place in the manner described, the arrangements for the further advance on Nankin were completed. A small garrison was to be left, not in possession of the town, but in camp on the heights commanding the entrance to the canal ; but there was really little reason to apprehend any fresh movement on the part of the Celestials in this quarter, for the lesson of Chinkiangfoo had been a terrible one. That city lay beneath the English camp as a vast charnel-house, its half-burnt buildings filled with the self-immolated Tartars who had preferred honour to life ; and so thickly strewn were these, and so intense the heat, that days passed away without the ability to give them burial, until at last it became absolutely impossible to attempt the last kind office to a gallant foe. Even as it was, Chinkiangfoo became the cause of a pestilence, and the utmost precaution of the English authorities failed to keep the ravages of cholera from their camp. Many a brave soldier and gallant officer who had led the charge up to the very line of Tartar spears in safety, and escaped the gingle fire without a scratch, succumbed to the fell disease which originated from the slaughtered defenders of their hearths and homes ; so that the garrison at Chinkiang remained exposed to more serious danger in its state of inaction than awaited the larger part of the expedition, which proceeded to lay siege to the great city and once famous capital of the Mings.

Contrary winds imposed a further delay on the movements of the English expedition, and it was the 4th of August, or a fortnight after the battle of Chinkiangfoo, before the transports were able to proceed. On the 5th the fleet reached Nankin, a large city of about a million inhabitants, surrounded by walls and with a garrison of nearly 15,000 men, of whom two-fifths were Manchus. The vastness of the city—the walls of which exceeded twenty miles in length—hindered more than it promoted an effectual defence, and even the difficulties of approach from the surrounding country operated as much in favour of the assailants as of those who were assailed. The prospect of a pacific settlement was in view when the expedition had assembled in front of Nankin, but

Sir Hugh Gough made all the preparations for attack with his force of rather less than 5000 men, by way of demonstration for the purpose of driving, as it were, the last nail into the coffin of Chinese resistance. The details of these are preserved in his official report; but although they exhibit the tactical skill of the commander, and no officer was more skilful than Sir Hugh Gough in drawing up a plan of action, their interest and importance have long departed. Suffice it to say that the battle of Nankin, admirably as it was arranged for us as a complete English victory, was never fought, and, although the great demonstration before this second city of the Empire had much to do with the promptitude with which the terms of peace were agreed upon and ratified, the last operation of the war of 1841-42 was performed without the shedding of blood on the one side or the other.

The war which had continued during the greater part of two years was at last over. At first conducted without any system, and in a desultory manner, and prosecuted in its larger phases almost with reluctance, the military operations had gone to prove that neither the courage nor the ingenuity of the Celestials could compensate them for the want of proper weapons, and of the discipline and experience in war which made the armies of Europe victorious. Although the English did not enjoy the same superiority in scientific and mechanical engines and instruments as they enjoyed in the second war, seventeen years later, yet they possessed so many advantages over Taoukwang's levies that the result of an encounter was never in doubt, even although the latter possessed a strong position and an overwhelming preponderance in numbers. The war of 1842 demonstrated that the English soldier who had vanquished the most warlike races of Hindostan was the superior of the Chinese also on such conditions as they met under sixty years ago. But it showed to the intelligent another lesson. The Chinese soldiers were the worst equipped, and the most innocent of military lore among a long list of foes with whom in the course of a conquering career the sons of these islands had crossed weapons. Often and often they were no better than a badly-armed mob; and even the Manchus had no more formidable

weapons than the bows and spears suitable to an earlier age. Yet on no single occasion did these badly-armed and ignorant men evince cowardice. The English commanders always testified to their gallantry even when helpless, and to their devotion to duty when most other peoples would have thought that the time demanded thought only of safety. Their defeat was under all the circumstances inevitable; they knew how to save their reputation for courage, and to prove beyond the shadow of dispute that men who could fight so manfully when victory was practically impossible could never be permanently conquered, and only needed the proper arms and knowledge to hold their own against good troops. Such seemed the moral of these encounters at this time to the most competent observers, and if the experience of the last Japanese war has seemed to falsify them, the future may show that the natural deduction from what happened in 1841-42 was not unjustifiable or misleading.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TREATY OF NANKIN.

NEGOTIATIONS of an informal character had been begun several months before they were brought to a satisfactory and conclusive issue at Nankin. The minister Elepoo, who had once enjoyed the closest intimacy with Taoukwang, and who represented, better than any other of the chief officials, what might be called the Peace Party—which, without any particular regard for Europeans, desired the termination of an unequal struggle—had neglected no opportunity of learning what were the views of the English officers, and what was the minimum of concession on which peace could be procured. Elepoo alone had striven also to give something of a generous character to the struggle, and he had proved himself, on more than one occasion, a courteous as well as a gallant adversary. After the capture of Chapoo and Woosung, he had sent back several officers and men who, at various times and places, had fallen into the hands of the Chinese, and he had availed himself of the opportunity to address the English commanders on the subject of the misfortunes entailed by a continuance of the strife, and also upon the desirability of coming to as speedy an amicable arrangement as possible. At the time when he first gave expression to these laudable sentiments, it is clear that Elepoo spoke only on his own authority, and that the hard lesson of submission had not been fully learnt at Peking; for although his representations could scarcely have failed to impress the Emperor Taoukwang, seeing that the urgent appeals for help in men and money received from every

quarter lent irresistible force to his arguments, this minister was for a time disgraced and deprived of his office.*

The reply of the English commanders to Elepoo's letter had been clear and to the point. They reciprocated the desire of the Chinese officer for the cessation of hostilities; but Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary could only treat with some high official directly empowered by the Emperor to conclude a treaty. Had Elepoo received that authority? If he had not, it was impossible to discuss affairs with him, or to suspend the progress of the expedition. And at that moment he had not the requisite authority, so the English forces proceeded, as we have seen, up the Yangtsekiang, fought the battle of Chinkiangfoo, and appeared in due course beneath the walls of Nankin,† before the happy moment arrived for

* The closing paragraph of Elepoo's letter to Sir Hugh Gough deserves quotation:—"Our two Empires have now for three years been at war; the soldiers and people who have been killed are innumerable, and the misery entailed is unspeakable and grievous to recount. It is therefore requisite, in accordance with the Celestial rule, to feel regret at those evils, and to put down the war; but if one proves disobedient to the dictates of Heaven it is to be feared that Heaven will visit us with punishment, and who will be able to endure this? Your honourable country has hitherto laid strong stress upon commerce, and considered war as nefarious, with the hope of putting a stop to the misery of war, and enjoying the advantages of an open market. Now if this takes place, the people of your honourable country may all return home and enjoy their property, and the men of our own nation could also every one of them go back to their families and gain a livelihood, enjoying the blessings of peace. Is not this far better than to fight for successive years and fill the land with the bodies of the slain!" This letter was written about the first of June.—(Translated by Gutzlaff) "Chinese Repository," vol. xii. p. 345.

† It will be appropriate at this point to give a brief description of Nankin, for a time the capital of China under the Ming dynasty, and which as Kiangning (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 157) was the chief town of some of the smaller dynasties of the fourth and fifth centuries. The walls, originally erected by Hungwoo, exceeded thirty miles, but the city never grew to the extent of its walls. The Tartar city again was walled off from the rest of the town, but the vast extent of the place rendered it practically incapable of defence. Much of the city was in ruins—a fact which induced Sir John Davis to compare it to Rome. There are some fine streets, with good shops and well-paved roads. The principal architectural remains are the Tombs of the Mings and the Porcelain Tower. Dr. Wells Williams describes the former as follows in his

the realization of the pacific wishes to which Elepoo had given expression three months earlier. The next point in the process of conciliation was reached when, immediately after the capture of Chinkiang, the mandarin who had been employed as an intermediary on the previous occasion, arrived in the English camp as the bearer of a despatch signed by Keying and Elepoo, as accredited representatives of Taoukwang, and the direct consequence of this step was that, although the English fleet and army were moved up to Nankin, no further hostilities occurred. In the interests of both sides it was only necessary to give the Chinese no reason to believe that the English could be put off by any deviation from the terms of peace as originally presented; and this end was thoroughly attained by the military demonstrations made outside the city of Nankin while the Commissioners on both sides were employed in the act of negotiating and almost of signing a treaty of peace.

The great minister Keying, who, as the Emperor's maternal uncle, had sometimes enjoyed an ascendancy in the Imperial Council, had been ordered, in the month of March, when warlike views were supreme at Taoukwang's Court, to Canton, where he was to assume the command of the Manchu troops, but the greater danger in which the province of Chekiang was placed had led to his immediate transfer to that quarter.

“Middle Kingdom” :—“Several guardian statues are situated not far from the walls. These statues form an avenue leading up to the sepulchre where the Emperor Hungwoo was buried about 1398. They consist of gigantic figures, like warriors cased in armour, standing on either side of the road, across which, at intervals, large stone tablets are extended, supported by great blocks of stone instead of pillars. Situated at some distance are a number of rude colossal figures of horses, elephants, and other animals, all intended to represent the guardians of the mighty dead.” The celebrated Porcelain Tower, which was at this period in a perfect state, was destroyed at a later period by the Taeping rebels. It was built by the Ming Emperor Yunglo in the fifteenth century, and took nineteen years to build. The tower was made of bricks of fine porcelain, and the ornamentation was extremely brilliant. The population of Nankin was about one million, but it suffered greatly under the Taepings, and is only now beginning to regain the ground it had lost. General (Chinese) Gordon considered that this is the natural and safest capital for the Chinese Empire.

In March, therefore, he proceeded, not to Canton, but to Hangchow, where he was to put everything in a proper state of defence, and to leave nothing undone for the vigorous continuance of the war; and the disgraced official, Elepoo, was so far forgiven that he was handed over to Keying, probably at his request, as a lieutenant. At first their instructions were simply to make a stout defence, but the gravity of the situation was soon brought home to them by the capture of Chapoo. Then it was that they resolved to conclude an arrangement with the English, and to justify their claims to the title of High Commissioners, to which they had just been raised, by bringing a disastrous war to a conclusion.

In response to the first pacific expressions of Elepoo, Sir Henry Pottinger had felt bound to make a clear exposition of the wants and requirements of the English Government; and accordingly, after the capture of Woosung, he drew up in Chinese a proclamation for the information of the people of the country. In this document the equality of all nations as members of the same human family was pointed out, and the right to hold friendly intercourse insisted upon as matter of duty and common obligation. "England coming from the utmost west has held intercourse with China in this utmost east for more than two centuries past, and during this time the English have suffered ill-treatment from the Chinese officers, who, regarding themselves as powerful and us as weak, have thus dared to commit injustice." Then followed a list of the many acts of high-handed authority which had marked the term of office of Commissioner Lin, and from which the record of his successors had not been free. The Chinese, plainly speaking, had sought to maintain their rights of exclusiveness and to live outside the comity of nations, and they had not the power to attain their wish; therefore they were now compelled to listen to the terms dictated by the English Plenipotentiary at the end of a victorious campaign, and not merely to listen, but to accept.

And those terms were as follows: The Emperor was first of all to appoint a high officer with full powers to negotiate and conclude arrangements on his own responsibility, when

hostilities would be suspended. The three principal points on which these negotiations would be based were compensation for losses and expenses, a friendly and becoming intercourse on terms of equality between officers of the two countries, and the cession of insular territory for commerce and for the residence of merchants, and as a security and guarantee against the future renewal of offensive acts. The first step towards the acceptance of these terms was taken when an Imperial Commission was formed of the three members, Keying, Elepoo, and Niu Kien, Viceroy of the Two Kiang. Yihshan retained the rank and name of Principal Commissioner, but he remained at Canton and took no part in the peace arrangements on the Yangtsekiang.

Niu Kien, the junior member of the Commission, made the first definite statement in reply to Sir Henry Pottinger's public notification. On the 29th of July a messenger arrived at the English camp outside Chinkiang with a highly important and not less conciliatory letter from the Governor of the Two Kiang. The letter was important in more than one sense. It held out to a certain extent a hand of friendship, but it also sought to assign an origin to the conflict; and Niu Kien could find no more convenient object on which to cast the odium of the war than opium. There was also the admission that "as the central nation had enjoyed peace for a long time, the Chinese were not prepared for attacking and fighting, which has led to this accumulation of insult and disgrace." The letter concluded with the expression in general terms of a desire for a prompt adjustment of the difficulty. The arrangement of the details for the necessary interviews was left in Niu Kien's hands, owing to Elepoo's absence, and a temple on the bank of the river was denoted as a suitable place for the meeting between the diplomatists of the two countries. In a later communication on the 14th of August Niu Kien wrote that he was fully aware that foreigners residing at Canton had been exposed to "insults and extortions for a series of years," and that the High Commissioners would take steps to ensure that "in future the people of your honourable nation might carry on their commerce to advantage, and not receive injury thereby."

This letter showed a great concession of principle on the part of the Chinese rulers, and made it evident that negotiations could at last be commenced on a fair basis and with good prospect of attaining a satisfactory result.

On the 12th of August both Keying and Elepoo had arrived at Nankin, and during the following week several meetings were held between subordinate officials for the purpose of arranging preliminaries, and also with the view of allowing time for a reply to be received from Taoukwang to a memorial drawn up and presented by the Commissioners, stating the demands of the English, and also the advisability, and even the absolute necessity, of complying with them. This important document was of considerable length, and entered into the details of the matters in dispute; and although a Chinese minister was bound in addressing his sovereign to eliminate the harsh language most suitable to the actual position of affairs, the facts were stated plainly enough, and no one supposed that the Emperor had any other choice in the matter than to yield with as good a grace and as promptly as he might. Keying and his colleagues put the two alternatives with great cogency. Which will be the heavier calamity, they said in brief, to pay the English the sum of money they demand (21,000,000 dollars), large as it is, or that they should continue those military manœuvres which seemed irresistible, and from which China had already so grievously suffered? Even if the war were continued, the evil day could only be put off. The army expenses would be very great, the indemnity would be increased in amount, and after all there would be only "the name of fighting without the hope of victory."

Similar arguments were used as to the wisdom of compliance with the demands for the surrender of Hongkong, and of the right to trade with five of the principal ports. The English demanded a great deal more than they had any right to expect, but as they were the masters of the situation, what was the use of arguing the matter with them? Moreover, there was some solace to be gathered in the midst of affliction from the fact that the English were willing to pay duties on their commerce, which would in course of time

enable the Imperial Government to recover the money it was now surrendering, and which would contribute at a still later period to "the expenditure of the Imperial family." And, lastly, with regard to the question of ceremonial intercourse, on a footing of equality, the Chinese Commissioners, well knowing that that was a question to be arranged in its details, calmly stated that it might be "unreservedly granted." The reply to this memorial was an endorsement of its recommendations on the assumption that each point would be vigorously contested, and that the minimum of concession would be allowed. But Taoukwang and his councillors talked no longer of sending "rebel-quelling generals" to drive out the English. They would feel well satisfied if their departure could be secured by the payment of a sum of money, and the surrender of some trade privileges and even of national rights.

The delay in discussing preliminaries before Nankin while Sir Hugh Gough was energetically engaged in bringing up his troops, had not, therefore, been without its use. The Commissioners felt that they were pursuing the best course for China, and that their sovereign, however reluctantly, shared their opinions and endorsed their counsel. There was no longer any reason to doubt that peace was assured and that a disastrous war was on the eve of terminating. The terms of peace had been virtually agreed to, when the Chinese Commissioners accepted the invitation to visit the English Plenipotentiary on board the *Cornwallis* man-of-war on the 20th of August. The scene was sufficiently interesting, if not imposing. The long line of English war-vessels and transports drawn up opposite, and within short range of, the lofty walls of Nankin; the land-forces so disposed on the raised causeways on shore as to give them every facility of approach to the city-gates, and yet so as to leave it doubtful to the last which gate was the real object of their attack; and, lastly, the six small Chinese boats, gaily decorated with flags, bearing the Imperial Commissioners and their attendants to sign for the first time in history a treaty of defeat with a foreign power. It was noted at the time that the Commissioners were dressed in their plainest clothes, and

the circumstance was set down in explanation to the fact that Imperial Commissioners are supposed to proceed in haste about their business, and have no time to waste upon their persons ; but it is at least as reasonable to assume that their costume reflected their sense of the inauspicious character of the occasion.

The reception passed off in a very satisfactory manner, and the Chinese officials were received by the General and Admiral, in addition to the Plenipotentiary. They were shown over the man-of-war, which they examined with great curiosity, and remained on board two hours. As they were shrewd and enlightened men, their surprise at the discomfiture of their country probably vanished after their inspection. It was arranged that this visit should be returned two days later, but bad weather necessitated its postponement until the 24th. The interview was held in a temple outside the walls, and on the approach of the English officers a salute of three guns was fired. The Chinese Commissioners behaved in a most courteous manner, and after an hour's stay the English took their departure, to the strains of the National Anthem. A still more interesting ceremony took place when, on the 26th of August, Sir Henry Pottinger rode into Nankin for the purpose of arranging several matters of business with the Commissioners. He and his suite of some twenty officers, with an escort of native cavalry, and accompanied by an equal number of Chinese mandarins of every grade of official rank, rode through the streets to the College Hall, where a chamber of audience had been prepared for their reception. It was noted that the many thousands of people through whom the English passed, and who had never seen a foreigner before, refrained from making any audible observations. They were content to gaze at the strange foreigners who had brought with them a new method of war, and who only a few days before had threatened their ancient city with more complete destruction than had fallen upon it during the Manchu conquest. The interview was not less cordial or satisfactory than its predecessors had been. Sir Henry Pottinger was seated in the centre, with Keying on his left and Elepoo on his right. This interview suggested reflections as to the

past, for it so happened that the 26th of August had been marked by an event of importance in each of the three previous years. In 1839 Commissioner Lin had expelled the English from Macao; in 1840 the English representatives appeared off the mouth of the Peiho; and in 1841 the English troops drove the Chinese from Amoy;—and these events, which showed the state of the question at different phases of its progress and development, had all occurred on the same day as that of the formal meeting in the College Hall at Nankin.

The signature of the treaty was performed three days later on board the *Cornwallis*, when the Commissioners arrived in a similar manner to their previous visit. Elepoo came by himself some little time afterwards, but it was thought that he would be unable to come at all through ill-health. He had been seriously indisposed for several days, but he evidently wished to have his share in the last act of the treaty which he had done so much to bring to pass. He was helped on board by the English officers in person, and supported, for he could not walk, to a couch in the cabin where the treaty was to be signed. The proceedings were hastened rather than retarded by his malady, for out of consideration to the sufferer all the ceremonial part was curtailed. The treaty was signed first by the three Chinese Commissioners, and then by Sir Henry Pottinger. They next partook of refreshments, and to the salute of twenty-one guns the flags of China and England were run up on the mast of the *Cornwallis*. The treaty of Nankin was concluded, and the war was finally over. Taoukwang ratified it in the promptest manner possible, although the extreme party at the capital made another effort to obtain the renewal of the war by rejecting the terms of this peace. It was noted as a remarkable fact at the time that the Manchus were altogether in favour of the treaty. They had already seen symptoms that the prolongation of the war, which could not be advantageous to the country, must prove fatal to their supremacy and to the existence of their dynasty.

On payment of the first instalment of the indemnity the troops were withdrawn to Chusan, but not, unfortunately,

before a most regrettable occurrence had happened to cast a stigma on the honour and good conduct of English officers and men. A party of these soldiers went five days after the treaty was signed to the Porcelain Tower, from which they broke or cut off numerous fragments, thus committing a wanton and irreparable injury to one of the finest architectural monuments in China. Sir Henry Pottinger ordered the payment of a sum of money as compensation, an inadequate if the only reparation in his power. It was truly said of this outrage at the time that this party of Englishmen acted "the barbarian" in right good earnest.

When the fleet withdrew from before Nankin, all the places occupied on land were abandoned; but 2000 troops were left at Chusan, and 1000 at Kulangsu near Amoy, while the garrison of Hongkong was fixed at 1700 strong. At the same time Sir Henry Pottinger published a notification that no trade would be allowed with the four additional ports until the tariff had been agreed upon with the Chinese. Canton remained open as heretofore, and Tinghai so long as the English forces were in occupation; but Shanghai, Ningpo, Foochow, and Amoy were to be considered closed until the tariff had been drawn up and consular officers duly appointed.

Two vessels had been wrecked on the coast of Formosa, and their crews made prisoners. On the conclusion of peace a man-of-war was sent to Taiwan to ascertain their fate, and demand their surrender in accordance with the promises of the Emperor. It appeared that the local authorities had taken the law into their own hands, and inflicted the punishment of death on these shipwrecked mariners as "invaders of their country." When, therefore, they found that a treaty had been concluded with the foreigners, and that ample reparation was to be made for every injury inflicted, they were naturally afraid, and declined to reveal anything that had occurred. On the frigate returning from Taiwan without any more definite news than the report that these crews, to the number of more than a hundred persons, had been massacred in cold blood, Sir Henry Pottinger at once had an interview with Eleang, the Governor of Chekiang, and issued

a proclamation expressing his "extreme horror and astonishment," and demanding the degradation and condign punishment of the local authorities. The correspondence in connection with this matter went on for some time, but at no point did the Emperor's officials show a desire to approve of or screen the acts of the Formosan mandarins. Eleang was sent as Imperial Commissioner to investigate the matter, and on the receipt of his report, in April, 1843, the Emperor issued an edict, degrading the principal officials inculpated, and ordering them to proceed to Peking for punishment by the Criminal Board. In this edict occurred the important pledge that "we will not allow that because the representation comes from outside foreigners, it should be carelessly cast aside without investigation. Our own subjects and foreigners, ministers and people, should all alike understand that it is our high desire to act with even-handed and perfect justice."

If the great obstacle to foreign intercourse with China was overcome by the signature of the Treaty of Nankin, there still remained much to be done towards placing the relations of English merchants with those of the country on a footing calculated to promote trade and harmony. Sir Henry Pottinger's work was only half performed until he had arranged the tariff, and installed Consular officers in the new ports * opened by the treaty. Chinese movements are always deliberate, and a new year had begun before any progress was made towards the settlement of the tariff. In December, 1842, Sir Henry Pottinger, having returned to Macao, where he awaited the arrival of the Chinese Commissioners at Canton, addressed the English merchants with the view of obtaining the expression of their sentiments about the coming commercial treaty. This appeal failed to elicit any reply at the time, beyond a bare acknowledgment; but a committee was formed for the purpose of collecting opinions and information, to be laid before the Plenipotentiary at a later period.† The most important points which called for adjust-

* These were Amoy, Ningpo, Foochow, and Shanghai, making with Canton the Five Treaty Ports.

† Sir Henry's letter contained the following important paragraph on the subject of the opium traffic: "You will observe that no allusion is

ment, after the concession of the principles involved, were the adoption of a common tariff for all the ports, and the right of permanent residence in the factories and settlements for which land was to be allotted. The Emperor's representatives readily conceded the demand of the Europeans to bring their families with them as "a natural compliance with the constant principles of human nature ;" but the accompanying statement that, when their commercial affairs were over, they should return to their vessels and go home, suggested the idea that the favour was not heartily granted, and that it would be attended with as many restrictions as the Chinese could devise or dared to enforce.

It was not to be expected that a people accustomed to regard their external relations from so exclusive a national point of view as the Chinese were, could become all at once reconciled to treat on a footing of equality with races and Governments considered, from a remote period, to be on a distinctly inferior basis. From the earliest period of history, and the testimony is not less applicable to European states than to China, it has been observed that the classes which make the noisiest protestations of patriotism are those which contribute least to sustain and ennoble national effort. The mob of Canton represented the most dangerous and degraded section of the population of a great Chinese city. They had contributed nothing towards the defence of their country, neither had they incurred any loss by its discomfiture. Yet there was little surprising in their constituting themselves the champions of their country. Riots disturbed the harmony of the closing year, and placards were posted up in prominent places to protest against the Fanquai, or foreign devils, being allowed to enjoy the rights conceded to them by the great Emperor. The prompt action of the local authorities did

made in any of these documents to the subject of the trade in opium. It is only necessary that I should at present tell you that the subject has not been overlooked by me, and that I indulge a hope, a very faint one, I admit, that it will be in my power to get the traffic in opium, *by barter*, legalized by the Emperor." The italics are ours ; and the phrase shows that Sir Henry had grasped the fact that the real objection of the Chinese Government was to the export of silver, and not to the import of opium, except as the cause of the depletion of the currency.

something towards nipping the danger in the bud ; but it was not until the arrival of Elepoo, in his character of Imperial Commissioner for the arrangement of the tariff, that the Cantonese were convinced that their Government was in earnest in allowing foreigners to acquire land for their factories, and to carry on trade-relations with whom they liked. The emphatic language used in Elepoo's proclamation had the effect of arresting the progress of the agitation, and of preventing the infection seizing the higher classes, who had already shown some symptoms of forming themselves into "a society of spirit and loyalty."

The arrival of Elepoo was the most hopeful sign for the speedy adjustment of the tariff question, as he was unquestionably sincere in his desire to arrange matters with the English on a friendly footing, and as he saw very clearly the necessity of peace to his own country. The preliminary discussions had been carried on with courtesy and good feeling. Sir Henry Pottinger, although without the support of the merchants' opinion, which he asked for more than once, and which was consistently withheld for fear of incurring responsibility, or, more probably, of making some greater concession in the matter of dues than the Chinese would stipulate for, saw, within two months of Elepoo's arrival, a near prospect of realizing the goal of his wishes. At this moment the death of the Chinese Commissioner arrested the progress of negotiations, and, as it was impossible for his successor to be equally well disposed, the possibility arose that he might be inclined to procrastinate, to raise objections, and to curtail, in such ways as he could, the usefulness of recent diplomacy.

Elepoo died on the 4th of March, 1843, in the seventy-second year of his age. He was remarkable in his origin, as well as for his talents. He sprang from the Imperial family of the Manchus, and enjoyed the privilege of wearing the "red girdle," which the Tartars had preserved among themselves as the mark of their supremacy. Elepoo was the grandson, or great grandson, of one of those brothers of the Emperor Yungching, who, in the plots of the beginning of his reign, were banished from the capital, and consigned to

the retirement of the provinces. Elepoo entered the service at an early age, without enjoying any apparent advantage over those of lower birth. He filled several minor offices in the administration of Yunnan, and in time rose to be Governor of Kweichow, and afterwards Governor-General of the united provinces of Yunnan and Kweichow. In 1839 he was summoned to the capital and appointed Governor-General of the Two Kiang. Subsequently, in that post, and as Imperial Commissioner at Ningpo, he was outspoken in his recommendation of peace, which brought down upon his head the spite and vengeance of the extreme party. At the instance of Yukien, who came for a moment to the front at Peking, he was degraded, and reduced to a state verging on servitude, from which he was only rescued when Keying asked that he should be placed at his disposal for the conduct of peace negotiations. His later services have been dwelt upon, but the admiration felt for his energy and devotion must be largely increased from the knowledge that during the last months of his life he was in constant suffering from ill-health. Yet he never slackened in his efforts to conclude the settlement of China's foreign relations, and in his attention to the business of his office, up to the last he was never remiss. The finger of reproach has been pointed at the probity and efficiency of the Chinese civil service; but there have been many honourable exceptions, and Elepoo should be remembered as one of the most favourable specimens of what a high official of the Celestial Empire ought to be.

The appointment of Keying to carry on the work of his former colleague furnished satisfactory proof that there was no real change of views in the Emperor's Cabinet, and the delay proved in the result to be no more serious than of the time needed for the receipt of the news of the death of the old, and for the despatch of the new, Commissioner. Meanwhile the ratification of the Treaty of Nankin had been performed by the English Government. On the last day of the year 1842 the Great Seal had been affixed in the office of the Lord Chancellor, and on the 16th of March, 1843, the officer entrusted with the important document accompanying a very handsome silver box containing the seal arrived at Hongkong,

after a very rapid journey. The death of Elepoo was not followed by the untoward consequences that at one time seemed only too likely to ensue, and on both sides an unqualified desire was manifested to hasten the conclusion of the pacific arrangements.

That the final settlement of the question was eminently desirable, for more than one reason, was shown by the large increase of smuggling, particularly of opium, that took place along the coast. Several communications passed on the subject between the representatives of the two Governments, and Sir Henry Pottinger took the unusual course of repudiating all sympathy with those foreigners who were engaged in the illicit trade. But at the same time that he repudiated all participation in these acts of some among his countrymen, he distinctly stated that the responsibility of putting an end to the smuggling rested with the Chinese themselves. The utmost he could do, he pointed out, was to refuse them the protection of the English flag. But the Chinese officials were not so well versed in the precepts of international law as they should have been, and it seemed to them that the duty lay rather with the English than upon them to prevent the commission of acts which were both illegal and a violation of the first principles of goodwill and amicable relations. The Chinese view of the position was not concealed in their reply, for it was said, with some quaintness, that if the supervision of the English representatives was not perfect, "there will be less or more of smuggling." The matter was not at this time of the first importance, although it could not fail to indicate that, if the tariff were fixed at too high a rate, its objects would be defeated by the extension of the practice of smuggling, which already attracted no inconsiderable amount of attention. The official relations were undoubtedly more cordial, or at least more courteous, than those in commercial circles; and the visit of several high officials to Hongkong, where they were received in the most flattering manner, served to show that there was no insuperable obstacle to prevent the gradual disappearance of the prejudices which kept the two nations apart.

Keying reached Canton on the 4th of June. Three weeks

later he visited Sir Henry Pottinger at Hongkong, where on the 26th of the month the exchange of ratifications was made in the most formal manner. The Chinese Commissioner took his departure with every appearance of gratification at the reception he had met with, and more practical evidence was furnished in the same direction by the conclusion of the commercial treaty within less than a month of his visit. On the 22nd of July Sir Henry Pottinger was able to announce that he had signed the arrangements for the conduct of trade which were to be the most important provisions under the treaty of Nankin. The announcement of this fact was made in a proclamation * well calculated to show that the English

* "Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary trusts that the provisions of the Commercial Treaty will be found in practice mutually advantageous, beneficial, and just, as regards the interests, the honour, and the future augmented prosperity of the Governments of the two mighty contracting Empires and their subjects; and His Excellency most solemnly and urgently calls upon all subjects of the British Crown, individually and collectively, by their allegiance to their Sovereign, by their duty to their country, by their own personal reputation, respect, and good name, and by the integrity and honesty which is due from them as men to the Imperial rights of the Emperor of China, not only to strictly conform and act up to the said provisions of the Commercial Treaty, but to spurn, decry, and make known to the world any base, unprincipled, and traitorous overtures which they or their agents may receive from, or which may be in any shape made to them by any subject of China—whether officially connected with the Government or not—towards entering into any collusion or scheme for the purpose of evading or acting in the contravention to the said provisions of the Commercial Treaty. The Plenipotentiary will not allow himself to anticipate or suppose that the appeal which he now makes to all Her Majesty's subjects will be unheeded, or overlooked, by even a single individual; but, at the same time, it is his duty, in the responsible and unprecedented situation in which he has been placed by the course of events, to distinctly intimate that he is determined, by every means at his disposal, to see the provisions of the Commercial Treaty fulfilled by all who choose to engage in future in commerce with China; and that in any case where he may receive well-grounded representations from Her Majesty's Consuls, or from the Chinese authorities, that such provisions of the Commercial Treaty have been evaded (or have attempted to be so), he will adopt the most stringent and decided measures against the offending parties; and where his present powers may not fully authorise and sanction such measures as may seem to him fitting, he will respectfully trust that the Legislature of Great Britain will hold him indemnified for adopting them in an emergency distinctly compromising the national honour, dignity,

Plenipotentiary was resolved to sanction no measure derogatory to the dignity of China, and that he was anxious to impress on his countrymen a sense of their own obligations so long as the Chinese did not hinder the progress of trade on the fair and supportable conditions which were now laid down in the most formal manner possible.

That the Chinese Government having once resolved to acquiesce in the extension of its trade relations should offer to the other nations of the outside world the privileges which had been snatched by the English, was only in accordance with the dictates of sound policy, as well as being under all the circumstances unavoidable. Keying accordingly issued a proclamation informing the public that henceforth trade at the five ports named in the treaty was open to "the men from afar" without distinction, and "the weapons of war being for ever laid aside, joy and profit shall be the perpetual lot of all." This result must not be attributed to the success of the English expedition exclusively, as the French Government had established official relations with the Canton authorities, and even deputed a Consul to that city; while the Government of the United States had been represented in the Bogue during the whole crisis by men-of-war. All that can be said is that had the English forces been defeated instead of being victorious, these concessions would not have been made to the general body of foreigners.

One point alone, but that unfortunately of the first importance, remained unsettled. Sir Henry Pottinger had not succeeded in obtaining the assent of the Chinese Government to the legalization of opium; and no reference is made to that article in the tariff or any part of the commercial treaty. The settlement which left undecided the principal point of all in controversy could not be considered completely satisfactory. The old sores might be re-opened at any moment. Yet Sir Henry Pottinger, notwithstanding that he had previously encouraged the expectation that the opium trade might be legalized, was sincere in his wish to uphold the stipulations of the treaty; and when, therefore, it was and good faith in the estimation of the Government of China, and in the eyes of all other nations." 22nd of July, 1843.

suggested that opium should be held to come under the final clause of the tariff, which provided that all other articles of commerce not expressly named should be admitted at an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent., the Plenipotentiary, in his double capacity of diplomatist and Governor of Hongkong, issued a strongly-worded proclamation stating that such a construction was untenable, as "the traffic in opium was illegal and contraband by the laws and imperial edicts of China."

So far, therefore, as the opium trade could ever be said to have existed under the countenance of the English Government, that element of support was now withdrawn in the most complete and formal manner. But the Chinese were not able to comprehend the nice distinctions which, in international law, separate repudiation of participation in a stated proceeding from active prevention. The English Government withdrew its protection from those who pursued a forbidden traffic; but it rested with the Chinese to devise measures for the prevention of smuggling. This was strictly in accordance with international law, but the Chinese may be forgiven for failing to comprehend that the Government which denounced the opium traffic in language that seemed to borrow its moral fervour from some of the writers of the Hanlin, need take no steps towards stopping the arrival of the drug or cutting off the supply. The explanation of this difference was simple, but it was to prove the precursor of a long series of troubles which have not even in the present day reached a settlement or exhausted their power for mischief. Far better would it have been if Sir Henry Pottinger had openly declared that the settlement of the question did not lie in his hands, and that as the East India Company would continue to grow opium, so would it be exported from India to China, whether as contraband or not. The Government of Queen Victoria could do little or nothing in the matter. If the Chinese did not feel strong enough to guard their coasts, to enforce the laws both on their own people and on treaty-breaking foreigners, then the wisest and the most dignified policy to pursue was to legalize the import of opium. But Sir Henry Pottinger did not take this course, and the Chinese were left

to unravel for themselves as best they might the mystery of how the action of the Company, and of English and Indian merchants, was compatible with the solemn pledges and the sometimes indignant language of the representative of the English Queen.

With this important question left in doubt and unsettled it followed that there was a weak point in the arrangements made under the Treaty of Nankin. The continuance of friendly relations depended obviously on the exercise of forbearance on both sides, as well as on the continued belief of the Chinese authorities in their military inferiority and their consequent inability to reverse the decision of war. For a time the Chinese believed in the sincerity of the large promises conveyed by the official language of the English officers; but as they never realized the fact that English action was directed from two different sources, and controlled on this question by two opposite and antipathetic opinions, those of Leadenhall Street, and Whitehall, so did it never occur to them as being worthy of a moment's credence that the English Plenipotentiary did not possess the power to carry out his promises, and that his threats were in the eyes of English merchants devoid of terror. So long as opium was manufactured at Patna or Benares, so long as the poppy flowered on the plains of Malwa, so long could no human power, save the strong arm of Chinese authority itself, prevent its finding a way to the most profitable market in Canton or the other parts of China. The war and treaty of 1842 failed to provide a remedy of the evil, and the opium question was left unsettled to disturb the harmony of later relations.

One unqualified good had resulted from the war, for there will be none to deny that the study of the Chinese language and literature received an immense impetus from the events which have just been recorded. The missionaries of the Church of Rome had long enjoyed and utilized opportunities denied to other foreigners, of learning the Chinese tongue, and of becoming conversant with its peculiarities as well as with much of the accumulated mass of its literature. Yet although they fully and freely placed their knowledge at the service of the world by narrating the history, describing the

customs and the geography of the Chinese people and nation, they did nothing towards the increase of the knowledge of the Chinese tongue itself. Without accusing them of having any settled policy on the subject, the fact remains that they possessed, and did nothing to lose, the exclusive knowledge of the Chinese language. So, when the mission of Lord Macartney to Peking was determined upon and despatched, there was for a moment complete uncertainty on the important point as to who should be the interpreter. As has been said, there was no man eligible for that employment then existing in the British dominions.

The difficulty was fortunately averted on that occasion by the appointment of Mr., afterwards Sir George, Staunton, then at Canton, who, perhaps, of all English sinologues, best deserves the grateful remembrance of his countrymen for the services he rendered not merely as a diplomatist, but as an illustrator and expositor of the laws of China. Staunton had a greater incentive and a more practical object in taking up the language of the country than had Stanislas Julien, who was the first among Continentals to prosecute the research from motives apart from religious zeal, and who must always be remembered for both the work he did and the difficulties he overcame as one of the foremost and most brilliant of Chinese scholars. Four secretaries possessing a knowledge of Chinese accompanied the mission of Lord Amherst, and of these two became well known in their respective spheres—Sir John Davis and Dr. Morrison. Both did excellent service in their way, the former in work that will endure longer perhaps than the more laborious and erudite productions of his colleague. These early seekers in a new field left more than an example to the generation then growing up. They helped by their teaching and guidance the studies of those who in name, as well as in a common pursuit, continued their labour and made it more familiar. Dr. Morrison left a son,* who was chief interpreter to Sir Henry Pottinger, and who was thought by some to possess a more finished style of Chinese conversation than his father. To him Mr. Charles Gutzlaff could hardly be considered inferior, for they had

* Mr. John Robert Morrison, who died prematurely in 1843.

both been trained at the same school, and had derived inspiration from a common source. But there were others too numerous to name, the opportunity of whose service did not afford them the same occasion of distinction as their predecessors in an age when Chinese scholarship was the privilege of a few individuals. Two alone need be named—the missionary Dr. Medhurst, and Professor James Legge, who began more than forty years ago those studies which gained for him no fleeting reputation as an erudite and conscientious investigator of a language presenting unusual difficulties to the inquirer and student. It will be sufficient, and the present purpose will be served, if in recalling the incidents and results of the first foreign war some small allowance be made for the undoubted impetus which it gave to the study of the Chinese language.

Nor must it be supposed that viewed in its larger aspect the war of 1840-42 was only disastrous in its incidents and unfortunate in its consequences. Those who never fail to apply to the action of the English Government the test of a standard not yet attained, and perhaps unattainable, in international relations, have not refrained from denouncing this war as iniquitous. They have sought to give it, as an opprobrious title, the name of "The Opium War." Never was a title given with less pretence of a justification. On the same principle many wars in this continent might have been termed wars of brandy or whisky—articles much more injurious in their effects when abused or taken to excess, than opium used in the only form known among the Chinese. But although one of the early incidents in the struggle had been the destruction of the stock of opium by Commissioner Lin, the subject of opium sank into the background, and was hardly mentioned after the fervour of the literary class had been checked by the failure of their schemes, and the disgrace of their foremost representative. True it is that compensation had been demanded and obtained; but this was not because it was opium, but because it was the merchandise of English subjects. Had it been wheat or cotton the demand would still have been made.

But while there is not room to doubt that the war was not

waged for the purposes of continuing the trade in opium, with which the English Government distinctly repudiated all sympathy and connivance—not because a few enthusiasts denounced its use as the indulgence of a hopeless sin, but because the Imperial Government of China had on more than one occasion expressed a belief that it was corrupting its people, and impoverishing the country—it may be urged, with some show of fairness, that the English Government would have shown greater prescience and statesmanship, that the English Plenipotentiary would have revealed a more perfect grasp of the subject, had they insisted, not on the prohibition, but on the legalization of opium. Of course this would have provided the self-appointed champions of morality with a fresh ground of complaint; but then this might have been tolerated for the sake of the advantages that would have accrued to the Governments of China and of England. The Chinese Government alone could put a stop to the import of opium. No arbitrary act of the Indian authorities could prevent the Chinese supplying themselves with a luxury which hosts of producers would be only too eager to supply, whether from Persia or from Yunnan mattered little. But the Chinese Government did not possess the power to prevent smuggling. It would have been wiser and more profitable to have recognized this. The second foreign war might have been averted, and the dignity of China would have been preserved from some of the rude shocks which it has since had to incur, if the candid statement had been made, and admitted that the responsibility of crushing smuggling remained on the Chinese alone.

It is taking a very narrow view of this struggle, however, to suppose that the question of opium was the principal matter at stake. The real point at issue was whether the Chinese Government could be allowed the possession of rights which rendered the continuance of intercourse with foreigners an impossibility. Those claims were unrecognized in the law of nations. They were based on the pretension of a superiority, and of a right to isolation, which the inhabitants of the same earth have never tolerated, and will never allow to any single branch of the human family. What China

sought to retain was a possession that no other State attempted to hold, and one which superior might alone could establish, if it could no more justify selfishness in the case of a country than in that of an individual. There was never any good reason to suppose that China possessed the sufficient strength, and the war clearly exposed the military weakness of the Celestial Empire.

When people talk, therefore, of the injustice of this war as another instance of the triumph of might over right, they should recollect that it was China which in the first place was in the wrong, as claiming an impossible position in the family of nations. The initial stages of the making of that claim were accompanied by an amount of arrogance on the part of the Chinese officials towards foreigners, which was the fitting prelude to the destruction of their property. We cannot doubt that had these acts been condoned there would have been no delay in enforcing the right to treat the persons of foreigners with as scant consideration as had been shown for their belongings. The lives of Europeans would have been at the mercy of a system which recognizes no gradation in crime, which affords many facilities for the manufacture of false evidence, and which inflicts punishment altogether in excess, according to Western ideas, of the fault. Commissioner Lin was filled with an enthusiasm in exalting the majesty of his sovereign and the superiority of his nation that left him no room to consider the feelings or claims of the outside peoples. They ought, in his mind, to have been well-satisfied at being allowed to come within even "the outer portals" of the Middle Kingdom, and in return for this favour they should have been willing to show due subordination, and humility in face of insult, danger, and tyrannical interference.

All this was of course intolerable, and not to be acquiesced in by the meekest of people; and the English, despite all their lip-zeal about equal rights and the virtue of timely concessions, are not at heart a meek people at all. The inevitable result followed with rather more delay than might have been expected, a fact which may be attributed to the distance between Canton and London and the imperfection in the

existing means of communication ; but it may be confidently said that were any Chinese official to now attempt the acts of high-handed authority which made the name of Commissioner Lin historical, the redress would have to be far more promptly rendered than it was years ago. Yet we cannot hope to have heard the last of the cuckoo-cry that the war of 1842 was unjust.

There were some, however, at the time to see the injustice of these allegations, and to point out with much clear and cogent argument that not only was England in the right morally, but that she was conferring a benefit on all foreigners alike by her decided and spirited action. Prominent among these was John Quincy Adams, the famous American professor on International Law, who, at an earlier period, had filled with lustre the highest place in the community of the United States. The question of the relations between China and foreign countries was passed by him in able and detailed review, and the conclusion to which he came was that England was in the right—he said “Britain has the righteous cause.” The conclusion forced itself on his mind, as we faintly believe it will on those who read the events we have detailed, that the opium dispute was an incident, and not the true cause of the war. There is the more reason to accept his opinion as he thought that the opium traffic was an evil in the suppression of which the English Government might have taken a much greater part ; yet, notwithstanding his accord with the opponents of opium, he could not deceive himself as to the fact that England was fully justified in her policy, and that she being in the right, China necessarily must be in the wrong.*

* Professor Adams's lecture will be found in full in vol. xi. of the “Chinese Repository,” pp. 274-89. The following may be quoted as his concluding opinion : “Which has the righteous cause? You have perhaps been surprised to hear me answer Britain—Britain has the righteous cause. But to prove it, I have been obliged to show that the opium question is not the cause of the war. My demonstration is not yet complete. The cause of the war is the kowtow!—the arrogant and insupportable pretensions of China that she will hold commercial intercourse with the rest of mankind not upon terms of equal reciprocity, but upon the insulting and degrading forms of the relation between lord and vassal.

When, too, the justice of this war is impugned, let it not be forgotten that the arrogance of the Chinese authorities was of no fleeting character. It even survived the rude shock of a period of open defeat and unqualified disaster. The confidential utterances of Chinese ministers showed that they never ceased to contemplate the return of the time when they would be in a position to advance their old claims to supremacy, and to withdraw the concessions which had been wrung from them by the necessities of the day. They gave way in order to gain the time needed to collect their resources, and they fancied that by military reforms, and by punishing their unfortunate generals, they might in the course of a little while create a new army, and obtain fresh commanders to show the way to victory and to undo the many concessions which they held had been made to Europeans. How far their hopes were thought even by themselves to be practical it is not necessary for us to inquire. The persistence of their pretensions after discomfiture shows how deep-rooted must have been the sentiment to regard all foreigners as inferiors, rigidly to be excluded from the benefits and privileges of their own nation.

The melancholy catastrophe with which I am obliged to close, the death of the gallant Napier, was the first bitter fruit of the struggle against that insulting and senseless pretension of China. Might I, in the flight of time, be permitted again to address you, I should pursue the course of the inquiry through the four questions with which I have begun. But the solution of them is involved in the germinating element of the first, the justice of the cause. This I have sought in the natural rights of man. Whether it may ever be my good fortune to address you again, is in the disposal of a Higher Power; but with reference to the last of my four questions, "What are the duties of the Government and the people of the United States, resulting from the existing war between Great Britain and China?" I leave to your meditations the last event of that war, which the winds have brought to our ears—the ransom of Canton. When we remember the scornful refusal from the gates of Canton in July, 1834, of Mr. Astell, bearing the letter of peace and friendship from Lord Napier to the Governor of the two provinces, and the contemptuous refusal to receive the letter itself, and compare it with the ransom of that same city in June, 1841, we trace the whole line of connection between cause and effect. May we not draw from it a monitory lesson, written with a beam of phosphoric light—of preparation for war and preservation of peace?"

No circumstance revealed this feeling of pride and suspicion more clearly than the tone adopted by the enlightened Elepoo, in one of his last despatches to Sir Henry Pottinger with regard to the English Sovereign, and which evoked from the English Plenipotentiary the indignant sentence that "his royal mistress, the Queen of England, acknowledges no superior or governor but God; and that the dignity, the power, and the universal benevolence of Her Majesty are known to be second to none on earth, and are only equalled by Her Majesty's good faith and studious anxiety to fulfil her royal promises and engagements." There can, therefore, be no kind of doubt, and the evidence lies before us in accumulated piles from both sides, from those engaged in the fray, as well as from the critical and disinterested spectator, that not one questionable branch of trade brought England and China into hostile collision, but the grand incompatibility of Chinese pretensions with universal right. Unless we are prepared to cancel all the obligations of international relations, to deny the claims of a common humanity, to maintain that the deficiencies of one region are not to be supplied by the abundance of another, and to hand down to future generations a legacy of closed frontiers, public suspicion, and interminable strife—unless we are to agree in denying every common principle of probity since the founders of nations went forth in all directions from the Tower of Babel, then we must come to the conclusion that the Chinese brought the humiliations of the first foreign war upon themselves, and that they, however blindly, were the erring side in what was, regarded by its consequences, a momentous struggle.

It is more gratifying to be able to leave the scene of contest, to turn from the record of an unequal and inglorious war, with the reflection that the results of this struggle were to be good. However inadequately the work of far-seeing statesmanship may have been performed in 1842, enough was done to make present friendship possible, and a better understanding between two great governing peoples a matter of hope, and not desponding expectancy. The Treaty of Nankin did not place the English representatives on that

footing of dignity which the equality of their sovereign with the Chinese Emperor demanded. The commercial arrangements at Canton ignored the opium trade—according to some, the *teterrima causa belli*. The Chinese Government made not the smallest overture, and showed no desire to establish relations with the European capitals, even with the view of learning something about the kingdoms which had sent strong fleets and brave armies to the seas and lands of the Far East. So long as this was the case, it was impossible to feel any belief in the cordiality of the friendship established in name. The English Government had obtained a material guarantee in the cession of Hongkong; the English merchant fresh opportunities of trade by the opening of four additional ports, and by the abolition of the Hong monopoly; and Englishmen generally increased security, if not perfect safety, by the vindication of the majesty of British law and citizenship. That was all. If it was not everything, if it was not even enough to stifle the pride and dissipate all the pretensions of China, it was still no small result for an expedition which had not approached the capital, and which could only be conducted under extreme difficulties, from considerations of distance, pre-occupation, and, it must be added, of ignorance of Chinese matters. That the war accomplished what it did is sufficiently creditable to its conductors, and explains the reason why English residents in China have always held dear, as one of the principal charters of their presence in that country, the memory of the Treaty of Nankin.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAST YEARS OF TAOUKWANG'S REIGN.

THE years immediately following the signature of the Treaty of Nankin were occupied with the adjustment of the numerous matters that claimed attention from those employed in the difficult task of harmonizing the relations of two lately conflicting races. Consuls had to be appointed at the treaty ports, and a staff of interpreters provided. The undue expectations of the foreign merchants had to be checked at the same time that the mandarins were not encouraged to believe that the Queen's representatives were disposed to look down upon trade and thought merely of cultivating relations on a kind of philosophical basis with the Celestial Government. The difficulties of enforcing the right of residence in the new towns opened to foreigners were not few; and time, as well as tact, was needed to bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion. The solution of these questions with England alone was certainly not simplified by the appearance of diplomatic agents from other countries, for it brought the fact home with greater clearness to the Chinese Government that they were making a great concession of principle not merely to a victorious opponent, but to all foreigners alike. They were, in short, taking a new departure in their practice of conducting their outside relations, and it could not but seem the more unpalatable the greater the points conceded, and the longer the time occupied in their discussion. Yet, although the effort of wresting these concessions, in which all foreigners equally shared, from the Chinese had been made by England herself, there were not wanting

those at the time to suggest that England was the one European Power that thought only of trade, that the rest were influenced by noble and disinterested motives, and sympathized with the grandeur and antiquity of China, apart from matters of tea, silk, or opium. Chinese diplomacy, trusting to the natural antipathy of nations towards each other, was not slow to avail itself of the chance of creating occasions of embarrassment; but the advantages it expected to derive from this discord have yet to be realized when clashing interests and individual ambitions have become more clearly revealed.

The Consulates were established and opened at Shanghai and Amoy in November, 1843; and with this formal recognition trade could at once be legally carried on. The consulate had already begun its work at Canton, and sometime afterwards that at Ningpo was also opened. The island of Chusan being still in English occupation, trade at Tinghai was conducted without the aid of a consul.* At Amoy the difficulty of acquiring land for residence was increased by the fact that for some reason or other Kulangsu had not been mentioned to the Emperor; and although by the consular reports included within the limits of Amoy waters, objections were raised to the settlement of Europeans upon it. So long as the English garrison remained in occupation the question was left undecided, but on its withdrawal in 1845 the Europeans also took their departure, and a hospital which had done much good was necessarily closed. That matter was therefore arranged by concessions to the Chinese.

* It will be useful to state here briefly who the respective Consuls were, and also something as to their staff. Mr. G. T. Lay was Consul at Canton; Captain George Balfour at Shanghai; Mr. Henry Gribble at Amoy, and Mr. Robert Thom at Ningpo. The respective interpreters, taking the ports in the same order, were Mr. Thomas Meadows, Mr. W. H. Medhurst, Jun., Lieutenant—the late Sir Thomas—Wade, and Mr. Charles Sinclair. Mr. G. T. Lay was also Interpreter-in-Chief to the Plenipotentiary, while the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff was Chinese Secretary and Interpreter. The latter's assistant was Mr.—afterwards Sir—Harry S. Parkes. It is worthy of notice that in this small body of men there were two destined to represent the English Government at Peking, Sir Thomas Wade and Sir Harry Parkes.

Some delay also had occurred at Canton in building the necessary residences for the foreign merchants, but in this case the Chinese pleaded a variety of excuses; and the delay might be attributed to the confusion caused by an extensive and very destructive fire, not an altogether insufficient excuse in itself, and one of which those having other intelligible grounds of objection would naturally make the most. The Chinese had some reason for vigilance, it will be admitted, as the English merchants endeavoured to extend the limits of their settlement by building on a portion of the ground occupied by the Chinese houses that were then burnt down. The Chinese proved, however, too quick for their opponents, and baffled their attempt by constructing their new houses in a night. All this was not very dignified, and may explain some of those hidden reasons which defy description, but which afford the true explanation why the progress of the settlement proved so slow.

Almost simultaneously with the arrival of the American representative, Mr. Caleb Cushing, and with the announcement that the French plenipotentiary, M. de Lagrenée, had left Europe, the departure of Sir Henry Pottinger had to be recorded. With the final adjustment of the provisions for commerce and consular representation his work was done, and the long services which he had rendered to his country, both in India and the further East, entitled him to return home as soon as his labours for the settlement of the Chinese question had been brought to a satisfactory termination. Taking up the thread of negotiations from Captain Elliot at a time when the Chinese entertained little doubt of their capacity to hold their own, he was soon compelled to suspend the action of diplomacy until the sword had decided the simple question of superior strength. But once the Chinese authorities became sincerely disposed to negotiate, they found in the English representative not merely courtesy but an anxious desire to be as little exacting as the terms which he was instructed to demand, and which were really necessary for the continuance of the intercourse if it were to go on at all, would allow. If the policy he was entrusted to execute failed in any point, it was in demanding too little direct

concession on the part of the Peking Government. Much was obtained in the principal sea-ports ; but so long as the capital could claim immunity from the presence of foreigners it was impossible to say when or how soon the mood of reasonable concession might not pass off. But the impression left by Sir Henry Pottinger could not have been other than favourable, and his attitude did something to disabuse the Chinese mandarins of the impression that the English were only traders, and neither very honest nor very considerate in the attainment of their objects. Had Lord Napier succeeded in coming into the same close communication with the Chinese, his amiable character would not have failed to impress them favourably ; but his premature death left his chief successor the opportunity of enjoying the principal credit in improving the character of the official relations between the two countries.

Sir Henry Pottinger left Hongkong in June, 1844, after a residence of nearly three years, and after arranging the transfer of his post to the gentleman appointed to succeed him, Mr., soon to be created Sir, John Francis Davis. The appointment was in some degree a surprise, as no one had anticipated the selection for the Chief Superintendentship of Trade and Governorship of Hongkong of an official who had been connected with the East India Company ; but there was little room to dispute the excellence of the choice. Mr. Davis* possessed the long experience of the Chinese which was the first essential towards dealing with them, and his literary pursuits had brought home to him the more attractive and respectable side of the Chinese character. In him also the Chinese were to deal with one who was far indeed from

* The following is a brief sketch of his career: "He arrived in China at the early age of 18. In 1816 he accompanied Lord Amherst to Peking. In 1832 he became President of the East India Company's factory in China. In 1834, October 11th, on the demise of Lord Napier, he was placed at the head of H.B.M. Commission as his lordship's successor. On the 21st of January, in the following year, having delivered over to Sir G. B. Robinson the seals of office, he embarked for England, whence he now, in 1844, returned. Sir John Davis will be best remembered by the numerous works of value and interest which he wrote on Chinese matters. He died at a great age a few years ago.

being void of sympathy with them. There came with him also, as Colonial Secretary, Mr. Frederick Bruce, long afterwards to be the first to fill the high post of resident minister at Peking. With the departure of Sir Henry Pottinger, and the installation of Mr. Davis, we shall be able to turn a little attention to those internal affairs of the Chinese Empire which not less than the development of its external relations affected its welfare.

Judged by the favourite standard of a Chinese ruler, the Emperor Taoukwang came up to the requirements of his exalted office in his sense of how much the people required of him, and also in his manner of giving expression to their wishes. But Taoukwang wanted the energy or the method of supervising the execution of his own orders, or of inspiring his officials with the conviction that they must be carried out without subterfuge. A period of confusion and misfortune always brings the elements of disunion to the surface, and in China, where things are kept quiet among the masses only for want of an opposite example, it has always happened that the smallest symptoms of rebellion are followed by frequent ebullitions of national discontent, which would produce formidable consequences were they better directed or more unanimous in their expression. On this occasion it was thought that China had passed through the crisis without any very untoward mishap, and many were the congratulations on the ground that with a tranquil China paying heed to the Emperor's mandates a profitable trade might be carried on. But although the internal dangers which had presented themselves with such force to the Imperial Cabinet before the signing of the Nankin Treaty, did not reveal themselves as promptly as had at one time appeared probable, the public discontent was deep-rooted and not to be permanently repressed.

To a defeated Government people pay only a reluctant obedience. If that government be an alien one there is a strong temptation to revolt. The authority of Taoukwang was exposed to the double peril. The corruption of the official class, combined with the need for an increased revenue, not merely to provide for the amount of the

indemnity, but also to meet the increased charges on the administration in the way of providing for the greater naval and military expenditure, aggravated the popular discontent, and left no room to hope that it could be allayed save by the removal of grievances which pressed most heavily on the industrious and the toilers. Taoukwang himself was not unaware of the evils existing in the state, nor was he disposed to press with undue harshness on subjects whom he was bound to regard in the light of children. But his officials had to reconcile the two conflicting recommendations in their instructions. They were to supply an increased revenue at the same time that they prolonged the period of paying the land-tax. Under such circumstances it is easy enough to understand the mode they adopted. They sent the stipulated amounts of revenue to the capital, and they praised the sovereign's desire for the welfare of his people; but of practical alleviation they accomplished none.

The Yellow River, despite the ex-Commissioner Lin's special personal attention, continued a source of misfortune to the people dwelling on its banks, and frequent inundations not merely thinned the population, but cut off the means of sustenance of the survivors. Of all forms of misrule and misfortune which affected the welfare of the people none pressed more heavily upon them than the increase in the robber-bands which haunted the country in many directions. The official "Gazette" contains frequent references to outrages by these desperadoes, and sometimes states the rewards conferred on those who distinguished themselves in their pursuit or capture. To such a pass had their depredations gone that it was asserted that a band of these marauders had even made their homes within the limits of the Imperial city itself; but it is not certain whether this language is to be accepted literally or as a figurative expression of the fact that those who supported these iniquities were harboured within the Imperial palace.

The inability of the executive to ensure order and to enforce respect was fully exemplified in Canton as well as at the capital. In the months of May and June a riot was got up by the mob on the excuse that a vane erected on

the top of the flag-staff over the American Consulate interfered with the Fung Shui, or spirits of earth and air; and although it was promptly removed in deference to the clamour of the superstitious, the disturbance continued, and assumed the proportions of absolute riot. Personal encounters took place between Europeans and Chinese, and in one of these a native was killed. The circumstances were such as justified in every way the act of the European; but the Chinese authorities, led by a weak and vacillating governor, demanded the surrender of the man who fired the shot as a self-convicted murderer. That the Chinese authorities should make such a demand after they had formally accepted and recognized the jurisdiction of consular courts, must be set down as very strong proof that they had not mastered the lessons of the late war in the way that had been hoped and believed. The fortunate coincidence of the arrival of Keying* to treat with the representative of the United States did more than anything else to allay the agitation; but the malice of the Canton mob required very little inducement to break forth, and all Keying's vigilance was needed in his capacity of Viceroy of the Two Kwang to effect his object of "amicably regulating the commerce with foreign countries."

One of Keying's first engagements was to arrange the treaty with the special envoy sent by Louis Philippe and M. Guizot to extend French commerce and influence in the Far East; and the arrival of M. de Lagrenée and his brilliant suite at Macao followed almost immediately the departure of Mr. Caleb Cushing. A whole month was given up to the discussion in that town of an equitable arrangement; and Keying being now thoroughly sincere in his wish to arrange matters with the foreigners, and the French having no further concessions to demand beyond those obtained by the English for all, it naturally followed

* Keying was appointed at this time both Governor-General of the Two Kwang, and also a High Commissioner for Foreign Affairs—in itself a fact of the greatest importance, as showing that those affairs had already become so important as to constitute the work of a special department.

that the negotiations proceeded briskly and without a hitch. The treaty between France and China was signed on the 23rd of October, 1844, and Keying is reported to have told M. de Lagrenée that France was a great nation which did not think of questions of trade. The capacity of being ironical is not denied even to the Chinese.

The Chinese Government showed a spirit of concession and moderation in more than one point; but perhaps none was more striking or noteworthy in itself than the tolerant views which suddenly began to prevail in Taoukwang's cabinet on the subject of the Christian religion. There is no doubt that the credit of this change of opinion was largely due to the representations of M. de Lagrenée, who obtained the marked concession of an Imperial edict ordaining the toleration of the Christian religion as being one that inculcated principles of virtue. The practical value of this concession was much enhanced by the right conceded at a later period to religious bodies of holding land.

Meanwhile, the day for the evacuation of Chusan and Kulangsu was approaching. An instalment of the indemnity was paid in July, 1845, leaving only one more to be received; and when that fell due, some appeared to think that what was held a short delay invalidated the terms of the treaty, and afforded an opening for the retention of Chusan. But it was soon discovered that the Chinese had not left themselves open to any adverse criticism on the score of not being up to time. By the terms of the treaty the last instalment was to be paid in the twelfth month of the Chinese year, which corresponds to the month of January, not December, and it was paid in the most punctual manner. The English Government personally expressed its admiration at the honourable way in which the Chinese had complied with all the stipulations of the treaty. But the local officials at Canton seemed unable to enforce the clause giving foreigners right of entry into that city, and for several months after the payment in full of the indemnity English troops remained in occupation of both Chusan and Kulangsu.

There was another reason for this hesitation in abandoning the former place, which many thought preferable to

Hongkong as the permanent site of British power, and that was the current belief that the French would have hastened to appropriate the island for themselves on the withdrawal of the English troops. Probably this had no better foundation than the fact of the French navy being strongly represented at the time in Chinese waters, but that circumstance sufficed to give point to international jealousy. It was not until the spring of 1846, several months after the English troops should all have been withdrawn, that an arrangement was come to for the evacuation of Chusan and for the concession of the right for foreigners to enter Canton; but the execution of the latter right was to be postponed until "the population of Canton shall be more under the control of the local government." This was considered as almost a surrender on our part by those who did not believe that the Chinese could be too much humbled, and who would have allowed them the exercise of their independence only on sufferance; but a consideration of the following summary of events which had occurred at Canton before this arrangement will at once show that there was really no other course to be pursued save that of facilitating instead of hindering the assertion of Taoukwang's authority.

The Cantonese needed but little excuse to break out into disorder, and all Keying's tact and authority did not avail to make peace a matter of assurance. When affairs seemed likely to settle down, the whole progress of the relations was complicated and thrown back by the violent death of a native at the hands of an American, and the details of the occurrence went to show that the act was scarcely to be justified on the ground of adequate aggravation. The death of another Chinaman at the hands of a foreigner stirred up the popular passion to a dangerous pitch, and even the moderate Keying was obliged to bend before the wave of national indignation, and to make a forcible remonstrance and an explicit demand for reparation on the American representative. What Keying demanded was that "the law be executed on the proper person by a forfeiture of his life." But after a long and heated correspondence which continued to the end of the year, the matter

was hushed up on payment of compensation to the wife of the slain Chinaman. The American President laid down in the most emphatic manner the ex-territorial rights of the citizens of the United States, and it was pronounced that "all Americans in China are to be deemed subject only to the jurisdiction of their own Government both in criminal matters and in questions of civil right."

It was long before the popular agitation caused by this and other incidents of a similar kind settled down, and the Chinese authorities found themselves compelled to adopt a tone towards their own people that was not quite compatible with their dignity; for, not possessing the material force to support their declarations, they were unable to employ the language of menace and authority that would alone have overawed the mob of Canton. Designing persons, therefore, seized the occasion afforded by the outbreak of the populace to express their hatred of the foreigners, and of the English in particular. The walls were covered with placards declaring that "the injuries, the deceits, the cruel deeds, the evil and wicked acts of the English resident barbarians are like the hairs of the head, innumerable." There was much more to the same effect, showing that there was a dangerous spirit abroad, and that the people had lost respect for their authorities at the same time that their foreign antipathies were revealed with increased bitterness. The torch was applied to this magazine of popular ferment by an act of tyranny on the part of the city prefect, but it fortunately exhausted its force upon an officer of Taoukwang instead of upon the Europeans. The mob attacked the prefecture and set fire to it. The prefect escaped with difficulty; but after the rioters had expended their force, the turmoil gradually settled down on the formal repudiation of the prefect's acts by the Governor-General. It was not until February of the following year that Keying felt able to adopt firmer language, and to command the Cantonese to abstain from posting placards, and from interfering with those of the foreigners who, by the Emperor's express wish and permission, entered their city. If impartial allowance is made for these circumstances, it will not be denied that the

Chinese authorities had good reasons for deprecating a precipitate decision in reference to the right of entry into Canton.

There remained, therefore, no longer any objection to the surrender of Chusan, and, indeed, no further excuse for prolonging an occupation which had benefited the people of the island, and which had also reflected great credit on the English troops and commander entrusted with its charge. In July, 1846, Sir John Davis arrived at Tinghai for the express purpose of handing over the island to the Imperial Commissioners appointed to receive it. The ceremony was marked by an exchange of friendly compliments. The kindness and liberality towards the people of the English commander were frankly admitted, and it was also stated that "the European soldiers never ill-treated or annoyed the inhabitants." These statements deserve to be remembered, if only because they form an agreeable and honourable exception to the usual tale of foreign occupation. A public notification from Sir John Davis, stating that Chusan was no longer to be considered as one of the ports or places of trade, brought the English occupation of that island to a final termination. The withdrawal of the small garrison on the island of Kulangsu near Amoy completed the military evacuation, leaving Hongkong alone permanently in the possession of the English Crown.

Even before the official relations had reached this final phase the foreign trade had shown signs of great increase, and it was already evident that a busy future was in store for Shanghai. There had been changes in the various consulates owing to deaths and retirements. Mr. Rutherford Alcock, whose long connection with China and Japan then commenced, reached China during this period. For a short time he was consul at Amoy, and then he was transferred to Foochow; and in both offices Mr. Harry Parkes accompanied him as interpreter. Of Mr., afterwards Sir Rutherford, Alcock there will be so much to be heard and said in the development of the Chinese question, that it is only a matter of interest to mark here the exact date at which he arrived in China. Before the end of the year 1846 he was

transferred to the Consulate at Shanghai. It will therefore be seen that the honour and dignity of the British Government were appropriately sustained in the persons of the new consular service, as well as by the Chief Superintendent of Trade at Hongkong.

Before the evacuation of Chusan* was completed the internal confusion of China had become worse. We have described what it was like at Canton, where the presence of foreigners may have complicated the question at the same time that the European war-ships prevented its becoming as acute as in other places at which the Emperor was alone dependent on his own authority. Yet already had Taoukwang declared that "his servants did not know what truth was," and the habit of concealing what was happening in the Empire until the matter had become too grave to admit of further concealment was one that could only be fatal in the end. The extent to which the secret societies were ramified throughout the Chinese nation may be inferred from the fact that a proclamation against the Triads enacting severe penalties for belonging to that association was made at Hongkong itself. Members of the same society broke out in open revolt at Chowchow, in the northern part of the province of Kwantung, and a large body of troops had to be sent against them from Canton. Nearly one thousand of the insurgents either perished in the fight that ensued, or were executed after it. The survivors escaped into the eastern districts of the province, and, joining other members of the same society, proved a constant source of alarm and anxiety. The remission of all arrears of taxes previous to the year 1840, granted by the Emperor in February, 1846, was a boon scarcely appreciated by the people at large, and did little or nothing to alleviate distress or to allay popular sedition.

If the Triads were troublesome in Kwantung, a new sect or association, called the "Green Water-lily," was not less an element of disturbance in the central provinces. The

* In connection with this act it ought to be added that Sir John Davis had claimed and retained for England the exclusive right to re-occupy it and to defend it against other foreigners.

scene of their activity was the vast provinces of Hoonan and Hupeh, covering the greater portion of middle China. The coast provinces, too, were not without their troubles. Pirates or water-thieves were numerous along the coasts of Formosa, Fuhkien, and Chekiang. Several cases of piracy occurred on the Canton river, and more than one European lost his life. In Yunnan the Mahomedans were reported to be stirring and to be leaguering with the wild men of the border. But here the measures of the Viceroy were prompt and vigorous; and the authority of the Emperor was fully asserted. The island of Amoy, small as it was, was not so small as to be able to avoid the conflict of opinion prevalent throughout the state. Village was arrayed in arms against village; and an official notice was given by the English Consul that foreigners could not visit any of them except at serious personal peril. In the district of Tunkwan, in Central China, more than 20,000 robbers were affirmed to have banded themselves together and set the constituted authorities at defiance. To the least inquisitive observer this internal agitation presented all the symptoms of decay.

If there be trouble and weakness at the core, it is an old saw that the extremities must suffer. The report of the Chinese defeat in a foreign war took several years to penetrate to the heart of Asia; but its reverberation at last echoed on the Pamir, and roused the hopes of the Khoja adventurers of Khokand and Altyshahr. The ill-fortune of Jehangir, who had at an earlier period of his reign openly challenged the authority of Taoukwang, had deterred for a time the many enemies who hated the Chinese not less for the order which they brought in their train than for the sake of race and religious antagonism. When Jehangir was captured and sent to Peking—and his brother Yusuf fared little better than he did, for if his life was saved by a precipitate flight his hopes were blighted—the Chinese authorities, who had ruled the cities of Eastern Turkestan with justice and prudence for three parts of a century, changed their method of government in more than one particular by importing into it that sternness and cruelty which some would have us believe are most in accordance with their character.

We need not dwell on those summary executions, on that confiscation of property, on the banishment of suspected persons, which must follow the suppression of revolt, whether the offended authority be a despot or the most immaculate of Republics. Those repellent features could not be absent from the Kashgar risings of 1829-31, with all the darker hues of Asiatic thoroughness and indifference to reproach.

One act detaches itself from the rest, and preserves its place in history, if only because it carried with it the penalty that generally finds out human transgression. The large Mahomedan population of Kashgaria presented the ready means of providing needy adventurers with the materials of an army. The name of the Prophet, the incitement to a *jehad*, were sufficient to draw the toiling people of the plains from their occupations to attempt the imprudent, or dare the impossible. The Khoja adventurers escaped for the most part over the mountains to vaunt their deeds of valour in the bazaars of Ferghana; the duped and unfortunate people of Kashgaria remained to lament their folly and expiate their crime. The Chinese were never wholly cruel. The quality of their intellect prevented their feeling any satisfaction in the wholesale slaughter of a people whose worst fault was that they had been too easily deceived. Other Asiatic conquerors would have offered up a holocaust of the Mussulman population. The Chinese contented themselves with removing 12,000 families from Kashgar and Yarkand to the Ili. The balance between the Chinese and the native populations south of the Tian Shan was thus more equally apportioned; but the children of these immigrants were the Tarantchi* rebels who placed the seal on Chinese discomfiture in 1864.

The Chinese succeeded in vanquishing all their enemies in the field; and this measure was in itself one that well comported with the idea of strength. But they were oppressed with a sense of embarrassment from the many new matters that imperatively demanded the attention and seriously taxed the strength of the central Government; and the Executive in Central Asia felt that it would most please the Emperor by appealing to him as seldom as possible for assistance.

* The Tarantchi means, as already stated, the toilers.

Therefore it was that while, on the one hand, they took measures to weaken the Mahomedan population, they agreed, on the other, to make concessions in matters of trade to the neighbouring Khan of Khokand, in return for which he gave the easy promise to discourage and to keep inactive the Khoja chiefs who lived within his borders.

Concessions to the unscrupulous ruler of Khokand could only purchase a brief and uncertain truce. Concessions are always the sign of weakness, and of a self-distrusting mind. When made by a foreign conqueror in a state held to subjection by the sword alone, they can have but one significance ; they herald the victor's downfall. In Kashgar the merit of an individual, the rare tenacity of the Chinese, served to postpone the inevitable day of evil ; and the great overshadowing reputation of the Empire availed for many years to repel the fatal attack. It was strange that the main credit of this respite should have been due to a Mahomedan and a son of the soil ; but so it was, although it should be remembered that when the subjected are held worthy of the highest seat in the administration the basis of an alien rule is destroyed. Zuhuruddin gave peace to the Kashgarians for many years, and a new sense of security to the Chinese by the construction of fresh forts at the principal cities ; yet there is no doubt that Zuhuruddin's example was the most powerful inducement to his co-religionists and fellow-countrymen to believe that they could displace the Chinese authority.

It was not until the year 1846, when the result of the foreign war was well known, and when the embarrassments of the Peking Government were patent to all beholders, that any fresh attempt was made to molest the Chinese. In the previous year a change had taken place in the chiefship of Khokand. Mahomed Ali, a Khan of some character, was murdered by his neighbour, the ruler of Bokhara, in 1842, and after an interval of a few years his authority passed to his relative, Khudayar ; but this prince proved unable to retain the possessions which his predecessor had drawn together. Mahomed Ali had given plenty of employment to the turbulent spirits of his state, as well as to those numerous adventurers who made their home in his dominions. It was

evident to all that Khudayar, with less capacity, had a greater desire for the tranquillity that, in unsettled countries, is only to be won by constant vigilance and the proof of effective valour. The loss of employment raised an effervescence among these adventurers, and the opportunity of distinction seemed most encouraging to them in the direction of Kashgar. Therefore they went to the sons of Jehangir, and appealing to them, both by the necessity of avenging their father's death and by the prospect of gaining much fame and advantage through the expulsion of the Chinese from Central Asia, laid their plans of action before them. These Khoja princes were young, and seven in number. They were impelled to make the attempt by the temper of their age, as well as by the knowledge that if many of them refused there would surely be one to accept the adventure, the more readily, perhaps, in the hope of enjoying the fruits of victory alone.

The seven Khoja princes, who gave their joint name to the invasion, issued their proclamation in the winter months of 1845-46, rallied their adherents to their side, made allies of the Kirghiz tribes, and summoned recruits from far and near. They hung on the frontier during the winter months, and Zuhuruddin seems to have thought that they and their forces would melt away with the snows. Truly they and their nondescript following were not a very formidable body, and seemed ill able to conquer kingdoms and dictate the fate of nations. But, on the other hand, the Chinese garrison was very weak, and was distributed over a wide surface; the people of Kashgar might be easily won over, and Zuhuruddin had been so inactive as to raise a suspicion, probably unfounded, of his treachery. The chances, therefore, were not as unequal as they seemed, and only the miserable incapacity and tyrannical injustice of the Khojas prevented their achieving a greater success than they did.

The Khojas at last quitted the hills, and marched upon Kashgar, to which they laid siege. The fort successfully defied their efforts, and so might the town have done, but that one of its gates was opened by a traitor thirteen days after the Khojas appeared before the walls. They then attempted to raise the country, but their misbehaviour at

Kashgar disgusted their sympathizers, and, after a two months' occupation, they were defeated in a fight at Kok Robat by the garrison of Yarkand, and driven out of the country. The invasion of the Seven Khojas, which at one time threatened to assume serious proportions, thus terminated in what was practically a collapse. The Chinese had not to bring up any fresh forces, their attenuated garrison sufficing to hold the citadels of the various towns, and in the end to inflict a decisive defeat on the Mahomedan army. The sympathy of the people was alienated by the excesses of the Kirghiz and Khokandians, who found a bad example in the Khoja princes; and they were, fortunately, not induced to betray any wish for their success before it had become evident that the Chinese were certain to crush the invading foe without any serious difficulty. This campaign was only fatal to Zuhuruddin. His conduct was open to the charge of over-confidence, and he was removed from his high office. The remembrance of what he had previously done ensured him his life.

The famous Commissioner Lin was indirectly connected with the suppression of this movement. After his disgrace at Canton in the winter of 1840, he was summoned before the Board of Punishment, and sentenced to banishment in Ili. The sentence was not carried out, for before he had completed the arrangements for his departure the Yellow river broke its banks, and he was called upon to proceed to the scene of disaster. The choice naturally fell upon him, as the greater portion of his early official career had been passed as commissioner of rivers in different quarters of the Empire. At the end of 1845 he was rewarded for such services as he had been able to render in this post with the viceroyalty of the two north-west provinces, Shensi and Kansuh, and of these Ili was, in a certain sense, the outlying dependency. But although we know this fact in connection with his career, the details of his government are wanting, and we only obtain some idea of the disturbance in Central Asia from the fact that in the spring of 1846 he requested that rewards might be bestowed upon the worthy soldiers of Kansuh.

The progress of intercourse with the peoples of Europe did not bring that better understanding with it which was generally expected, and the last four years of Taoukwang's reign witnessed an unceasing struggle on the part of the Chief Superintendent and the Consuls to obtain the fulfilment of all the Treaty stipulations, and, on the other hand, of the Chinese officials to retard their realisation and to limit their application. Great allowance should be made, and, generally speaking, was made, for the embarrassment of the Central executive of China in having suddenly to violate and fly in the face of every principle of government which it had sought to impress on its subjects. The greatest peril in the whole situation was that the authority of the Emperor might be set on one side and fall into contempt. Therefore, while the English representatives had to afford protection to the Queen's subjects, and to secure the execution of the terms of the Treaty, they had also to make every allowance for the weakness of the mandarins, and to remember that their acts were not to entail, above all things, the collapse of the Chinese administration in the treaty ports. It is satisfactory to be able to feel, on looking back to this period, that the action of the English consuls came up to this standard, and that no charge can be made against the agents of the British Crown of having abused their superiority during a most critical period.

The production of opium in India during these years was greatly increasing, not because the East India Company was oblivious of moral considerations, and thought only of increasing its revenue, but simply in obedience to the irresistible law of supply and demand. The Chinese would have opium, just as the English during the Napoleonic wars would have French brandy, and it was supplied. The dangers of the contraband trade in this article could not obscure its profitable nature, and the coasts of China were visited each year by a steadily increasing number of opium vessels. To be correct, the perils of the adventure were not excessive. The Chinese navy had been reduced to the lowest point, and among no class were the merits of opium better appreciated than by the officials. Such danger as there was arose chiefly from the attacks of pirates, who wished to obtain the source of pleasure

without paying for it, or who captured the rich plunder for sale. These piratical gangs were well armed, and composed of desperate men. Generally they were baffled in their attempts, but sometimes they succeeded in their purpose.*

But for the time being there were many more urgent matters than the opium trade; and of these none was so pressing as the question of the right of foreigners to proceed beyond the limits of their factories and compounds. The Chinese wished for many reasons, perhaps even for the safety of the foreigners, to confine them to their settlements; and it might be plausibly contended that the Treaty bore no other construction. Of course this confinement was intolerable, and with the examples before them of M. Huc and his companion, M. Gabet, who had just traversed the whole extent of the

* A reaction was beginning to set in against the sweeping denunciations of the missionaries as to the evils of opium-smoking—charges which had been rendered more plausible to the public mind by the brilliant Confessions of De Quincey as to the effect of opium-eating, between which there is an immense difference. Christison had made scientific investigations, which minimized the evil consequences, but the first authoritative statement in contradiction to these views was made by Sir Henry Pottinger on his return to England. The following is his expression of opinion: "I take this opportunity to advert to one important topic on which I have hitherto considered it right to preserve a rigid silence—I allude to the trade in opium; and I now unhesitatingly declare, in this public manner, that after the most unbiassed and careful observations, I have become convinced, during my stay in China, that the alleged demoralizing and debasing evils of opium have been, and are, vastly exaggerated. Like all other indulgences, excesses in its use are bad and reprehensible; but I have neither myself seen such vicious consequences as are frequently ascribed to it, nor have I been able to obtain authentic proofs or information of their existence. The great, and perhaps I may say sole, objection to the trade, looking at it morally and abstractedly, that I have discovered or heard of, is that it is at present contraband, and prohibited by the laws of China, and therefore to be regretted and disavowed; but I have striven—and I hope with some prospect of eventual success—to bring about its legalization; and were that point once effected, I am of opinion that its most objectionable feature would be altogether removed. Even as it now exists, it appears to me to be unattended with a hundredth part of the debasement and misery which may be seen in our native country from the lamentable abuse of ardent spirits; and those who so sweepingly condemn the opium trade on that principle need not, I think, leave the shores of England to find a far greater and besetting evil."

country from Tibet to Canton, and of Mr. Robert Fortune, who had explored the botanical mysteries of much of south-east China, it was not to be supposed that English merchants on the Pearl river would be prevented from taking boating or shooting excursions in the neighbourhood of their place of residence. These excursions were inevitable and only in the natural course of things, but they were opposed by the Chinese authorities, and it necessarily followed that a period of hostility and doubt had to be passed through before they could become the rule. A cause of collision was not long presenting itself.

In March, 1847, a small party of Englishmen proceeded up the river in a boat to the large manufacturing town of Fatshan. On reaching the place symptoms of hostility were promptly manifested, and the Europeans, thinking that they would be safest with the authorities, hastened to the yamen or residence of the prefect, in the heart of the town. The magistrate, unfortunately, was not at home, and the strange appearance of the foreigners, who had never been seen before, and some of whom carried guns, was well calculated to excite the popular mind to a dangerous pitch. The return of the magistrate and his prompt assistance fortunately averted the most serious consequences; and the party of foreigners were escorted in safety back to their boat. Here, however, a new danger presented itself. The people lined the banks, and pelted them with stones as they hurried past in their boat as rapidly as the tide and hard rowing would carry them. That they succeeded in escaping with their lives was little short of marvellous, and was largely due to the chief mandarin, who courageously * escorted them from the

* One of the party wrote: "The chief officer who was with us conducted himself with great dignity and a most noble magnanimity, standing outside in the midst of the flying missiles without fear or trepidation. His subordinate also was not deficient in generosity and energy of character, behaving in a very undaunted manner. Receiving a gash upon his head from a stone, he made light of it, and once he was nearly up to his waist in water helping the boat forward." A French account of this affair stated that the mandarin said to the English, "Follow me closely; my body shall serve you as a shield."—"Chinese Repository," vol. xvi. pp. 142-47, and p. 512.

beginning of the riot until they had reached a place of safety. This occurrence was destined to have important consequences.

Now there can be no question that this expedition to Fatshan was a most reprehensible and inexcusable proceeding. All the attendant circumstances were such as aggravated the original offence; and those who participated in the escapade were deserving of the most severe condemnation on the part of the English representatives. The only person to come out of the affair with any credit was the mandarin, whose conduct proved that some of the Chinese Government's agents were anxious to treat foreigners with consideration and to afford them all possible protection. The hostility of the people of Fatshan was to be attributed to their want of knowledge of foreigners, and to the fact that none of the many precautions taken at the Treaty Ports had been enforced to secure the safety of English visitors. Fatshan was the Birmingham of Southern China. Was it to be supposed that the white faces which dared not venture into the main streets of Canton would be safe among a manufacturing population which had never gazed on them before? Had the matter been decided on its merits the Chinese Government would have been complimented on possessing one courageous and honourable official, and the participators in a foolish freak would have been severely admonished.

But the authorities at Hongkong did not reason on the matter. The Fatshan affair was treated as an outrage instead of as an accident, the cause of which was the stupidity of a few Englishmen and others tired of the confinement of their ships or the settlement. Sir John Davis resolved to bring the Canton authorities to reason. He proclaimed that he would "exact and require from the Chinese Government that British subjects should be as free from molestation and insult in China as they could be in England," a demand which was not only in distinct violation of the Treaty of Nankin, but which was in itself impossible. Neither Sir John Davis nor anybody else had the right to substitute for the treaty ports the whole of China; and the line of argument taken by the Chinese throughout the negotiations had been

that they could not guarantee the safety of foreigners outside a few special and fixed places. In plain language, the English had no business at Fatshan, and might think themselves lucky in escaping with their lives. Yet the principal English official resolved to take the matter up and to resort to force. Never was a more unjust or unreasonable excuse seized for forcing events.

On the 1st of April all available troops at Hongkong were warned for immediate service. On the following morning they left in three steamers and one ship-of-war. They landed at the Bogue forts, seized the batteries without opposition, and spiked the guns. The Chinese troops, whether surprised or acting under orders from Keying, made no attempt at resistance. Not a shot was fired; not a man injured on the part of the assailants. The forts near Canton, the very batteries on the islands opposite the great city, were served in the same way; although at the Whampoa forts the Chinese gunners, having partially recovered from their surprise, discharged their guns. Here the good fortune of the assailants stood them in excellent stead, for the fire of the Chinese batteries was well directed, and it was considered to be little short of miraculous how the boats conveying the landing parties to the shore escaped complete destruction. On the 3rd of April Canton was again at the mercy of the guns of an English squadron. The Superintendent issued a proclamation in which he said that he felt "that the moderation and justice of all his former dealings with the Government of China lend a perfect sanction to measures which he has been reluctantly compelled to adopt after a long course of misinterpreted forbearance." Moderation and justice seemed strange terms in the mouth of a man who, without warning, like a thief in the night, seized the defences of a friendly Government, and sought to acquire at the cannon's mouth concessions which had not been demanded after a protracted war by the accredited representative of the English sovereign. Sir John Davis was, no doubt, actuated by the best intentions. He saw the advantage of free and unrestricted intercourse, and he knew that the time must come when it would be a fact. He thought only to accomplish the object

himself at one stroke, and to anticipate events by a whole generation.*

The appearance of the English forces, far from cowering them, roused the populace of Canton to a height of animosity never exhibited before. Keying was denounced as the friend of the English and as being worthy of death; and placards were placed in the most prominent spots calling on the people to attack the barbarians. But the authorities distrusted their strength, and, although the English force was small, the counsels of Keying and his more pacific colleagues prevailed. It was resolved that the demands † of the English should be granted. A special proclamation was issued by the local magistrates enjoining the people not to interfere with or rudely gaze at those of the foreigners who happened to roam about the open country. The cause of doubt continued to be whether the people would obey the undoubtedly sincere orders of Keying, and those who had little or nothing to lose were, of course, loudest in their advocacy of violent measures, and of driving the handful of foreigners into the sea. The officials presented a united front to the demands of the fanatical and lawless. Proclamations from Keying the Viceroy, Chow Changling the General, and Yeh the Financial Commissioner, all impressed upon the people the necessity of remaining in their houses and of attending to their personal duties.

If some advantage was gained by these summary proceedings, it is none the less impossible to discover their justification. As Keying truly said, "if a mutual tranquillity is to subsist between the Chinese and foreigners, the common

* Commissioner Yeh, at this time Territorial Commissioner of the Provinces, makes his first appearance at this date as the author of an official proclamation to calm the public mind.

† These demands may be summarized as follows: The city of Canton to be opened at two years' date from the 6th of April, 1847. Englishmen to be at liberty "to roam for exercise or amusement" in the neighbourhood of the city, the one condition being that they should return the same day. The other stipulations, for the erection of a church, the granting of a site at Honan for buildings, the clearing of the river in front of the factories from boats, were not only reasonable, but calculated to promote good feeling and to remove causes of collision.

feelings of mankind, as well as the just principles of Heaven, must be considered and conformed with." It would be hard to show that Sir John Davis was swayed by any similar considerations. The success of the operations concealed their illegality and injustice; but we do not impugn his proceedings because they were accompanied by successful violence. Having decided to use his small force for the purpose of a military demonstration in front of Canton, he was bound to supply the place of numbers by unusual celerity and daring. Indeed, the military officer, Major-General D'Aguilar, made this the condition of his moving at all. And it is, of course, perfectly obvious that the necessity of ensuring a safe retreat left no choice except to occupy the river-forts and to disable their guns. The execution of the plan was creditable to English pluck and enterprise; but the plan itself was not merely without valid excuse, it was also singularly imprudent and deserved to fail. It was disapproved of at the time, and, as soon as the facts became known, was strongly condemned by the Home Government. Lord Grey wrote in November, 1847, in reference to an application made by the Major-General for a reinforcement, peremptorily forbidding him to undertake any further offensive measures against the Chinese,* and the general opinion was and remains that the adventure of April, 1847, was both unnecessary and imprudent. There is generally some defence, and very often a valid one, for the past proceedings of English officials and negotiators in China against the charge of being high-handed and unjust; but Sir John Davis's Canton expedition is the exception to the rule.

The distinction between necessary force and unnecessary

* Lord Grey went on to say that "Her Majesty's Government are satisfied that, although the late operations in the Canton river were attended with immediate success, the risk of a second attempt of the same kind would far overbalance any advantages to be derived from such a step. If the conduct of the Chinese authorities should unfortunately render another appeal to arms inevitable, it will be necessary that it should be made after due preparation, and with the employment of such an amount of force as may afford just grounds for expecting that the objects which may be proposed by such a measure will be effectually accomplished without unnecessary loss."—Correspondence (presented to Parliament in 1857).

violence, which Sir John Davis showed himself unable to appreciate in 1847, was well realized by Mr. Rutherford Alcock at Shanghai, where precisely the same questions presented themselves and similar difficulties arose to those that created anxiety at Canton. There the impatience of an European community to enjoy at once all the advantages that might accrue in the course of time from the change in the historic policy of China, had threatened to entail that rupture which the Consuls had been appointed specially to prevent; and a claim was laid to the privilege of travelling in the interior as a matter of course, while it was in reality a concession dependent on a variety of circumstances that could not be said to have yet come into action. The impulse of curiosity and the promptings of religious zeal combined to carry the Europeans from the security of Shanghai into the dangers of the neighbouring country. Those dangers would not have been insignificant at any time. They were rendered the more grave at this period by the fact that a large number of the boatmen, employed on the Grand Canal in conveying the grain tribute to the capital, had been thrown out of work in consequence of the Emperor's orders to send a large portion of the rice round by sea. These men to the number of 15,000 were thrown upon their own resources in the province of Chekiang. They were nearly all natives of Shantung, and in their desperation they showed no scruple in resorting to acts of violence and oppression. They were perfectly beyond the control of the local mandarins, and were virtually masters of their portion of the province.

The stipulation effected at Canton in 1847, that the English settlers might travel so far from a treaty port as they could return in the course of twenty-four hours, was given a general application. It was considered to be as valid at Shanghai as at Canton. Therefore there was no obvious reason to object to a party of missionaries proceeding in the month of March, 1848, to Tsingpu, a town some thirty miles west of Shanghai, as it was possible to perform the double journey within the specified time. Although the facts in connection with the Shantung navigators were generally known, the people at Shanghai were not aware that they had broken

loose from all restraint. When, therefore, these missionaries * reached Tsingpu and began to distribute their tracts, they were soon molested by a party of these boatmen. At first their interference partook more of the character of boisterous fun than malicious attack ; but the accidents which never fail to occur on such occasions aggravated the situation, and made matters extremely grave. In a very little time the attack became one in earnest. The missionaries attempted to escape by flight ; they were pursued and captured. They were roughly treated, seriously injured, and plundered of all their possessions. The nature of their wounds made their escape appear a matter of marvel. They were led back to the town, where the officials and respectable people did everything in their power to show that they did not sympathize with the acts of these ruffians. The victims themselves were most generous in exonerating the townspeople from all complicity in the outrage.

The circumstances of the Tsingpu outrage and the Fatshan incident were radically different. Not only were the missionaries unarmed, but they were acting in accordance with a right which had been formally conceded and enforced on more than one previous occasion. There was no possible reason or necessity to overlook what was an inexcusable outrage. Yet Mr. Alcock did not proceed to an act of overt war by despatching a force to Tsingpu or by the seizure of Woosung. He resorted to the most efficacious proceeding within what were his legal rights. He sent one of his two ships-of-war, with the Vice-Consul on board and Mr. Harry Parkes as interpreter, to Nankin, to deal with the Viceroy of the Two Kiang face to face, while he prohibited the sailing of the rice-boats. The plan was an admirable one to secure prompt redress, at the same time that it avoided creating any additional bad feeling or compromising the position of the English Government. An interview was held with Li, the Governor-General, on the 31st of March, and the greatest anxiety was shown to grant redress and to capture the criminals for condign punishment. The first step in the measure of reparation was the removal of Hienling, the

* The missionaries were Dr. Lockhart, Dr. Medhurst, and Mr. Muirhead.

intendant of Soochow, and another official was assigned to his place, charged with the special duty of detecting the guilty in the Tsingpu outrage, and of arranging matters with the foreigners generally on a satisfactory basis. Ten of the ringleaders were recognized and punished with flogging, placing in the cangue, and banishment. The course adopted by Mr. Alcock, in what might have proved an embarrassing situation, was thus completely vindicated by the result, and the incident closed with deserved encomiums on Mr. Harry Parkes for the skilful manner in which he had conducted the interviews with the Viceroy Li at Nankin.

The connivance of the Chinese authorities in the Tsingpu outrage was never matter of suspicion. Their subsequent acts clearly showed that they had not the least sympathy with the lawless proceedings of the canal boatmen, and that they were prepared to acquiesce in the practice of daily excursions on the part of the English residents. It remained, therefore, for the English representative to show on his part an intention to uphold the Treaty regulations, and to see that the Queen's subjects abided by them. Nor was this an obligation that he had only to meet as a matter of form. The English merchants were never satisfied. The addition of four new ports, the removal of an infinity of trade-exactions, and the relief from official tyranny—all accomplished by a single war over a proud and powerful State whose weakness arose from military unpreparedness—were not enough. They next claimed the concession of the right to travel a day's journey into the country, and to this privilege rapidity of movement gave a significance that was never contemplated. The merchants and missionaries soon showed that they were resolved to treat even this qualification in a very elastic manner. One day meant, in their eyes, two; and in the execution of their plans it very often meant much more. Against this violation of faith Mr. Alcock firmly set his face; and in a statesman-like notification he showed that the proceeding was both indefensible and calculated in the long run to defeat its own object.*

* "Such proceedings on the part of British subjects, were they not otherwise as aimless as they are unlawful, can only tend to place Her

Before the occurrence of the Tsingpu outrage Sir John Davis had left Hongkong and returned to Europe. His successor, Mr. S. G. Bonham, was destined to enjoy a more tranquil tenure of office than those who preceded him. The extension of China's relations with Europe was shown by the arrival of an Embassy from Spain, under the charge of Don Sinibaldo de Mas, who recorded his experiences of China, under exceptional circumstances, in one of the most interesting works on the country. He was among the first critical

Majesty's Government in a false position with the Chinese authorities, and deprive the former of the protection claimed for them on the faith of Treaties. It is for the British to set the example of scrupulous respect for the Treaties, under which they claim advantages often repugnant to the Chinese. If Her Majesty's Government and their authorities in this country cannot secure this result, and keep within lawful limits and control one or two hundred individuals, the Chinese local authorities may well plead reasonable excuse when they fail in the same duty with millions under their jurisdiction. It cannot be concealed that acts such as those reported are an open reproach to Her Majesty's Government; and it is a subject of deep regret to the Consul that any just cause of complaint should be afforded to the Chinese authorities or people, more especially at the present moment, while the rigorous enforcement of British treaty-rights at this port is still fresh in their memory. Nothing could be better calculated to weaken their respect for British honour and nationality, or more effectually serve to diminish the security which is based upon good faith. Her Majesty's Consul must hold such bootless infractions the more indefensible, that the tendency of affairs at this port is gradually to enlarge the limits and remove restrictions by legitimate means—these have indeed been already relaxed by authority on several occasions, upon good and sufficient reason shown as exceptional cases. Whatever may be the advantages anticipated from a freer access into the interior, they are not to be won by acts proving to both Governments that British subjects are not to be restrained by any regard to the obligations of Treaties, or the authority of their own Sovereign; nor can any argument more unanswerable be adduced to prove the impolicy of the one Government granting, or the other claiming, larger privileges than facts showing the deliberate and habitual abuse of those already conceded. Her Majesty's Consul would appeal to the good sense and good feeling of the British community generally to prevent the recurrence of acts so mischievous in their tendency and objectionable in every sense. But it is his duty also publicly to notify to all British subjects that he will take the most effective means to exonerate Her Majesty's Government from all suspicion of tacitly sanctioning or conniving at similar violations of the provisions of the Treaty, and spare no exertion to ensure the conviction of any parties who may be found wilfully offending."

observers who failed to detect the alleged evils of opium-smoking, and to point out that even if they existed they were a matter for the police of China to deal with. Taken on the whole, the year 1848 * was the least eventful of those that followed the Treaty of Nankin. The year 1847 had seen the enforcement of the important concession of the right to make expeditions into the neighbourhood of the ports, and there was a lull until the date arrived for the formal opening of the gates of Canton.

The question of the opening of the gates of Canton was not to be settled in the easy and straightforward way that had been anticipated. The Chinese had agreed that the gates of the great city of the South were to be opened on the 6th of April, 1849, and doubts were felt, the nearer that date approached, whether the promise would be complied with, and whether, in the event of refusal, it would be wise to have recourse to compulsion. The prospect of fresh complications arising from this cause produced a disturbing effect on the minds of the community; trade was reported to be greatly depressed in consequence; and the well-to-do classes of Canton were discouraged in proportion as the lower orders saw fresh opportunity of riot and outbreak. The one satisfactory circumstance connected with the situation was that a collision was deprecated on both sides. The principal European residents gave counsels of moderation; the Chinese invoked the intervention of their gods in the interests of peace. †

At the same time there was never any room to doubt what the almost unanimous opinion among the Cantonese was on the subject. The opening of the city gates could only

* The year 1848 witnessed a remarkable increase in the importation of opium. It was also noteworthy as containing the first mention of the Chinese Minister of the present day, Li Hung Chang. Li was then Financial Commissioner at Soochow; and in that capacity he issued a proclamation against coiners and those who debased the current coin of the Government.

† See, for instance of this, vol. xviii. of "Chinese Repository." Others breathed nothing but hostility and war. One literary student exhorted the people of Canton to prepare kettles of boiling water to pour on the heads of the barbarians when they should enter the city.

be effected by the forcible assertion of the central authority in face of the expressed opposition of the populace ; and in order to be effectual there would have to be the sustained effort which could alone bend the people to the Emperor's will. The commotion among the militant Chinese had been great ; and it was only suspended in order to await the arrival of the Emperor's commands. Taoukwang's reply, if ambiguous, was favourable to the pronounced wishes of the more patriotic of the Cantonese. "That," he wrote, "to which the hearts of the people incline is that on which the decree of Heaven rests. Now the people of Kwantung are unanimous and determined that they will not have foreigners enter the city, and how can I post up everywhere my Imperial order and force an opposite course upon the people ?" There was much benevolent expression towards the foreigners, and of a desire that the two nations should be at peace and in harmony with each other. But for the time it was clear that Taoukwang's declaration settled the question, and the settlement was in direct opposition to the arrangement concluded between Keying and Sir John Davis two years before. The English Government had realized that the growth of foreign rights must be slow, and that a good case would only be injured by precipitation. It refrained from opposing, or indeed from challenging, Taoukwang's decision, and the matter was allowed to drop for the time. But although waived for the moment, the right acquired by treaty and the Keying Convention was not surrendered.

The moderation which the people of Canton showed over what might have been considered a great national triumph, did much towards its being tacitly acquiesced in by both the official and commercial sections of the foreign community. Every one felt that the special circumstances at Canton justified the reluctance of the Chinese officials to open its gates, while the after knowledge acquired, that Taoukwang had never formally ratified Keying's promise in 1847, left loop-hole for regarding the matter as involving no distinct breach of faith. To press the matter home was to provoke fresh disagreement, perhaps hostilities. It could only embitter diplomatic relations and hamper trade. Convenience

as well as a sense of justice suggested that the question of the Canton gates was one that could be dropped with dignity and advantage. The Cantonese were able to give tokens of their grateful feeling to their gods at the same time that they erected tablets of honour to Viceroy Su, whose name was identified with what seemed to the popular mind the first successful stand made against the encroachments of the Western peoples.

These causes of possible disagreement being thus satisfactorily settled or removed, it seemed probable that the progress of friendly relations would continue unchecked, and that the defences of Chinese exclusiveness would one by one be removed or beaten down. Much of the energy which had been devoted to the single purpose of coercing the Canton Government was turned, after this incident, to the attainment of an object which was beneficial to all alike. Several causes had combined to make the career of piracy more attractive and profitable to the maritime population. A time of war induces all to think more flattering of pursuits in which the sword counts of most service. The fire of patriotism was kindled to a fiercer glow by the prospect of the rich prizes to be landed in the capture of opium vessels. The Bogue was never completely free from those capable and willing to commit a profitable outrage; and periodically they rallied under some more than usually successful leader. As they had done under Apotsai in 1810, and under many of his predecessors at earlier periods, so did they in the year 1849 under a leader whose name may be given as Shapuntsai. Unwonted success made him unusually daring, and from the Tonquin Gulf to the coast of Fuhkien his junks levied black-mail on the coast, and plundered every trading vessel, Chinese or European, that did not seem able to defend the rich cargo in its hold.

Had Shapuntsai and his chief lieutenant, Tsu Apoo, left European vessels alone, they might have continued to plunder with impunity the villages and junks of their fellow-countrymen, for the Canton officials had no force with which they could bring them to reason. But English vessels fell to their prey, and the murder of English officers called for

summary redress and active measures of punishment. In September of the year 1849 one war-ship began the pursuit of these marauders as the preliminary of still more active proceedings. Her commander, Captain Hay, had in a short time the satisfaction of bringing fourteen junks of the pirate fleet to action in circumstances especially favourable to their chances of escape, but this did not prevent his inflicting some merited chastisement upon them. Four junks were destroyed, and the remaining ten, much injured, were obliged to seek shelter and a place of refitment in a small bay, which was guarded by Captain Hay until the arrival of reinforcements should enable him to attack. In the course of six months fifty-seven piratical vessels were captured and destroyed by English men-of-war, and more than a thousand of their crews were either killed, drowned, or taken prisoners. Captain Hay resumed his operations on being joined by another vessel, and had the satisfaction of destroying the remaining junks, the buildings which had been erected on shore, and of dispersing the followers of Tsu Apoo.

There remained the more arduous task of dealing with the pirate chief Shapuntsai, who had established his headquarters in the neighbourhood of Hainan and the Gulf of Tonquin. As he had captured and plundered an English vessel, there was the greater necessity to deal with him, and Captain Hay was commissioned to proceed against him. At Hainan it was ascertained that Shapuntsai had recently retired to the Gulf of Tonquin after a successful raid along the coast. The mandarins in that island were in extreme fear of the marauder, and gladly co-operated with the English when they found them able and anxious to inflict punishment on the common enemy. The piratical fleet succeeded in baffling pursuit for several days, and want of fuel was nearly compelling the return of the squadron when the pirates were discovered at anchor in a bay. In the engagement which followed, nearly sixty junks were destroyed, and Shapuntsai only succeeded in escaping with four vessels. The victory was complete, and Shapuntsai's band ceased to be formidable. In its distress it found neither allies nor sympathizers, and the mandarins were stirred to

activity to compass the complete overthrow of the man they had feared so long. The Cochin-Chinese troops, that is to say, the forces of the late King Tuduc, combined in chasing the remnants of a band that had been the terror of the land and seas.

In the year 1850 there was a revival of piratical violence, chiefly remarkable for the fact that the Chinese authorities invited the assistance of an English steamer, which was readily granted. Another band of pirates was then broken up without loss, and the Chinese authorities were informed that the English Government would be happy at all times to afford such aid.

To those who believed that the prevailing calm was delusive, and that the Chinese were only biding their time to revert to a policy more in accordance with their convictions than was possible by strict compliance with the terms of the Nankin Treaty, the murder in open daylight of the Portuguese Governor of Macao seemed to come as the most expressive and unqualified confirmation. Governor Amaral was taking his usual ride with an aide-de-camp when a man struck him in the face with a long bamboo stick, and on his remonstrating with him, six men armed with swords, concealed in their sleeves, rushed out upon him, and, as he had lost his right arm, easily dragged him from his horse and murdered him on the high-road. The event naturally produced the greatest excitement, and led to a hostile encounter between the Portuguese garrison and the Chinese troops quartered in the fort beyond the barrier. The fort was carried by a vigorous charge, and the Chinese hastily evacuated their position, leaving ten or twelve dead behind. This operation of open war fortunately did not produce the serious consequences that might have been expected. The murder of Governor Amaral gave rise to a lengthened correspondence, and reinforcements were sent from Lisbon to China, but in the end matters reverted to their original position. One man who accused himself of the crime, but who was not confronted by any witness of the deed, was publicly executed at Canton. There was every reason to believe that he was not one of the criminals, and that he either voluntarily accepted death, in

return for a sum of money to his family, or, being under sentence for some other crime, was made use of by Viceroy Su for the purpose of allaying the indignation of the Portuguese. These explanations were not held to be sufficient, and after several months' litigation the question was settled in a more satisfactory manner than at one time seemed possible, by the discovery of the real culprits, and by their being handed over to the hands of justice. Some had subsequently fallen in a piratical fray with the English, but the survivors were publicly executed.

At Foochow, Shanghai, and Formosa, events of happier augury occurred throughout this year. At the first-named place the most amicable relations were preserved with not merely the Government, but also with the people of the province. More than one trip into the interior was accomplished in safety. The scenery of the river Min, among the most picturesque in China, was surveyed with a sense of agreeable security by English residents, and here the rule as to a twenty-four hours' absence was relaxed without inconvenience or untoward circumstances. Nor were matters less auspicious at Shanghai. While the allotment of a piece of ground as a site for the French Consulate signified the extension of the foreign relations of China, the superior advantages of that town as a place of trade were obtaining ready recognition. Here, too, the day rule was frequently relaxed or ignored, and the Chinese officials began to regard with growing indifference the more frequent violation of it by the Europeans during their visits to the hills some thirty miles west of Shanghai. The attitude of the people was on these occasions noticed to be friendly, and the worst tourists had to fear was from their importunate curiosity. The visit of an American war-vessel to Formosa, whence the report of its vast coal-fields was brought back, and the residence of a missionary in the islands of Loo Choo, showed that the foreigners were all agreed as to the necessity of breaking down the barrier of Chinese exclusiveness, and of throwing fresh light on the dark places of an Empire of such untold wealth and unlimited resources.*

* Dr. John Bowring arrived at Canton, to fill the vacant post of

The year 1850 had not long begun when the capital was agitated by the news that the Empress Mother had died. Only a short time before there had been rejoicings at her having attained the venerable age of eighty years, and the Emperor had expressed the hope that she might survive until her hundredth birthday. As the consort and widow of Kiaking, she had been a spectator of the gradual decadence of the Empire during the first half of the present century, but her influence on the progress of public events was probably not very great. It is said that she only once actively interfered in public affairs, and that was when she counselled the vigorous prosecution of the foreign war. There is no doubt, however, that she and Taoukwang were on affectionate terms; and although Chinese public men always write with a view to effect, his protestation was probably sincere that he had tenderly cared for her during the twenty-nine years that he had occupied the throne. But the hope that she might attain the felicity of her hundredth year was soon dispelled, and after a brief illness the Empress Mother, as the Emperor poetically expressed it, "drove the fairy chariot and went the long journey." Daily libations were ordered to be poured out in the Palace of Contentment, a long term of mourning was ordained, during which the courtiers wore white, and laid aside their jewels and seals of office, and Taoukwang only consented, at the urgent prayer of his ministers, to dismiss his grief and devote his attention to the brief period of authority that still remained for him to enjoy.

Taoukwang only survived his adopted mother by a few weeks. One of his last acts showed to what a depth of miserable mental hesitation he had sunk. It happened that the day on which the Chinese new year commenced, 12th of February, 1850, was to be marked by an eclipse of the sun, an inauspicious omen for the introduction of a new year, especially under the circumstances which had but recently occurred within the Imperial family. Taoukwang was at the time doubly

Consul, on the 19th of March, 1849; and in the following January, Dr. George Smith was consecrated first Bishop of Victoria—the name given to the see and island of Hongkong.

susceptible to the superstitious influences of his country and position, and he thought to avoid the evil consequences of the coincidence by a proclamation ordering the first day of the new year—the thirtieth of his reign—to be celebrated on the previous day. It speaks well for the good sense underlying the peculiarities of the Chinese character, that this alteration was disregarded and treated with marks of derision. At Shanghai the people even went so far as to pull down the placards officially announcing the fact. Even a Celestial Emperor had not the power to avert the course of time, or to avoid its natural and ordered consequences. This confession of superstitious dread and of Imperial impotence appropriately heralded the end of a reign marked by many disasters, and without a glimmer of success.

The new year of the Chinese calendar had not run its first fortnight when the inmates of the palace perceived that the Emperor's end was near at hand. The recognition of the dread truth which ultimately comes home to all the sons of man was not denied to Taoukwang, although those who have enjoyed absolute power on earth are naturally more slow than others to admit the presence of a master. But although the closing scenes of a Chinese Emperor are religiously shielded from the profane gaze of an inquisitive public, the greatest publicity was given to the fact that on the 25th of February a great council was held in the bed-chamber of the Emperor, at the very bedside of the dying Taoukwang. There may have been much discussion, and some conflict of opinion. To us it is only given to know the result, which was that Yihchoo, the fourth son, was proclaimed Heir Apparent, and his father's chosen successor.*

Taoukwang survived this important act a very short time, although the precise date is matter of uncertainty ; but there

* The Vermilion Edict, signed with the pencil of that colour, reads as follows:—“Let Yihchoo, the Imperial fourth son, be set forth as the Imperial Heir Apparent. You princes and high officers, why wait for our words? Assist and support him with united hearts, and do you all regard whatever pertains to the concerns of the country and the public as of high importance, without sympathy for aught else.” Yihchoo became the Emperor Hienfung.

is reason to believe that his death was hastened by the alarm caused by the outbreak of a fire within the Imperial city, and that it happened a few hours after the bedside council. The notification of his death was conveyed in an Imperial order issued by his successor, in which there is expressed the stereotyped hope that he had wished his father to attain his hundredth year. Taoukwang was in the 69th year of his age, having been born on the 12th of September, 1781. He was a young man while the power of his grandfather, Keen Lung, was at its pinnacle, and as a child he had listened to the tales of victorious campaigns and extensive conquests. But the misfortunes of his father's reign proved to be the precursors of the greater misfortunes of his own, and the school of adversity in which he had passed the better years of his manhood only imbued him with the disposition to put up with misfortune rather than with the vigour to grapple with it. The panegyric in which his son and successor extolled the paternal virtues is composed of generalities, which do not assist the reader in arriving at any certain view as to Taoukwang's character. If we do not deny to Yihchoo's periods the honourable and natural motive of personal affection, we must regret the absence of any attempt to sum up the events of his father's reign, or to convey some idea as to his character.

If an opinion may be formed on the latter point from the terms of his will, in which he might be expected to reveal the true tenor of his thoughts, it would seem that he was averse to all unnecessary display, and it is natural to suppose that this moderation may have been due to a sense of the difficulties of his people as well to his habitual reluctance to waste treasure on personal matters. As a young man he had been much attached to active pursuits, and it will not have been forgotten that his skill in military exercises was once usefully shown in saving his father's life. Even after ascending the throne, he preserved his old partiality for archery and riding; and it was even said of him that he took "strengthening pills" to develop his muscular power. Whatever the effect of this medicine in other ways, it destroyed his teeth, and detracted greatly from his personal appearance.

He was described in not very attractive language as being "lank, tall, hollow-cheeked, black-visaged, toothless, and consequently with a pointed chin."

Although Taoukwang's reign of thirty years was one of unredeemed failure, that monarch had some satisfaction in the belief that his authority had to all appearance survived the rude shocks to which it had been so constantly exposed. The foreign war, with all its penalty of increased intercourse with foreigners and lowered dignity on the part of the Celestial Emperor, had come and gone without those grave consequences to the Chinese constitution which at one time it seemed must inevitably follow. The symptoms of internal rebellion which had revealed themselves in more than one quarter of the Empire had not attained any formidable dimensions. The great tributaries were passive and obedient. Yet it is possible that Taoukwang distrusted this calm as deceptive, and if he could not have realized the depth of popular discontent, he yet perceived that there was a resentful national feeling in the hearts of the Chinese which all the wiles and wisdom of Manchu statecraft had failed to reach. Taoukwang left to his successor the example of much fortitude. If he had been unable to vanquish his most formidable enemies, he at least showed how evils might be borne with patience and dignity. If there was not much to admire in Taoukwang's action, all sympathy will not be denied to him for the sake of his misfortunes.

CHAPTER IX.

THE EARLY YEARS OF HIENFUNG'S REIGN.

THE selection of Yihchoo for the throne threatened to disturb even the perfect arrangements of the Chinese system, which seldom fails to stifle all opposition before incurring the responsibility of making a decision. The principal ministers, Muchangah, the premier, who shared the indecision of the master he had just lost, and Keying, who was so smitten with grief at the death of the prince whose favourite companion he had been from an early period of his life, remained inactive while they should have been stirring in order to establish the authority of their new sovereign. Their inaction seems for a moment to have inspired the eldest prince, Hwuy Wang, the brother of the deceased man, with the idea of disputing the claim of his young nephew; but happily the impulse of revolt was resisted, and Hienfung's accession was generally recognized. Hwuy Wang, who had lost the favour of the Emperor and been an object of suspicion at Court through his over-eagerness to acquire possession of the throne on the occasion of Taoukwang's serious illness in the early part of his reign, was now content to become the friend and principal courtier of his nephew; but there was no reason for overlooking the hesitation of Muchangah and Keying, who were quietly removed from their places in the administration.

Hienfung was still a very young man * when he ascended

* Born in August, 1831; he was, therefore, in his nineteenth year. The name of Hienfung means "great abundance" or "complete prosperity."

the throne, and in the auspicious proclamation issued on the commencement of his reign, he dwelt on the difficulty of his task, expressing the hope that he would be able to continue what was admirable in the conduct of his predecessors, while an appeal for assistance concluded in the following terms: "Then do ye, O princes and ministers, civil and military, aid us in the service we have undertaken, that we may add stability to the mighty line, the succession of which has devolved upon us. Let each one give evidence of his fidelity, aiding us by his counsels to the attainment of perfection, that boundless blessings may be manifested to this realm for a thousand million of years." This call for general support was followed by the bestowal of titles upon his younger brothers, men who, in their way, were destined to exercise a profound influence on the policy of China during the thirty years that followed the death of Taoukwang. His next brother, Yih-su, was made Prince Kung; the next, Yih-tah, Prince Shun; the third, Yih-hoh, Prince Chun; and the youngest, Yih-hwui, Prince Fu. They were also distinguished by their numerical order as the sons of Taoukwang, so that Prince Kung ranked and was sometimes known as the Fifth Prince; while Prince Chun, father of the Emperor Kwangsu, was often called the Seventh.

Vigorous measures were taken against those who ventured to circulate false news as to the events which had happened at Peking, and the hawking about of baseless rumours for the purpose of disturbing the public mind was to be punished at once with decapitation. The very strong measures thus adopted against those who discussed or described the fire in the apartment of the Sixth Prince showed that there was something in the reports, although it was soon made evident that the struggle for power was over, and that Hienfung's rivals and enemies had been silenced. Among the first acts of the new ruler, Su, the viceroy, was ordered to remain at his post in Canton, in order to "manage the important concerns of the frontier," while the arrival of a British steamer off the Peiho, with a letter of congratulation from Governor Bonham, afforded additional proof that the new reign would see no lull in the foreign question, rendered

more complicated by the sudden emigration of several thousands of Chinese subjects to the newly-discovered gold-fields of California. There was not as much reason to entertain surprise at this movement as people seemed to think, seeing that the Chinese had shown, by their going to the Straits Settlements, the Philippines, and Siam, that they had no objection to seek profitable employment abroad.

Hienfung came to the throne at the time of great dearth and public suffering; but his administration energetically strove to alleviate the general distress, and by means of voluntary subscriptions—a very common mode of raising money in China—succeeded in supplying the more pressing wants of the population. The spring of 1850 proved to be exceedingly fine and propitious, so that abundant crops contributed to rapid recovery from the depressing condition to which a large part of the country had been reduced. The obituary ceremonies of the late Emperor shared with ministerial changes the attention of the capital. Muchangah and Keying were removed from their offices, the former because, as it was proclaimed, “his overthrow of those of a different policy from himself when the barbarian question was first raised is matter of the deepest indignation.” Nor was Keying’s crime less heinous in the eyes of his new prince. “The unpatriotic tendency of Keying, his cowardice and incapacity, are very greatly to be wondered at.” Both were only saved from death out of regard for their long services; but while Muchangah* was deprived of all his rank and offices, and forbidden to expect any future employment, Keying was reduced to the lowest grade, it is true, but left

* Muchangah had been for a great many years employed in the public service. He was considered the oldest civilian in the service. As far back as the year 1818 he was a junior vice-president of the Board of Trade and General of the Manchu White Banner. In 1823 he became senior vice-president, and was then employed on several special commissions to different parts of the Empire. In 1836 he was appointed honorary tutor to the Heir Apparent, and in the same year he was rewarded with a seat in the Cabinet. He was soon made the Governor-General of Pechihli—an office not so important then as it has appeared to be since the time of Li Hung Chang. On the death of Changling, in 1838, Muchangah became premier, or, more correctly, first Grand Secretary.

with the hope that he might regain his former position as well as the confidence of his sovereign. The fall of these two ministers, who had enjoyed a longer tenure of office than usually falls to the lot of Chinese officials, showed the instability of rank and reputation among the ministers of the Dragon Throne. Their policy had fallen out of favour, and as their views had become unpalatable, neither their age nor their services could avert their complete ruin and disgrace. The most powerful official in China can never feel certain as to where he will be to-morrow. One day he is the supposed arbiter of the Empire's destiny; the next he has often been reduced to a lower rank than the least important of his secretaries, and he may esteem himself fortunate if he manages to save his life.

The removal of Muchangah and Keying, who were the ministers principally identified with the pacific settlement of the foreign question, could not fail to be generally interpreted as signifying a change of view on the part of the new Emperor as to the mode of dealing with what he designated the affair of the outer barbarians. And whether Hienfung really meant his act to have that effect or not, it gave a fresh impulse to the sentiments hostile to Europeans, and encouraged those who hoped that the day of concessions had gone by. Among no class did Hienfung's early proceedings produce greater excitement than among those literati who, having passed the necessary examinations, become aspirants to office and fame. These saw in the disgrace of Keying, and the exaltation of the Viceroy Su, the certain precursors of a return to that policy of superiority which not merely flattered their vanity, but was perhaps really necessary to the maintenance of their position among their own people.

The effects of this change were first revealed at Foochow, where in the summer of 1850 an attempt was suddenly made to prevent foreigners residing in that town. It was said that the foreigners had the right to come only to trade, and that, therefore, they could not claim to reside within the limits of the city. That privilege had been conceded with much reluctance to the consul, but the merchants were to reside at the mouth of the river. The immediate cause of

disagreement was the acquisition by purchase of some land on the part of the missionaries who intended building a place of residence and a chapel. The matter had received the sanction of the local magistrate, when the mob, incited by literati of the town, and encouraged, it was more than suspected, by the exhortation of Commissioner Lin, who chanced to be living close to it, made a hostile demonstration in front of the missionaries' new residence. The officials of Foochow were fortunately actuated by more friendly feelings than the people, and in their hands the matter passed out of the sphere of mob violence into the more satisfactory region of regular discussion. It became clear that the Chinese had the best of the controversy. Reference to the treaty showed that the place of residence had been specified as the *kiang-kan*, or mart, at the mouth of the river, and not at the *ching*, or town, itself. The Chinese were, therefore, shown to be within their right; and the question had to be left for future settlement as one of convenience and good-will.

The mention of Lin's name will serve to introduce the last passage of his eventful career. He had lived down the loss of office which had followed the failure of his plans at Canton, and it really looked as if the wheel of fortune were again turning in his favour. Certainly Hienfung was well disposed towards both the man and his policy, and when the rebels in Kwangsi grew more daring it was on Lin that his choice fell to bring them into subjection. It is far from clear that Lin was the best man for this kind of work, as his experience was altogether of a peaceful character; but the result of the experiment could never be known, as he died on the 22nd of November, 1850, on his way to the scene of the struggle. Although Commissioner Lin failed to achieve any of the objects which he placed before himself, he was thoroughly convinced of the wisdom and necessity of the policy, despite the fact that he never made it successful. His sincerity was above challenge, but he was always more of a moralist than of a statesman. He has been called a statesman, but the claim will not be allowed at the bar of history. He was rather a typical representative of the order of literary officials to which he belonged. Statesmanship is in their eyes the

carrying out of political plans in strict obedience to a groove of action laid down in antiquity, and the able man is he who can most eloquently enunciate great moral truths which he probably does not carry out in his own life, and which without practice and the demonstration of vigour will avail but little to keep an empire together, or to impose obedience to the laws upon a vast population. Nothing, perhaps, showed more clearly the direction in which the young Emperor was drifting than the fact that he conferred on this man, the High Commissioner Lin, the enemy of the English, the posthumous title of the Faithful Duke.

About the same time six portals of honour were erected at Canton to the Viceroy Su for his victory over the English, in having successfully resisted their attempt to force their claims of admission into the city. There was nothing in this to excite any surprise. The authorities felt that their hold upon the respect of the people rested on far too insecure a foundation to allow them to neglect so favourable an occasion of showing that the Government still retained some of its strength. The simple country-folk expressed their admiration for their rulers by attacking and maltreating two American gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Canton. The Viceroy replied that the Americans had brought their misfortune upon themselves by going into the country without a guard, but that he would do everything in his power to capture and rigorously punish those who were guilty.

The first years of Hienfung's reign witnessed what was an entirely novel event in Chinese history—the exodus on a large scale of the Chinese people to lands across the sea. There had in earlier stages of their history been emigrations to Siam, Malacca, and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. The Philippines had owed no fleeting prosperity to their toil. Their trading-junks had passed the Sunda straits, and many of the Emperor's subjects enjoyed wealth and prosperity in lands then and now subject to the sway of England. The Chinaman only requires a sufficient inducement to attract him from his own country, and in 1852 that inducement had been supplied in a way that it had never before been by the discovery of the gold-fields in California and Australia.

Once the example was set, the people flocked across the Pacific in their thousands. Each emigrant vessel carried from 500 passengers to as many as 1000; and for a time it seemed as if the supply of these persistently industrious and never-desponding labourers was inexhaustible. Within a few months of the first arrival nearly 20,000 Chinese had landed at San Francisco. Nor were they unable to take care of themselves, or to do justice to their own interests. They were bound together not only by their common race in a strange land, but by the terms of a labour association which afforded them a much more effectual protection than any possessed by their white fellow-labourers. Their chiefs, such as the great and prosperous Atti, no doubt took care to draw more than their share of the spoil; but there were very efficient safeguards against any gross abuses. Nor was Australia a less attractive spot to the adventurous sons of the southern provinces; and much of the prosperity of Queensland may be traced to the work done half a century back by the cheapest labourers in the world.

These emigrants were not lost to their own country. A certain number, possibly a high percentage, of them died; but even then their bodies were conveyed to their homes for burial. But a very large number returned carrying back with them their savings, which represented for their wants a sum by no means inconsiderable. China was so much the richer by the wealth they imported; she could hardly be said to have suffered from their absence. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to say what were the true views of the Chinese Government on the subject. They certainly did not interfere to check the emigration as they could easily have done. They seemed rather disposed to take the view that those who were willing to leave their country could not be of much use to her if they remained. When the movement attained its largest proportions the Pekin authorities were too much occupied with other matters to give it the heed that the fact in itself deserved; but the regular return of the emigrants, after a more or less brief absence, with the results of their labour, gradually reconciled their rulers to the annual migration. It was satisfactory for them to perceive that they felt none the

less Chinese because they had sojourned for a period in a foreign land, and among races regarded as having views of very doubtful friendship towards the Celestial Empire.

While, therefore, the foreigners were learning something about China, a portion of the Chinese people was also becoming acquainted in a way with the foreigners. Neither California nor Australia afforded a good school for teaching the Celestials that the white men possessed those high qualities on which they prided themselves, and for the want of which they were so prompt to blame others. It is to be feared that they returned home with a worse opinion of "the outer barbarian" than any they would have formed of him in their own country as seen through the influences of national prejudice and hatred. In this sense, therefore, the increasing knowledge of foreigners and foreign countries by the Chinese, far from leading to improved relations and increased harmony, rather intensified the existing sentiments of dislike and suspicion. Thus the Chinese continued to proceed in search of the place where their labours would be best remunerated; but even to our own day the Chinaman has returned home rather with the remembrance of grievances unredressed and injury patiently endured, than with any feeling of gratitude for favours received, and for hearty recognition of his services.

This period was remarkable for its natural as well as political calamities. A severe famine at Peking compelled Hienfung's Cabinet to devote large sums of money to the aid of the indigent. This evil had hardly been properly met when an earthquake in Szchuen caused immense loss and widespread consternation. Canton was ravaged by a fire in October, 1851, when 200 of the best shops were burnt down. The recuperative faculty of the Chinese was well demonstrated by their being all rebuilt, and in better style than before, within three months of their destruction. The day before there had been a terrible accident at Foochow. A crowd had collected on the bridge across the river Min, and the balustrade had given way and several hundred people were precipitated into the river, and it was computed that 230 of these were drowned. A few weeks later the Chinese part of Victoria or Hongkong was burnt down, and not a

vestige was left of what had been a large and flourishing settlement.

The warring of the elements proved the precursor of discord in the realm. Neither Hienfung nor the foreign community was able to long devote all attention to events of such comparatively small importance as the visitation of natural calamities, or to the ordinary daily affairs of an industrious community. The changes which had taken place among his principal advisers showed that the new Emperor was disposed to pursue a more aggressive policy than his predecessor had adopted during the last few years of his reign. The curt dismissal of Keying and Muchangah had been followed up by the elevation of Saichangah to the post of premier, and by the recall of Keshen. But the Emperor soon found that the latter's views differed in no material degree from those of Keying, and after a brief tenure of office he was again dismissed into private life. His disgrace was nominally in consequence of his having failed to check the advance of the insurgents, but it was really because his general policy was distasteful to the young prince who swayed the destinies of China. The weak and incompetent Saichangah better suited a master who preferred the execution of his own wishes to conducting public affairs in accordance with the dictates of experience and necessity. Not until the full extent of his folly and incompetence was revealed, when sent as Commissioner to Kweiling, did he too share the disgrace which had fallen upon his able but unlucky colleague.

The attention of foreign observers, as well as of the Government, became engrossed in the progress of the internal rebellion, which, having extended from one end of the Empire to the other, threatened to involve the whole Manchu race in a common overthrow. No matters that did not directly bear on the issue of that struggle were thought worthy of notice, and general attention was strained to discern both its significance and the probable manner in which it would end. Neither Hienfung nor those who were around him were wholly blind to the peril. The popular discontent had found such forcible expression, as to render it impossible for the

most confirmed indifference to feign ignorance of it any longer. With the recognition of the malady there could not help but be some admission from the Ruler that his acts must have fallen short in effect of the obligations of his high position. As the father of his people he could no longer overlook their necessities and sufferings, of which their insubordination might be held to be the expression. If Hienfung himself, with the careless confidence of youth, had wished to treat the general manifestation of discontent with indifference, there were those near him who could not allow so wide a departure, not merely from the path of policy, but from the less yielding principles of Chinese precedent. Therefore, while Hienfung himself continued to enjoy the ease and luxury of his palace life, the Censors and the Hanlin doctors prepared a notice to the people in his name. In this, not only did the sovereign take upon himself all the blame for his numerous shortcomings, but he charged the officials of his Government at their peril to attend more strictly to their different duties, to find out the cause of the people's discontent, and to spare no pains to effect its cure and removal.*

* The following is the text of this remarkable proclamation :—"My exalted parent, the Emperor Taoukwang, was profoundly benevolent and exceedingly gracious, enriching with his favours the whole of his vast dominions; but I, being entrusted with the important charge of the Empire, have found it difficult to provide for the interests of his extensive territory, and have thus been filled with the intensest anxiety for the last three years. I reflect on the day when my exalted parent departed this life, how impressively he inculcated on me the important duty of consulting the interests of the country and preserving the lives of the people; as all the officers who witnessed the solemn scene well know. We think again of the present period, when the interests of the country are by no means in a favourable state, and the people are brought into the most afflictive circumstances; which leads us to reproach and blame ourselves, and to exert our utmost energies in scheming and calculating, but to little effect; does not this involve us in a most serious dereliction of duty and constitute us the principal criminal in the whole empire? Throughout the court and the country there are not wanting civil and military officers who, manifesting fidelity and exerting their strength, look upon the interests of the country as those of their own family; but, at the same time, there are not a few of the easy and self-indulgent, slothful and remiss, who think much of their rank and emolument, but pay no attention to the welfare of the State. We, although not laying claim to the title of an

But the crisis had gone far beyond a remedy of words. The corruption of the public service had gradually alienated the sympathies of the people. Justice, honour, and probity had been banished from the civil service of China. The example of the few men of honour and capacity served but to bring into more prominent relief the faults of the rest. Justice was not to be found; to the rich it was sold even to the highest bidder. The guilty, if well provided in worldly means, escaped scot free; the poor suffered for their own frailties and the crimes of higher offenders. Offices were sold to men who had never passed an examination, and who were wholly illiterate. The value of office was as the means to extortion. The nation was heavily taxed. The taxes to the State were but the smaller portion of the sums wrung from the traders and peasantry of the Middle Kingdom. How was honour or a sense of duty to be expected from men who knew that their term of office must be short, and who had to regain their purchase money and the anticipated fortune before their post was sold again to some fresh competitor? The officials waxed rich in ill-gotten wealth; a few

intelligent ruler, will at the same time not lay the blame unnecessarily upon our ministers and officers; but we just ask them in the silent hour of the night to lay their hands upon their hearts, and see if they can allow themselves to rest satisfied with such a state of things; if they do not now reproach themselves most bitterly for their remissness, they will, at some future period, be involved in evils which they will not be able to remedy. We, therefore, publicly announce to all you officers, great and small, that if from henceforth you do not change your old habits, and if you pay no regard to this our decree, we are determined severely to punish you according to the utmost rigour of the law, without allowing the least indulgence or permitting rigour to be tempered by clemency; for the necessity of the present crisis demands it. Let us for a moment reason the matter with you. If the interests of the country and the lives of the people have no connection with your personal or family affairs, do you not regard your own name and fame in thus willingly becoming the faithless servants of the Manchu dynasty? Is not this very stupid? After all, the influence of reasoning may have little or no force with you; you officers great and small may deem it too much trouble to acknowledge right principles, thinking that to deceive us, a single individual at the head of the State, is comparatively an easy matter; but pray lift up your heads on high, and think of High Heaven, intelligently inspecting all below, and see if there is not something to be dreaded there. A special proclamation. Respect this.'

individuals accumulated enormous fortunes, and the government of the country sank lower and lower in the estimation of the millions of people who were supposed to regard their sovereign with unspeakable awe as the embodiment of Celestial wisdom and power, and their form of political existence as the most perfect administration ever devised by man.

The Government lost also in efficiency. A corrupt and effeminate body of officers and administrators can serve but as poor defenders for an embarrassed prince and an assailed Government against even enemies who are in themselves insignificant, and not free from the vices of a corrupt society and a decaying age; and it was on such that Hienfung had in the first place alone to lean. Even his own Manchus, the warlike Tartars who, despite the smallness of their numbers, had conquered the whole of China, and given its Empire such grandeur and military fame as it had not known for more than one thousand years—for the Mongol Empire was a thing distinct from that of China—had lost their primitive virtue and warlike efficiency in the southern land which they had made their home. To them the opulent cities of the Chinese had proved as fatal as Capua to the army of the Carthaginian; and when the peril came suddenly upon them they showed themselves unworthy of the Empire won by their ancestors. So far as they individually were concerned, they lost it. Other Tartars, worthier of their earlier fame, had to come from the cold and vigorous regions of the north to help the embarrassed Hienfung and his successor out of their difficulties, and to re-assert the claims of Manchu supremacy. For the first time since the revolt of Wou Sankwei the Manchus are brought face to face with a danger threatening their right of conquest. It is evidently not a danger to be overcome by fine words or lavish promises. Yet on the eve of the Taeping revolt that is all that Hienfung or his advisers can suggest or produce in order to avert a crisis and to crush the incipient rebellion in its birth.

CHAPTER X.

THE BEGINNING OF THE TAEPIŃG REBELLION.

DURING fifty years the provinces of China had now witnessed many disturbances, and the officers of the Government found that they had not the power to enforce their orders, and that the people would pay no heed to them except under compulsion. Yet, up to the present, these disorders had scarcely partaken of the character of rebellion, and might even have been considered the natural accompaniments of an administration so easily satisfied, both as to the behaviour of the people and also as to the execution of its own orders, as that of Pekin has generally been. We have now reached a time when, after the tranquillity of nearly two centuries, sedition was to wear a bolder front, and when it was becoming impossible for the Government of the Emperor Hienfung to pretend that the disorder in the province of Kwangsi* was anything short of an open rebellion for the purpose of driving him and the Manchu dynasty from the throne.

As far back as the year 1830 there had been symptoms of disturbed popular feeling in Kwangsi. The difficulty of operating in a region which possessed few roads, and which was only rendered at all accessible by the West river or Sikiang, had led the Chinese authorities, much engaged as they were about the foreign question, to postpone those

* The province of Kwangsi lies west of Kwantung, and forms with it the southern border towards Tonquin. Further west still is Yunnan. Kwantung and Kwangsi constitute the vice-royalty of the Two Kwang, with its seat of government at Canton.

vigorous measures which if taken at the outset might have speedily restored peace and stamped out the first promptings of revolt. But it was considered a purely local question, and although the people of Canton were disposed to see signs of danger and an omen of coming change in the most insignificant natural phenomena, their rulers thought it safe to ignore the popular temperament, and to treat the rebels in Kwangsi with as much indifference as they bestowed on the language of the skies. Events moved very slowly, and for twenty years it seemed as if the authorities would have no cause to repent their apathy.

The authorities were more concerned at the proceedings of the formidable secret association known as the Triads than at the occurrences in Kwangsi, probably because the Triads made no secret that their object was the expulsion of the Manchus, and the restoration of the Mings.* Their oaths were framed so as to appeal to the patriotism and personal pride of the native-born Chinese, who were instigated to resist and cast off the yoke of the Tartars contemptuously designated as an inferior race little better than barbarians. The extraordinary fact in their proceedings was not that they should plot rebellion, or that they should feel a deep antipathy to their conquerors, who monopolized as far as they could the best posts in the service, but that they should base their plans on a proposed restoration of the Ming dynasty, which was not merely forgotten, but which, practically speaking, had expired two centuries before. It was obvious to the most ordinary intelligence that to fight for the Ming dynasty was struggling for an impossible idea; and the great mass of the Chinese long held aloof from a connection which could mean nothing more in the end than furthering the personal schemes of some unknown and probably unscrupulous adventurer.

The true origin of the Triads is not to be assigned. The

* "We combine everywhere to recall the Ming and exterminate the barbarians, cut off the Tsing and await the right prince." See, for a very interesting account of the Triads, of whose oath these lines formed the opening sentence, an article in vol. xviii. of "Chinese Repository," pp. 281-95.

popular account gives a very figurative description of how the inmates of a monastery near Foochow came to the aid of a Manchu Emperor in one of his foreign wars. As their reward they were to, and did for several generations, enjoy great privileges, but their descendants at last became the victims of official tyranny. Their monastery was either destroyed or taken from them, and they went through the land in search of their revenge. Then it was that they came to the decision to put forward the Ming pretension; and members of the brotherhood went to the different provinces to stir up disaffection and to point popular aspiration towards a desirable end. We cannot accept, if we may not deny the truth of, this fanciful story. Perhaps we shall have gleaned the modicum of fact in it by saying that this tradition invests with additional probability the suspicion that the Taeping revolt was originally conceived in a Buddhist monastery. The agents of such a band would naturally be attracted to the disturbed parts of the Empire; and although there was no dearth of places to choose from, no province offered so favourable a ground for the action of conspirators as that of Kwangsi.

The summer of 1850 witnessed a great accession of energy on the part of the rebels in that province, which may perhaps be attributed to the death of the Emperor. The important town of Wuchow on the Sikiang, close to the western border of Kwantung, was besieged by a force which rumour placed as high as 50,000 men. The Governor was afraid to report the occurrence, knowing that it would carry his own condemnation and probable disgrace; and it was left for a minor official to reveal the extent to which the insurgents had carried their depredations. Two leaders named Chang had assumed the style of royalty. Other bands had appeared in the province of Hoonan, as well as in the southern parts of Kwantung; but they all collected by degrees on the Sikiang, where they placed an embargo on merchandise, and gradually crushed out such trade as there had been by that stream best known to-day as the West river. But their proceedings were not restricted to the fair operations of war. They plundered and massacred wherever

they went. They claimed to act in the name of the Chinese people; yet they slew all they could lay hands upon, without discrimination of age or sex. Such of the women as suited their purposes were allowed to live a life of degradation and shame.

The confidence of the insurgents was raised by frequent success, and by the manifest inability of the Canton Viceroy to take any effectual military measures against them. A body of rebels from either the eastern parts of Kwantung or from Hoonan decoyed a party of the Imperial troops into a defile between Sinyuen and Yingtin, two places on the northern high road from Canton, and killed 200 of them.* This reverse naturally aroused considerable alarm in Canton, and the gates were barricaded and a vigilant look-out was kept to prevent any large bodies of men approaching the city. An open attack having been thus committed so near Canton, Governor Yeh was sent out with 2000 soldiers to engage them. That official was never conspicuous for his valour, and he was content to employ his force in such a manner as to impress upon the insurgents a belief as to its overwhelming strength. This object must have been attained, for they quickly retired into Kwangsi. In their retreat they were assailed by the armed inhabitants and local militia, and suffered considerable loss. Not unnaturally this success excited great enthusiasm, and the most was made of the details of the struggle. Governor Yeh took all the credit of the success to himself; and if vaunting proclamations ensure

About this time the following proclamation was discovered:—"The present dynasty are only Manchus, people of a small nation, but the power of their troops enabled them to usurp possession of China and take its revenues, from which it is plain that any one may get money from China if they are only powerful in warfare. There is, therefore, no difference between one taking money from the villagers and the local authorities taking the revenues. Whoever can take keeps. Why then are troops causelessly sent against us? It is most unjust! The Manchus get the revenues of the provinces and appoint officers who oppress the people, and why should we, natives of China, be excluded from levying money? The universal sovereignty does not belong to any particular individual; and a dynasty of a hundred generations of emperors has not been seen. All, therefore, depends on obtaining the possession" ("Chinese Repository," vol. xix. p. 568).

fame, he would then have won the reputation of a good soldier.

An outbreak at Lienchow, near the small port called Pakhoi, recalled the Canton mandarins from the pleasing dream that their efforts were crowned with complete success, and that the rebels were on the eve of returning to their duty. The importance of this movement consisted in the soldiers sent to restore order joining the rioters, and when a fresh force came from Hainan they combined and succeeded in inflicting a defeat upon it. It was said that not a single Imperialist soldier escaped alive from the fray. Some of the insurgents made overtures to the mandarins, and signified a desire to return to their duty if only the Government would give them some certain employment and a small official rank. This was no doubt a feeler or a blind ; for almost at the very same time the main body of the insurgents had agreed upon the choice of a single leader, to whom they gave the royal title of Tien Wang, or the "Heavenly King."* With this act their political significance greatly increased, and it became impossible to treat them any longer as being destitute of real importance.

The strongest of monarchs cannot afford to ignore the presence of a competitor to his throne. To Hienfung, whose embarrassments were from every point of view grave as well as numerous, the elevation of Tien Wang was a direct menace as well as a warning. It was only safe to treat him as an audacious adventurer on the assumption that no time was to be lost and no effort spared in crushing his hostile movement, and in putting an end to his personal pretensions. Tien Wang was, after all, only one of the principal chiefs of the Kwangsi rebels. The people followed him with steady faith because they believed in his miraculous powers and in his capacity to earn success ; but his colleagues chose him as their ostensible leader in order that they might have one, and thus derive all the strength to be acquired from

* For a long time this chief was thought to be styled Tienteh, or "Heaven's virtue" ; but subsequent inquiries showed that such was not the case, and that his true title was Tien-kwoh. We use that by which he was best known.

placing before the people a man alleged to be capable of redressing wrongs, and of attaining undefinable ambitions.

There was nothing in the person of the individual selected to lead the disaffected that entitled him to seek the suffrages of the Chinese people, or to assume the responsibilities of governing the Empire. The missionaries, over-anxious to secure the long-anticipated prize of their individual labours and exertions—the conversion of the Chinese people to Christianity—were led at an early point to see in Tien Wang a possible regenerator of his country, and the certain recipient of the true religion. For ten years the hope was indulged that the Taepings were to prove the agents of the Cross, and that Tien Wang was to be to the Celestials what Ethelbert had been to the Saxons. There was nothing in Tien Wang's character or surroundings to justify these hopes and speculations. The Taeping leader was little better than a brigand. The talk of regeneration of his country was only the excuse for pillaging its villages and depopulating its provinces. Who then was Tien Wang, stripped of his celestial title?

Hung-tsiuen was the son of a small farmer who lived in a village near the North river, about thirty miles from Canton. If he was not a Hakka* himself, he lived in a district which was considered to be their almost exclusive property. He belonged to, or was closely associated with, a degraded race, therefore, and it was held that he was not entitled to that free entrance into the body of the civil service which is the natural privilege of every native of China. His friends declared that he came out high at each of the periodical examinations, but their statements may have been false in this as in much else. The fact is clear that he failed to obtain his degrees, and that he was denied admission into the public service. Hung was, therefore, a

* The term *hakka* means "a guest." They are tramps who roam over the country, settling in vacant places and then encroaching on their neighbours. Never heartily addicted to sedentary pursuits, they generally took to marauding after a brief spell of settled life. (Wells Williams.) A large colony of the Hakkas were sent from Canton to Formosa, where they were established in the hills between the Chinese and the aboriginal tribes. The Hakkas have also been called the squatters.

disappointed candidate, the more deeply disappointed, perhaps, as his sense of injured merit, and the ill-judging flattery of his friends, made his chagrin the keener.*

Hung was a shrewd observer of the weakness of the Government, and of the popular discontent. He perceived the opportunity of making the Manchu dynasty the scapegoat of national weakness and apathy. He could not be the servant of the Government. Class contempt, the prejudice of his examiners, or it may even have been his own haughty presumption and self-sufficiency, effectually debarred him from the enjoyment of the wealth and privileges that fall to the lot of those in executive power in all countries, but in Asiatic above every other. To his revengeful but astute mind it was clear that if he could not be an official he might be the enemy of the Government, the declared subverter of order and the law.

The details of his early career have been mainly recorded by those who sympathized with the supposed objects of his operations, and while they have been very anxious to discover his virtues, they were always blind to his failings. The steps of his imposture have therefore been described with an amount of implicit belief, which reflected little credit on the judgment of those who were anxious to give their sanction to the miracles which preceded the appearance of this adventurer in the field. Absurd stories as to his dreams, allegorical coincidences showing how he was summoned by a just and all-powerful God to the supreme seat of power, were repeated with a degree of faith so emphatic in its expression as to make the challenge of its sincerity appear extremely harsh. Hung, the defeated official candidate, the long deaf listener to the entreaties of Christian missionaries, was thus in a brief time metamorphosed into Heaven's elect for the Dragon Throne. Whether Hung was merely an intriguer, or a fanatic, he could not help feeling some gratitude to those who so conveniently echoed his pretensions to the throne, at the same time that they pleaded extenuating

* Mr. Meadows, in his "Chinese and their Rebellions," says that he was born in 1813, and that his failure must not be attributed to his fault, but to the excessive number of candidates competing.

circumstances for acts of cruelty and brigandage often unsurpassed in their infamy.

If he found the foreigners thus willing to accept him at his own estimate, it would have been very strange if he had not experienced still greater success in imposing upon the credulity of his own countrymen. To declare that he had dreamt dreams which left little room to doubt that he was selected by a heavenly mandate for Royal honours was sufficient to gain a small body of adherents, provided only that he was prepared to accept the certain punishment of detection and failure. If Hung's audacity was shown by nothing else, it was demonstrated by the lengths to which he carried the supernatural agency that urged him to quit the ignominious life of a Kwantung peasant for the career of a pretender to Imperial honours. The course of training to which he subjected himself, the ascetic deprivations, the loud prayers and invocations, the supernatural counsels and meetings, was that adopted by every other religious devotee or fanatic as the proper novitiate for those honours based on the superstitious reverence of mankind which are sometimes no inadequate substitute for temporal power and influence, even when they fail to pave the way to their attainment.

Yet when Hung proceeded to Kwangsi there was no room left to hope that the seditious movement would dissolve of its own accord, for the extent and character of his pretensions at once invested the rising with all the importance of open and unveiled rebellion. After the proclamation of Hung as Tien Wang the success of the Kwangsi rebels increased. The whole of the country south of the Sikiang, with the strong military station of Nanning, fell into their hands, and they prepared in the early part of the year 1851 to attack the provincial capital Kweiling, which commanded one of the principal high roads into the interior of China. So urgent did the peril at this place appear, that three Imperial Commissioners were sent there direct by land from Peking, and the significance of their appointment was increased by the fact that they were all Manchus. Their names were Saichangah, Tatungah, and Hingteh. They were instructed to collect as many troops as they could *en route*; and,

whether owing to this fact or to reluctance to meet the enemy, they did not reach Kweiling until some weeks after they were expected and sorely needed. Indeed, they would have arrived much too late to protect the small remaining portion of Kwangsi had it not been for the valour and military capacity exhibited by Wurantai, chief of the Bannermen at Canton, to whom in their distress Viceroy Su and Governor Yeh consigned the defence of the western limits of the province. Yet even he had to admit that he could devise no adequate plan for the danger, and that "the outlaws were neither exterminated nor made prisoners." *

The growth of the rebellion proved steady, but slow. Reinforcements were sent constantly to the Imperial army without producing any decisive result. Fresh levies were hard to obtain and harder still to keep in the field, although volunteers for the war were well paid and promised generous treatment. The expenses of the war were enormous. The resources of the Canton exchequer were strained to the uttermost to provide the bare expenses of the army in the field ; and although 30,000 troops were stated to be concentrated opposite the positions of the Taepings, fear or inexperience prevented action, and the numbers and courage of the Imperialists melted away. Had the Chinese authorities only pressed on they must have swept the rebels into Tonquin, and there would have been an end of Tien Wang and his aspirations. They lacked the nerve, and their vacillation gave confidence and reputation to an enemy that need never have been allowed to become formidable.

While the Imperial authorities had been either discouraged or at the least lethargic, the pretender Tien Wang had been busily engaged in establishing his authority on a sound basis, and in assigning their ranks to his principal followers, who saw in the conference of titles and posts the recognition of their past zeal and the promise of reward for future service. The men who rallied round Hung-tsiuen were schoolmasters and

* His official report to the Emperor is chiefly remarkable for containing a direct reference to the Europeans. "The outer barbarians say," he wrote, "that of literature China has more than enough, of the art of war not sufficient."

labourers. To these some brigands of the mountain-frontier supplied rude military knowledge, while the leaders of the Triads brought as their share to the realization of what they would fain represent to be a great cause skill in intrigue and some habitude in organization. Neither enthusiasm nor the energy of desperation was wanting ; but for those qualities which claim respect if they cannot command success we must look in vain.* Yet the peasants of Kwangsi and the artisans of Kwantung assumed the title of Wang or prince, and divided in anticipation the prizes that should follow the establishment of some dynasty of their own making.

The operations in the province of Kwangsi proved exceedingly monotonous. The Imperialists feared to come to blows, and the rebels adopted the most prudent tactics, shutting themselves up in entrenched camps, and only venturing out when the pressure of hunger compelled them to cut their way through the forces of the pusillanimous generals of Hienfung. The war thus dragged on in the Sikiang valley during two years, but the tide of success had certainly set in the main against the Imperialists, as was shown by the scene of operations being transferred to the northern side of that river.† The campaign might have continued indefinitely, until one side or the other was exhausted, had not the state of the province warned Tien Wang that he could not hope to be able to feed much longer the numerous followers who from one motive or another had attached themselves to his cause. He saw that there would very soon remain for him no choice except to retire into Tonquin, and to settle down into the

* In the confession or autobiography of Chung Wang (the Faithful King or Prince), translated by W. T. Lay, will be found statements fully bearing out this view. Even the trusted follower of Tien Wang was less enthusiastic in his belief than those who had seen in Hung-tsiuen the Chinese St. Paul.

† I am chiefly indebted to the manuscript history of the Taeping rebellion, generously lent to me by the late General C. G. Gordon, for these facts ; and I have followed in the main its description of the rise and progress of the rebellion. It does not appear that General Gordon actually wrote this history, but he caused some one to prepare it during the campaign. He told me, however, that I might trust its accuracy.

ignominious life of a border brigand. Nothing can be more irksome to the man who has attained a certain notoriety, and who hopes to acquire a still higher fame, than to be suddenly consigned to a position of inferiority and self-effacement. To Tien Wang the thought was intolerable.

In sheer despair he came to the resolve to march northwards into the interior of China. The idea was suggested by the difficult plight to which he had been brought for the simplest and most necessary supplies for his army. He could not sustain himself in Kwangsi; and the skill of Wurantai, added to the large military contingent and pecuniary resources of Canton, did not make an invasion of Kwantung appear a very hopeful enterprise. It was not the inspiration of genius, but the pressure of dire need, that urged the Taeping leader* to issue his order for the invasion of Hoonan. At this point of his career he published a royal proclamation announcing that he had received "the Divine Commission to exterminate the Manchus, and to possess the Empire as its true Sovereign."

At this particular juncture the rebels were in the heart of Kwangsi at the district of Woosuen. In May, 1851, they moved to Siang, a district north of that place. They captured the villages and they ravaged the adjoining country, making no long stay anywhere. In August they were at Yungan, when 16,000 men were ranged under the banner of the Heavenly King, and for a moment Tien Wang may have thought of making a dash upon Canton. If he did entertain the thought, he promptly gave it up when he heard how well Wurantai was holding his ground at Wuchow on the Sikiang. It was at Yungan, where he remained until April, 1852, that

* Henceforth we shall speak of the rebels as Taepings. Various meanings are given of this word. Some say its origin is taken from the small town of that name in the south-west of Kwangsi, where the insurrection began; others that it means "universal peace," and was the style assumed by the new dynasty. In seeming contradiction with this is the fact that some of the Taepings themselves repudiated all knowledge of the name. Like the term Panthays, which we are now told is devoid of meaning, it will not pass out of use, although its origin may remain a matter of some uncertainty. See Meadows's work and Dr. Williams's "Middle Kingdom."

the Taeping leader made his final dispositions and called in all his outlying detachments.*

At Yungan a circumstance occurred which first promised to strengthen the party of the Taipings and then to lead to its disruption. Tien Wang was joined there by five influential chiefs and many members of the Triads. For a time it seemed as if these allies would necessarily bring with them a great accession of popular strength ; but whether they disapproved of Tien Wang's plans, or were offended by the arrogant bearing of the Wangs, who, but the other day little better than the dregs of the people, had suddenly assumed the yellow dress and insignia of Chinese royalty, the Triad leaders took a secret and hurried departure from his camp, and hastened to make their peace with the Imperialists. The principal of these members of the most formidable secret society in China, Chang Kwoliang by name, was given a military command of some importance.

In April, 1852, the Taeping army left its quarters at Yungan and marched direct on Kweiling, the principal city of the province, where it will be remembered that the Imperial Commissioners sent from Peking had been long stationary. Tien Wang attacked them there at the end of April or the beginning of May ; but he was repulsed with some slight loss. Afraid of breaking his force against the walls of so strong a place, he abandoned the attack and marched into Hoonan. Had the Imperial generals only been as energetic in offensive tactics as they had shown themselves to be in measures of defence, they might have harassed his rear, delayed his progress, and eventually brought him to a decisive engagement under many disadvantages. But the Imperial Commissioners at Kweiling did nothing, being apparently well satisfied with having rid themselves of the presence of such troublesome neighbours.

On 12th of June the Taipings attacked the small town of

* The names of his lieutenants were Fung Yun San, granted title of Nang Wang, or "Southern King"; Seou Chow, his brother-in-law, Shih Wang, or "Western King"; Wei Ching, Pei Wang, or "Northern King"; Yang seu Tsing, Tung Wang, or "Eastern King"; and Shih Takai, E Wang, or "Assistant King." These titles will be frequently used as their holders are referred to.

Taou in Hoonan with better success. Some resistance was offered, as may be safely assumed from the death of Fung Yun San, or Nan Wang, the southern king, during the operations which led to its capture. This individual was the best educated and most literate of all the confederates. He had taken so prominent a part in the early organization of the party, that many thought that it was he who really promoted the insurrection, and gave it the more important character which it assumed. His death was a rude blow to the Taepings. Their confidence in themselves and their cause was equally shaken, but for them to have then turned back would only have been to fall into the hands of the Kweiling garrison, while to halt would allow the Imperialists to recover from the ill-timed hesitation which paralyzed their action. They, therefore, pressed on, and the month of August beheld the capture of the three towns of Kiaho, Ching, and Kweyang. Their next march was both long and forced. Overrunning the whole adjacent country, they appeared, early in the month of September, before the strong and important town of Changsha, situated on the river Seang, and only fifty miles south of the great lake Tungting.

At this town, the capital of Hoonan, some vigorous preparations had been made to withstand them. Not merely was the usual garrison stationed there, but it so happened that Tseng Kwofan, a man of great ability and some resolution, was residing near the town at the time. Tseng Kwofan had held several offices in the service, and as a member of the Hanlin enjoyed a high position and reputation ; but he was absent from the capital on one of those frequent periods of retirement which the officials of China have to make on the occasion of the death of their near relations. When the tidings of the approach of the Taepings reached him, he threw himself with all the forces his influence or resources enabled him to collect into Changsha. At the same time he ordered the local militia to assemble as rapidly as possible in the neighbourhood, in order to harass the movements of the enemy. He called upon all those who had the means to show their duty to the state and sovereign by raising recruits, or by promising rewards to those volunteers who would serve in the

army against the rebels. Had the example of Tseng Kwofan been followed generally, it is not too much to say that the Taepings would never have got to Nankin. As it was, he set the first example of true patriotism, and he had the immediate satisfaction of saving Changsha.

When the Taepings reached Changsha, they found the gates closed and the walls manned. They proceeded to lay siege to it, they cut off its supplies, and they threatened the garrison with extermination. They even attempted to carry it by storm on three separate occasions. During eighty days the siege went on, but the Taepings were then compelled to admit that they were as far from success as ever. They had suffered very considerable losses, including Shih Wang, or the western king; and although it was said, and believed perhaps too readily, that the Imperialist loss was greater, they could better afford it. To have remained much longer would have been to allow themselves to be hemmed in. Therefore the Taepings as suddenly quitted their positions as they had left those before Kweiling, and on the first day of December resumed that northward march which, if communications had only been better, must have been very soon ended by their destruction.

They succeeded in seizing a sufficient number of junks and boats to enable them to cross the Tungting lake, and when they gained the Yangtse river at Yochow they found that the Emperor's garrison had fled panic-stricken at their approach. At Yochow they had the satisfaction of acquiring the war material, including a large quantity of powder, of the great Chinese leader, Wou Sankwei, of the 17th century, and these weapons served them in good stead when they came to attack Hankow. Their movements were extremely rapid. From Yochow they hastened down the Yangtsekiang. The important city of Hankow surrendered without a blow. The not less important town of Wouchang, on the opposite or southern bank of the river, was then attacked, and carried by storm after the walls had been undermined. The third town of Hanyang, which completes this busy hive of two millions of persons in the province of Hupeh, had also yielded. Up to this point the success of the Taepings had

been extremely doubtful. They had overrun a long strip of country, but the strong places had baffled them. They had lost several of their leaders, and more of their followers. Their advance had borne some resemblance to a flight. The soldiers of the new Heavenly Ruler were beginning to ask what was to be the reward of their labours, and where they were to repair their losses and recover from their weariness.

The capture of the wealthy towns of Wouchang and Hankow at once removed all these causes of doubt and discouragement. The Taepings were able to repay themselves for the losses of hardships they had undergone, and they saw in the rich prize in their power the surest proof that the enterprise which they had in hand was not likely to be unprofitable. During one month they remained at Hankow, not only collecting their spoil and a vast quantity of provisions in the numerous junks on the river, but also in organizing and subjecting to the oath of allegiance to Tien Wang the many thousand recruits who from all parts now hastened to join a leader whose cause and pretensions had received the ratification of success. But even now it was no part of their mission to stand still. The possibility of pursuit by Tseng Kwofan with the levies of Hoonan was never absent from their minds.

The Imperialist commanders were hampered by their want of authority and concord. Tseng had been joined by the ex-Triad chief Chang Kwoliang, but he had neither name nor authority outside Hoonan. He had performed his duty in his own province; he could only hope that his fellow-countrymen in other provinces would do theirs. Tseng and his colleagues re-established the Emperor's authority throughout Hoonan. Unfortunately the report of the success they had achieved blinded people to the danger nearer home, and the Taepings swept like an irresistible wave or torrent down the valley of the Yangtsekiang.

The capture of Kiukiang, a town situated on the river near the northern extremity of the lake Poyang, and of Ganking followed in quick succession; and on the 8th of March they sat down before Nankin, the old capital of the Mings. The siege went on until the 24th of the same

month ; but notwithstanding that there was a large Manchu force in the Tartar city, which might easily have been defended apart from the Chinese and much larger city, the resistance offered was singularly and unexpectedly faint-hearted. The Taepings succeeded in blowing in one of the gates, the townspeople fraternized with the assailants, and the very Manchus, who had looked so valiant in the face of Sir Hugh Gough's force, ten years before, now surrendered their lives and their honour after a mere show of resistance to a force which was nothing better than an armed rabble. The Manchu colony of Nankin, to the number of some four thousand families, had evidently fallen off from their high renown, and had lost the military courage and discipline which could alone enable them to maintain their position in China. Instead of dying at their posts, they threw themselves on the mercy of the national leader, imploring him for pity and for their lives when the gate was blown in by the Taeping soldiery. Their cowardice helped them not ; of twenty thousand Manchus not one hundred escaped. The tale rests on irrefragable evidence. "We killed them all, to the infant in arms ; we left not a root to sprout from ; and the bodies of the slain we cast into the Yangtse."

The capture of Nankin and this sweeping massacre of the dominant race seemed to point the inevitable finger of fate at the Tatsing dynasty. It was no longer possible to regard Tien Wang and his miscellaneous gathering as an enemy beneath contempt. Without achieving any remarkable success, having indeed been defeated whenever they were opposed with the least resolution, the Taepings found themselves in possession of the second city in the Empire. With that city they had acquired the complete control of the navigation of the Yangtse, and had cut off a part of the communications between the north and the south. They definitely abandoned Hankow, and contented themselves with holding the country from Kiukiang to Nankin. But they continued their progress down the great river with the object of securing the passage of the Grand Canal, and on the 1st of April, 1853, they occupied Chinkiangfoo, where the principal battle had been fought in the war of 1842. Chinkiang is on the

southern side of the Yangtse, and to this they resolved for the present to strictly confine themselves. Yangchow, on the northern side and some miles up the canal, was indeed occupied, but it was evacuated in a few days. It was stated that here they captured a long succession of batteries covering three miles and full of guns, not one of which had been fired upon them. Everywhere the garrisons fled without attempting resistance, or waiting to incur the implacable vengeance of the Taepings.

The rebels, even after these successes, seemed less dreadful to those in their rear, who had some reason to believe them not invincible, than they did to the garrisons in their front. Tseng Kwofan had gathered up his forces, and after some hesitation had entered the province of Kiangsi and advanced to attack the Taepings at Kiukiang. He made his attack, but fortune did not smile on his effort. He was repulsed with some loss, and compelled to draw off his defeated army, which he established in quarters at Kanchang, where he placed himself in communication with the authorities at Hangchow. Another Imperialist army, under General Heang Yung, had been moved forward from Kiangsu, and had taken up a position ten miles south of Nankin. So far as further action on the part of the Imperialists went, it was confined to observation, while urgent appeals for aid were repeatedly sent to the capital.

To that summons no heed could be paid in consequence of the peril which beset Peking itself. By extraordinary rapidity, and by a rare combination of fortunate circumstances, the Taeping leader had transferred his operations from remote Kwangsi to the very centre of the country, and by seizing the great river and one outlet of the Grand Canal he had, figuratively speaking, cut the Empire into two parts. But it was obvious to him and his advisers that, their success being little short of miraculous, there was no certainty about its continuing, unless it could be followed up by some decisive victory over the Manchus in the capital itself. At a council of war held at Nankin it was decided to send a force against Peking as soon as Nankin had been placed in a proper state to withstand a siege. In that portion of their task they

succeeded admirably. The old fortifications were repaired, new ramparts and batteries were erected, and, above all, provisions were stored to enable them to hold out for, as it was said, six or eight years.*

In the month of May these defensive measures were sufficiently far advanced to justify the despatch of a considerable portion of the Taeping army on an offensive campaign against Peking. At this time it was computed that the total number of the Taipings did not fall short of 80,000 trustworthy fighting men, and without the adjective the number does not appear excessive, while there were perhaps more than 100,000 Chinese pressed into their service as the hewers of wood and drawers of water. The lines of Nankin and the batteries along the Yangtse were the creation of the forced labour of the population which had not fled before the Taipings. On the 12th of May an army stated to consist of 200,000 men, but probably not half that number, crossed the Yangtse and marched northwards.

The movements of this body borrowed their rapidity from Tien Wang's first advance beyond Kweiling. They captured several places on the way, and overthrew more than one detachment; and on the 19th of June they appeared before Kaifong, the chief town of Honan, and once the capital of China. They had thus transferred their advanced posts in a few weeks from the Yangtse to the Hoangho. They attacked Kaifong, but were defeated with loss. Resuming their former tactics, they abandoned their attack on Kaifong, and hastened to cross the Yellow river. That they were able to do this without opposition says very little for the enterprise of the commandant of Kaifong. They then marched westwards against the important prefectural town of Hwaiking, where they met with a valiant and unexpected resistance. After a siege of two months they were compelled

* On the occupation of Nankin it was given the title of Heavenly Capital, and the city was consecrated. The Tung Wang, or "Eastern King," was made Minister of State, and strict laws were passed to maintain order and discipline. We shall see that the irregular levies chafed at these restrictions. The families of the non-combatant Chinese employed in the works were detained as hostages for the fidelity of the males.

to admit that they had been baffled for a second time, and that they must resort to some other plan.

Alarmed as to their position, which was rendered extremely precarious by the gradual recovery of the Imperial troops from their state of panic, the Taepings quitted their camp at Hwaiking, and marched westwards along the northern bank of the Yellow river as far as the small town of Yuenking; then they turned suddenly north to Pingyang, whence, reversing their line of march, they hastened eastwards towards the metropolitan province of Pechihli. The whole of the autumn of 1853 was taken up with these manœuvres; but having defeated a Manchu force at the Lin Limming pass, the Taepings appeared in Pechihli for the first time on the 30th of September. The object of their march was plain. Not only did they mystify the Emperor's generals as to their plan, for it was thought much more likely that the Taepings, repulsed at Hwaiking, were in search of an easy crossing over the Yellow river, or at the worst intended an attack on Singanfod, than that they meditated a descent upon the capital. But the Taepings had yet another object to serve by this detour. They passed through an agricultural country which had been untouched by the operations of war, and as they avoided the main high road, it was as difficult to ascertain what their movements were as it was to pursue them.

Their march was unopposed. The few towns lying along this route were unfortified and without a garrison. The population was unwarlike, and the Taepings had only to overrun the country and to drain it of its resources. Having forced the Limming pass, the Taepings found no difficulty in occupying the towns on the south-west border of Pechihli. The defeat of the Manchu garrison in the pass that was considered almost impregnable gave the Taepings the prestige of victory, and the towns opened their gates one after the other. They crossed the Hootoo river on a bridge of boats which they constructed themselves, and then occupied the town of Shinchow. On the 21st of October they reached Tsing, not much more than twenty miles south of Tientsin, which, again, is only eighty miles from the capital; but

beyond this point neither then nor at any other time did the rebels succeed in getting.

The forcing of the Limming pass produced great confusion at Peking. It was no longer a question of suffering subjects and disturbed provinces; nor was the danger one only affecting the privileges of the Manchus as a ruling caste. The capital of the Empire, the very person of the Emperor, was in imminent peril of destruction at the hands of a foe sworn to exact a ruthless vengeance. The city was denuded of troops. The levies were hastily summoned from Mongolia in order to defend the line of the Peiho and the other approaches to the capital. Had the Taepings shown better generalship, there is no saying that they would not have captured the capital. Had they seized Chingting, and marched as rapidly through Powting and Tso as they had shown that they could march, they might have obtained a decisive success, for the Imperial preparations had been made in the scare and hurry of the moment to defend Tientsin and the line of the Peiho; and by the other advance all these arrangements would have been outflanked.

But the Taepings themselves were far from being in the best of spirits. Their march from the Yangtse had been remarkable for the great distance covered; it had also been remarkable for the absence of any striking success on the part of an army which was credited with carrying terror in its train and with holding the fate of the Empire in its hands. On the 28th of October they were attacked by the Tientsin militia, defeated, and compelled to retire into their camp, which they hastened to fortify, at Tsinghai and Tuhlow. Here they were invested by the Tartar troops under the great Mongol chief, Sankolinsin, who was soon reinforced by the Chinese troops from Honan, that had followed the march of the Taepings. From October, 1853, until March of the next year, they were shut up in this position; but the timidity or prudence of the Imperial commanders induced them to believe that the sure and safest course was to starve them out. And so it might have been had not Tien Wang, hearing of the dilemma of his army, sent another to relieve it. This second body marched direct through Shantung, and in March, 1854,

succeeded in effecting a junction at the city of Lintsing, with the original force, which had already begun its retreat from Tsing.

The army under Sankolinsin had closely pursued them, and several keenly-contested encounters had taken place in the hundred miles between the two towns named. The Taepings had suffered very severe losses, but cheered by the sudden appearance of the new force they succeeded in carrying Lintsing by storm. At Lintsing the Taepings made a further stand, establishing their quarters there, and occupying several towns in the neighbourhood. But their successes were few and unimportant. They were vigilantly watched by the Imperial army, and, if they did not suffer any great defeat, the range of their activity was circumscribed. Gradually their numbers were thinned by disease as well as by the losses in constant action. The exact nature of their collapse cannot be accurately described, though it may be easily imagined. In March, 1855, they had finally abandoned all their possessions in Shantung, and the Imperial authorities could truthfully declare that the whole of the country north of the Yellow river was free of the presence of the Taepings. Long before that they ceased to be formidable; and it may confidently be declared that only a very small number of the two armies sent to effect the capture of Peking ever returned to the head-quarters of the Heavenly leader at Nankin.

Having described the course of the principal offensive movement made by the Taeping forces up to the point when it terminated, two years after the occupation of Nankin, it is necessary to return and describe the other military operations which were directed by Tien Wang and his principal military officers. Encouraged by the repulse of Tseng Kwofan's attempt on Kiukiang as already described, the Taepings fitted out a naval expedition, and, crossing Lake Poyang, attacked the important city of Kanchang. The siege began in June, 1853, but their ill-directed efforts were all repulsed; and in September, after one defeat in the field, the Taepings embarked on their junks and hastily retreated to the Yangtse. But after the departure of the main body the whole of the northern portion of Kiangsi was constantly subjected to raids

on the part of Taeping detachments, who levied black-mail in the region round Poyang and along the valley of the Kan.

They also spread themselves in a different direction over the plains of Hoonan, and up the valley of the Seang river, pillaging the villages and capturing all the towns with the exception of Changsha, where Tseng had left a strong garrison. They made their way, too, for some distance up the Great River itself. They failed in their attempt on Kingchow, where a Manchu force valiantly held its ground ; but they succeeded in reaching Ichang, now a treaty port, but then only remarkable as denoting the entrance to those great gorges which defend the approaches to the magnificent province of Szchuen. Just as the Taeping movement exhausted its forces at Tsing in the north, so had it at a still earlier date reached on the west the limit of its influence at Ichang.

During these operations the Taepings recaptured the cities of Wouchang and Hankow at the close of a siege of eighty days ; but after three months' occupation they were again abandoned. Once again the need of increasing the area of the region whence they drew their supplies compelled them to retake these important places. This last occupation occurred in the early part of the year 1855. Perhaps the most important event in connection with the former attack was that the Governor of the province was beheaded for failing to defend his charge—the first recognition of the fact that the situation was desperate, and that the officials must no longer evince apathy in their measures for the restoration of order. Without some act impressing upon the mandarins at large that the old day of robbing had passed away and must give place to one of decisive action, the great body of the Chinese service would even in the extreme hour of the crisis have continued to think only of making personal profit, without entering into any larger considerations of the danger to the State and of their duty to their sovereign.

The progress of the Taeping revolt had been watched by the European community with close attention, but with feelings of an opposite character. While the missionaries, whose

influence was the greater and more obtrusive because they possessed the almost complete control of the literature dealing with China, were disposed to hail the Taepings as the regenerators of China and as the champions of Christianity; the merchants saw in them the disturbers of trade, and men who threatened to destroy the prosperity of the country, and with it eventually their own. While on the one hand confident declarations were made that the last hour of the Manchu dynasty had arrived, that the knell of fate had sounded for the descendants of Noorhachu, the murmurs on the other hand were not less emphatic that the Taepings had ruined trade, and that the only way to continue it under any equal conditions was by the cessation of the payment of the stipulated customs to the Chinese authorities. It is difficult to understand how the Shanghai merchants brought themselves to the frame of mind to think that the English Government could shape its action and suspend the provisions of the Treaty of Nankin in accordance with the condition of their ledgers. But Mr. Rutherford Alcock pointed out in emphatic language that he had no choice save to abide by the Treaty of Peace and to preserve a strict neutrality. It was much more difficult for either Mr. Alcock or the Vice-Consul, Mr. Thomas Wade, to check the impulsive tendencies of those who believed in the mission of the Taepings, and who as strongly disbelieved in the vigour and resources of the Manchus. The armoury of criticism has not yet forged the weapon that shall pierce the self-sufficiency of prophets, who are little amenable to facts.

With the occupation of Nankin by Tien Wang it was thought necessary to acquaint the Taepings with the position which the English Government wished to occupy during the progress of the struggle. That position was to be one of strict neutrality coupled with the proviso that the Taepings were to observe, or at all events not to violate, the principal stipulations of the Treaty of Nankin. It is impossible to doubt that there must have been a strong feeling of curiosity at work when Sir George Bonham himself proceeded to Nankin in order to acquaint the Taepings with the existence of the English and of what they expected to be done. Several

of the more experienced English officials were extremely sceptical of the good faith of the Taepings, and of their chances of permanent success ; but Sir George Bonham was not equally cautious. By going out of his way to hold relations of a formal character with Tien Wang, he proclaimed that he as the representative of the English Government recognized in him something more than an insurgent leader, while the people of the great ports saw in the action of the English Government further reason to believe that Tien Wang was destined to be a great national monarch. The visit of Sir George Bonham to Nankin was not intended to be so, but it was none the less a distinctly unfriendly act to the Government of Peking.

The decision of Sir George Bonham to proceed to Nankin was hastened by the fact that Wou the Taotai of Shanghai, an energetic official who had been a merchant at Canton and who had purchased his way to power, was endeavouring to obtain assistance from the foreign Governments at the same time that he spread abroad the report that they were anxious and prepared to support the cause of the Imperialists. He purchased several European vessels, and he sent in a request for the loan of an English war-ship then at Shanghai. The response to this application was not only the verbal reply that the English intended to remain neutral, but the open deed, as we have said, that the English representative hastened to Nankin to acquaint the rebel leaders with the fact.

In April, 1853, Sir George Bonham left for Nankin in the war-steamer *Hermes*. Mr. Interpreter Meadows had been previously sent to collect information about the rebels ; but navigation by the canal being found impossible, he returned to Shanghai without having established any relations with the Taepings. The *Hermes* was fired upon by the batteries at Chinkiang and Kwachow ; but as she did not return the fire, she succeeded in running the gauntlet and making her way without any damage or accident to Nankin. The Taepings subsequently explained that they had only fired upon the *Hermes* because they believed her to be the advance-guard of Wou's squadron. On the 27th of April

the *Hermes* anchored off Nankin, and Mr. Meadows proceeded on shore to hold an interview with the Northern King, or Pei Wang. The *Hermes* remained nearly a week off the city, during which there were daily interviews and active correspondence between the English authorities and the Taepings. It is impossible to peruse these documents without feeling that the proselytizing spirit had obtained the mastery of our diplomacy, and that the Taeping leaders were fully as good adepts in the art of asserting the supreme pretensions of China as any doctor of the Hanlin. If there is any who thinks that the exclusiveness of Chinese policy is due to Manchu fear or arrogance, he will be speedily undeceived on reference to the grandiloquent proclamations of the Taeping leaders and of Pei Wang in particular.* The *Hermes* left Nankin on the 2nd of May, returning from an unwise and unnecessary expedition; but from the beginning of international relations the most difficult of all policies to follow has been that of doing nothing and of waiting upon the course of events.

Whilst these events had been happening the causes of disintegration, which must always produce the break-up of such a confederacy of lawless and unscrupulous men as formed the Taeping party, were already beginning to reveal themselves. The Tien Wang himself, after the capture of Nankin, retired into the interior of his palace and was never again seen in public. It was given out that he was constantly engaged in writing books, but the truth was that he had abandoned himself to the indulgences of the harem. He had chosen thirty of the women who had accompanied him from Kwangsi, and of those who had fallen to his spoil as a conqueror, to be his wives; but not content with this arrangement, he only allowed females to attend upon his august person. As the necessary consequence Tien Wang lost his

* One passage may be quoted as illustrating the rest. "Since you English have not held distances too far, but have come to acknowledge allegiance here, not only are the armies of our Heavenly Dynasty in great delight and joy, but in the high Heavens even the Heavenly Father will also regard with pleasure this evidence of your loyalty (more correctly subjection) and sincerity."

hold upon his followers; and his suspicions grew to such a height, that he exerted all the privileges of tyranny in its most savage form.

The failings of Tien Wang seemed to provide the more ambitious of his lieutenants with the opportunity of superseding him in the principal place of power. Of these none was possessed with a higher idea of his own dignity and importance than Tung Wang, the Eastern King, who had been raised to the office of Principal Minister of State. Tung Wang thought that the best way to procure the execution of his wishes was to give utterance to them whilst under a trance, during which he pretended to have communion with the Heavenly Father. In this manner he succeeded in getting rid of a large number of rivals by denouncing them as the objects of the Celestial wrath, and he seemed to be disposed to carry on this method of proceeding until he had freed himself from the presence of all likely to interfere with the realization of his ambitious plans. But either his scheme was revealed prematurely, or Tien Wang was personally threatened during the imprecations of his subordinate. The story went that during one of these trances Tung Wang summoned Tien Wang from his palace, publicly reproved him, and ordered him to receive forty blows.

Although their obedience to religious regulations was too strict to admit of any open opposition to the transmitted commands of the Heavenly Father, temporal sovereigns always submitting with a bad grace to personal chastisement even when it has the appearance of Celestial sanction, Tien Wang treasured up a grievance against his Minister both for the rebuke and for the personal injury thus publicly administered. Tien Wang was so fully employed in his own domestic matters, that he might have remained unwilling to bring his dispute with the Tung Wang to an open decision; but the same consideration did not restrain the other Wangs, who thought they had had as large a share in the Taeping success as Tung Wang, and who consequently resented his arrogance and assumption of superiority. The Northern King and the Assistant King with others of the original leaders of the revolt plotted together, and they came to the decision that

the only way to get rid of their dreaded colleague was, notwithstanding his Heavenly conferences, to assassinate him.

The progress of this plot was arrested by the development of military events; for the Imperialists, long inactive, were on the point of resuming their attack on the Taeping positions at the very moment that the rivalry between the Wangs was beginning to prove dangerous to the concord of the rebels. Two Imperialist armies had with much difficulty been collected for the purpose of watching the movement of the Taepings both at Chinkiang and at Nankin. The former was closely invested by a Manchu general named Chi, and being in great danger, Tung Wang determined to send a force to its relief, although Nankin itself was vigilantly watched by another army of about 40,000 men under the joint command of Hochun and Chang Kwoliang. The conduct of this operation was entrusted to a young officer named Li, who had attracted Tung Wang's favourable notice by his energy, and who is best known by his later name of Chung Wang, or the Faithful King. The manner in which he conducted the operation amply justified his selection for the duty. He arranged with the ex-Triad leader Lotakang to make a sortie at the same time as he attacked the lines of the Imperialists. The result was a complete victory. Sixteen stockades were carried, General Chi's force was driven off, that general committed suicide, and the pressure on the Chinkiang garrison was relieved.

But this success was only half the victory, for the Imperialists closed in on the Taepings, and barred the return road to Nankin. At the same time the army under Hochun drew closer to the walls of that city. An express order was sent off to Li, ordering him to hasten back without delay. He endeavoured to make his way along the northern bank, but was checked at Loohoo by Chang Kwoliang, who had crossed the river. Not to be outdone in this kind of manœuvring, the future Chung Wang also hastened back to the southern side of the river, and defeated the weakened Imperialists there. He inflicted a second defeat on Chang Kwoliang in person, and thus cleared for himself a road back to Nankin. He was then ordered to attack and drive away the main Chinese army from before Nankin, at the head of which

the Emperor's chief general, Heang Yung, had by this time placed himself. The orders of Tung Wang were so peremptory that there was no choice except to obey, for he even went so far as to say that his victorious lieutenant should not be admitted into the city until he had driven away the enemy. The Taeping leader met with more success than he believed possible with his wearied troops. He expelled the Tartars from their entrenchments, and compelled them to retire into Tanyang, where they successfully resisted all his further efforts. But Heang Yung took his reverse so deeply to heart that he would not survive his disgrace, and accordingly he committed suicide by strangling himself. Thus the Emperor not merely lost several battles, but also the services of two men who, whatever their faults, had shown that they were possessed of physical courage.

The greatness of this Taeping success carried, it seemed, its own punishment. The death of Heang Yung excited the fury of Chang Kwoliang, who had regarded him with the warmest affection. He inspired his troops with his own rage and led them out to attack the Taepings. It was now the turn of the latter to give way. Most of the positions lost were regained, and, on the admission of the Taeping leader himself, six or seven hundred of his best men, together with a brave leader named Chow, were killed. This victory fully compensated for the late discomfiture ; but it was exceedingly unfortunate for Hienfung's cause that, at the very moment when the inevitable disintegration of the rebels was first beginning to be apparent, his arms should have sustained such reverses, and his commanders been compelled to abandon their advantageous positions outside Nankin. Had Heang Yung remained in undisturbed possession of the Yashua gate, which he had seized during the absence of Chung Wang, and which was regained by that officer, he would have been able to have asserted the Imperial authority during the confusion caused by the plots and counterplots which have now to be narrated.

Pei Wang personally assumed the conduct of the plot hatched for the destruction of the Eastern King. With his followers he attacked Tung Wang in the presence of Tien

Wang, and slew him and his three brothers with his own hands. Not content with this success, or perhaps carried away by the impulse of slaughter, Pei Wang massacred every man, woman, and child, to the number of 20,000, who had had the least connection with the person or fortunes of the deceased leader. And then with the distrust bred of criminal purpose he turned upon his confederate, the E Wang. That prince succeeded in escaping, but he had to leave his family and belongings at the mercy of his pursuer, who wreaked his vengeance with all the fury of baffled spite and fear. Pei Wang's excesses disgusted even the lenient Nankin populace; and he too fell by the assassin's knife. Of the five leaders who had originally assisted Tien Wang in promoting the Taeping rebellion, one alone was left, Yi Wang, the Assistant King; and the intrigues of Nankin became so distasteful to him, that he devoted himself to the prosecution of operations in other parts of the Empire.

Considering the large unsettled element in all the seaport towns, it was inevitable that the Taepings should find many imitators. Their appeal to Chinese patriotism and race feeling was far less effectual than the incentive which their success offered to those who had no regular mode of living, and who were habitual law-breakers. Amoy, Canton, Foochow, and Shanghai were in turn the scene of disturbances and active rebellion, which, if not the absolute work of the Taepings, would certainly not have happened but for the encouragement of their example. For their example had in a double sense tended to these outbreaks. While it had emboldened the turbulent, it had also spread a feeling of panic among those who were the natural supporters of the law.

The instinct of self-preservation warned the foreign residents that it behoved them to take timely measures for the protection of their lives and property. As early as April, 1853, Mr. Rutherford Alcock had convened a meeting for the purpose of devising a plan of defence at Shanghai, which, from being the nearest treaty port to the scene of the Taeping operations, was supposed to stand in the greatest danger. The principal decision arrived at was that the British residents were to form themselves into a volunteer corps; and Captain Tronson,

an officer who had seen service in the Bengal Fusiliers, undertook to drill the small force, and to superintend the measures for holding the settlement if attacked. Captain Fishbourne, the senior naval officer in charge of the war-ships at the station, assumed the supreme command and direction of these military preparations. At a subsequent meeting the other foreigners agreed to combine with the English Consul and community, and thus the whole of the foreign settlement at Shanghai presented a united front to whatever danger might betide from either the weakness of the Imperialists or the hostility of the insurgents.*

The first symptom of popular excitement on the sea-coast was manifested at Amoy, where there had been a disturbed feeling for some time. In May, 1853, a strong body of the lower orders, incited, as it was believed, by the members of the Triad society, rose under the command of one Magay, who styled himself an admiral, but who had gained all his experience of war and seamanship from serving the English garrison at Kulangsu with spirits, and from a brief cruise with a renegade Neapolitan in a lorch. The rebels, or, more correctly, the marauders, remained in possession of the town until the following November, when the Imperial forces, having collected from the neighbouring garrisons, appeared in such overwhelming strength that the insurgents hastily put off to sea, and many of them succeeded in escaping to Singapore or Formosa. Magay was among those who fled, but he was accidentally shot whilst off Macao. The assertion of the Emperor's authority at Amoy was unfortunately followed by terrible scenes of official cruelty and blood-thirstiness. The guilty had escaped, but Hienfung's officials

* Even the missionaries were not blind at last to the personal danger from the Taepings. Dr. Medhurst, in a report which puts forward prominently their alleged virtues and laudable objects, wrote that "foreigners should be prepared to resist with a sufficient force any attack which the insurgents may be induced to make on them." He had said in an earlier passage, "It would be sad to see Christian nations engage in putting down the movement, as the insurgents possess an energy and a tendency to improvement and general reform which the Imperialists never have exhibited and never can be expected to display."—Parliamentary Papers for 1853.

wreaked their rage on the helpless and unoffending townspeople. Thousands of both sexes were slaughtered in cold blood, and on more than one occasion English officers and seamen interfered to protect the weak, and to arrest the progress of an indiscriminating and insensate massacre.

Mr. Alcock's precautions at Shanghai had not been taken a day too soon; for of all the subsidiary rebellions, none attained such a dangerous height or endured so long as that which broke out there in the month of September, 1853. There had been mutterings of coming trouble for some time, and the Taotai Wou had implored the English authorities to announce their intention to co-operate with him in maintaining order in the great Chinese city under his charge. Had Mr. Alcock been at liberty to give this promise there would have been no disturbance at Shanghai; but he was not free to even so much as consider the possibility of such a breach of the strict neutrality to which his Government had pledged itself. The disaffected were restrained for a time by a doubt as to the part which the Europeans intended to play, for as a matter of course Wou had confidently declared that they were on the side of the Government; but as soon as they saw that their neutrality was assured, and it was shown as clearly by the preparations to defend only the settlement, and not the whole of the town, as by the protestations of the English Consul, the last barrier to their breaking out was removed.

The rising at Shanghai was the work of the Triads. They seized the Taotai's quarters without resistance, as Wou's body-guard deserted him, and that official barely escaped with his life. Other officials, not so fortunate, were slain by the rebels, but on the whole the seizure of Shanghai was accomplished with little bloodshed. The rebels numbered about fifteen hundred Triads, who were joined by two or three thousand of the townspeople. On the 7th of September, 1853, Shanghai had passed out of the hands of the Imperial Government into those of an independent and lawless body of men who lived upon the plunder of the city. The foreign settlement was placed in a state of siege. The broadsides of the men-of-war covered the approaches to the factories,

and Captain Tronson's volunteers diligently patrolled the quarters of the European residents.

This state of affairs continued up to and after the arrival of an Imperialist force sent to recover the city. While the batteries were constructed at a very short distance from the walls, and the bombardment went on all day, the foreign merchants were the spectators of a siege which of its kind was unsurpassed in absurdity. Never were ignorance of the military art and the possession of that discreet valour in which Sir John Falstaff excelled, more conspicuously revealed. And yet some evidence of a possible higher skill was afforded, and a few acts of valour might have been recorded. The Imperialists carried their mines to the wall and under the deep moat surrounding the town; and a body of Cantonese braves stormed the breach in gallant style. But the former was a slow and costly proceeding; and in the latter act the courage of the handful of brave men was thrown uselessly away by the treachery or the folly of their more craven comrades who removed the bridge by which they had crossed the moat. The siege dragged its slow length along. The Imperialists were unable to direct with any skill their superior resources and numbers; and the insurgents made up by their vigilance and desperation for their natural deficiencies and inferiority.

It soon became obvious to the representatives of the Foreign States that the rebels at Shanghai were not fighting for any definite purpose; and that being the case, it was clear that in the interests of everybody the sooner the Imperial authorities were reinstated the better it would be for all. While the influence of several English residents was exerted to induce the rebels to surrender by throwing themselves on the consideration of the European Consulates, that of the French admiral was more openly asserted with a view to ensuring the military triumph of the Imperialists. The French settlement, which consisted of the consulate, one house, and a cathedral, was nearest the walls. There was no great difficulty, under the circumstances, in showing that it stood in danger from the bombardment; and in December, 1854, Admiral Laguerre, impatient at the prolongation of a siege which gave no indication of closing, availed himself of

the excuse afforded by several shots passing over or near the French position to turn his broadsides on the city. The rebels were, therefore, cannonaded on one side by the French and on the other by the Imperialists, who were naturally elated at having obtained that foreign assistance which they had previously entreated so often and without avail.

The Shanghai insurgents, to do them justice, presented a bold front to this accumulation of dangers. The bombardment did much damage to the walls, but inflicted hardly any loss on the garrison, which kept well under the cover of an inner earthwork. While the other Europeans were pitying them for their useless devotion and fortitude, the Triad leaders were making their preparations to defend the city against assault, and their followers were eagerly asking the question when the French intended to come on. They were not merely boasters. A breach was at last declared to be practicable, and 400 French sailors and marines were landed. On their side the Imperialists, wearing blue sashes to distinguish them from the rebels, advanced in serried bodies to attack the north gate. The French made their way through the breach, the Celestial soldiers over the walls at another point. But although they gained the inside of the fortification, they could not advance. The insurgents fought desperately in the streets, and after four hours' fighting they compelled the Imperialists to take to flight. The French were carried along by their disheartened allies, who even fired upon them, and when Admiral Laguerre counted up the cost of that day's adventure he found that he had lost four officers and sixty men killed and wounded. Such was the French attack on Shanghai, and it left the lesson that even good European troops cannot ignore the recognized rules and precautions of war, and that a number of desperate men may sometimes be more than a match for the picked soldiers of a great Power.

After this the siege languished. The French abstained from any further direct participation in it, but the Imperialists pressed the attack with greater vigour than before. At last the insurgents, having failed in some attempts to surrender on terms, made a desperate sortie. Some cut

their way through, and a few found safety in the foreign settlement, but by far the greater number perished by the sword of the Imperialists. The fugitives were pursued along the country roads, and in a few days more than fifteen hundred rebels had fallen by the knife of the executioner. The two leaders, Lew and Chin-ah-Lin, escaped, strange to say, for the large price of £3000 was placed upon each of their heads. The latter turned up at a later period at Hongkong, where he offered assistance against Commissioner Yeh ; but on his offer being refused he left for Siam, where he acquired in worldly prosperity the position he had failed to gain as a political personage at Shanghai. At Shanghai as at Amoy the Imperialists sullied victory by their excesses ; and the unfortunate townspeople, impoverished by supplying the rebels with their wants during more than a year and a half, were reduced to the brink of ruin by their belongings being given over to the Emperor's soldiers to pillage. These painful occurrences, over which we hasten to pass as briefly as we may, should serve as a warning to those who have so lightly encouraged rebellion in a country constituted like China for the sake of trade advantages and the propagation of Christianity ; for however much we may identify those objects with the name of civilization, the cost has had to be paid by the Chinese people in suffering which would surpass all powers of description.

What had happened at Amoy and Shanghai had occurred on a somewhat different scale near Canton, where in June, 1854, the Triads, who it must be remembered were strongest of all in the province of Kwantung, seized the manufacturing town of Fatshan, and from that place threatened to oust the Viceroy from Canton itself. They approached the city walls on several occasions, and as they numbered some twenty or thirty thousand men, it may even be said that they held Canton in siege. But the merchants and shopkeepers of Canton had too much at stake to remain apathetic in face of a danger that threatened their lives and property. They took braves into their pay who made most efficient soldiers, and gradually their numbers increased so much that the city walls were well and efficiently guarded. There was

much skirmishing in the neighbourhood of the city, but not of a serious character. The rebels remained in possession of Fatshan long after all danger from them to Canton itself had disappeared; and when one of their chiefs, named Ho Aluk, who had assumed the title of the Avenger of Sorrow, was defeated near Whampoa, the movement gradually lost its importance and the rebels retreated into either Kwangsi or Hoonan. The recovery of authority by the Imperialists was completed by the month of February, 1855; and it was marked by wholesale executions which went on during several months later. One hundred thousand men, most of whom had never taken up arms at all, were credibly reported to have suffered under the sword of the executioner. Governor Yeh is best known in England from his subsequent opposition to this country; but it should be recorded and remembered that it was he who instigated these barbarous holocausts of an unoffending, or, at the worst, of a deluded population.

We have now passed in review the events which marked the beginning and growth of the Taeping Rebellion from the time of its being a local rising in the southern province of Kwangsi to the hour when its chief was installed as a ruling prince in the ancient city of Nankin. The success was more striking than thorough. The Taepings had gained some victories; they had incurred almost as many defeats. They had captured the towns on the Yangtse; every other walled city had repulsed and defied them. They had sent two armies to the north, their standards had been flaunted within a hundred miles of the capital; but of those armies a mere fragment ever regained the main body. They had proclaimed their chief King not merely of China, but of the Earth, under a Celestial mandate; and the reputed sanctity of their mission, the proclaimed purity of their purpose, had not availed to keep out the dissension of worldly objects and individual ambition. Prince had murdered prince; the streets of Nankin had been flooded with the blood of thousands of their followers. The presence of a common peril could not avail to preserve union and fellow-devotion among a band of uneducated and unprincipled adventurers

drawn from the lowest orders of the people, and from the most profligate temples and monasteries of the Buddhist religion.

The evil example of futile rebellion had been followed by those who had nothing to lose in the great sea-ports and places of trade. For that hour the teaching of the Triad Society, active since the beginning of the century, and drawing to itself the association of the once popular Water-lily sect, had long been preparing the way. When the successes of the Taepings showed that the authorities could be defeated, and when the charm of the Emperor's majesty, already undermined by a disastrous foreign war, was fully dissipated, it was no longer reasonable to hope that the lawless and disaffected would not make their effort to share in the plunder of the rich ; to have held back would to their minds have only been to lose their share of the spoil. Therefore, there were the risings that have been described, having the one grand object of the Taepings, and the only one that they attained, viz. that their wealthier countrymen formed a fit object of plunder. We have seen how painfully slow was the reassertion of Imperial authority in the case of the rioters in or near the Treaty Ports ; it could not but prove still more protracted over the bolder and more numerous Taepings. But the events at Amoy, Shanghai, and Canton helped to strip the Taeping movement of its delusive character as being an aid to Christianity ; although the barbarous cruelty of some of the Imperial officers unfortunately stifled the sympathy that was beginning to rise towards their cause among Europeans.

CHAPTER XI.

COMPLICATIONS WITH ENGLAND.

THE home difficulties of the Chinese Government could not avert the perils that necessarily accrued from the many unsettled points in connection with the foreign intercourse. The Peking authorities still disdained to hold any direct communication with the European Powers. The Canton viceroy was deputed both to control the trade at Canton and to direct such official intercourse as could not be avoided with the Chief Superintendent at Hongkong. His voice decided all questions at the other Treaty Ports with the exception of Shanghai, where the Intendant of the Susungtai district was invested with plenary powers. But even at Canton the English representative was not admitted within the city walls. Such interviews as were granted and were in themselves unavoidable were held at some spot outside the limits of the city of Canton, which was matter of arrangement on each occasion. When it is remembered that as far back as the year 1840 it had been laid down as absolutely necessary to the harmony of relations between the two peoples that there should be some channel of direct communication with the Peking Government, and that in the year of Hienfung's accession to the throne the matter had not advanced in any appreciable degree towards solution, it will be difficult to maintain that the question was in a satisfactory condition, or that there was any better guarantee for the continuation of peace than the forbearance of the Europeans, disappointed in their expectations by the results of the last war and exasperated by the persistent finesse and

ever-ready literary skill of the mandarins to thwart their views, and to continually remind them that in the eyes of their great and all-powerful sovereign these matters of trade and of diplomatic intercourse were not worthy of a moment's consideration.

There were many reasons for objecting to an arrangement which prevented England and the other chief States of Europe from being diplomatically represented at the Chinese capital besides the fact that it argued a position of inferiority. In the interests of China herself it was matter of regret that the Emperor and his responsible advisers should have no real knowledge of the wishes, power, and intentions of the great trading nations of the West. Had there been greater knowledge there must have been fewer mistakes, and many unpleasant passages in Anglo-Chinese history would not have had to be written. For not only were Hienfung and his ministers, when neither Keying nor Keshen succeeded in finding the way to their master's favour, completely ignorant of the character and capacity of Europeans, but they were dependent for their information upon men who had every motive to conceal the truth and to report what was most flattering to themselves. The Viceroy at Canton, so long as he avoided an absolute rupture, might pursue the most dictatorial course he pleased; the more dictatorial it was, the greater emphasis with which he dwelt on the inferiority of the outer barbarians, the nearer would it accord with the traditional claims of the Chinese ruler. There was grave danger in such an arrangement, no matter who the Viceroy might be, but it became perceptibly greater when the wielder of that authority happened to be a zealot such as Lin, a truculent minister like Su, or a boaster as in the case of Yeh.

The coming difficulty had been long foreseen. From the first there had been a want of cordiality on the part of the Chinese officials that augured ill for either the harmony or the durability of the relations. In 1848 Mr. Bonham's proposition that the Viceroy should place some of his subordinates in communication with the secretaries at Hongkong had been curtly declined. It was followed in a few months

by the shelving of the question of opening the gates of Canton; and to postpone the settlement of a question with the Chinese has been shown over and over again to mean its abandonment, or at least the resumption of the discussion at the very beginning. The English Government in 1849, out of consideration for the strong statement of the Chinese authorities that they were unable to restrain the turbulent Cantonese, had consented to put off the execution of Keying's agreement until a more favourable opportunity. The Chinese officials placed but one interpretation on this proceeding, and that was that the right had been finally waived and withdrawn.*

The position of the English Government on the question was diametrically opposed to that taken up by the Canton Yamen. With the former the question of the right entrance into Canton was only in abeyance until the favourable moment arrived to enforce it, and Lord Palmerston laid down this view very clearly in his despatches to the Governor of Hongkong. But if it was a question of right, it was also

* Viceroy Su completely ignored the whole affair of Keying's promise even in 1848: "As to entrance into the city—Since the various nations have traded in Canton, none of the officers or merchants of their respective countries had ever any business requiring their going into the city. When our Government concluded a Treaty of Peace with your honourable nation, no entrance into the city was stipulated. Natives and foreigners lived previously peacefully together, and the commerce was in a flourishing condition. When, however, the entrance into the city became subsequently a subject of discussion, all the inhabitants entertained fears and suspicion; the merchants were, on this account, hampered, and their trade gradually dwindled away. The late Imperial Commissioner Keying, therefore, ordered some deputed officers and the local authorities to take proper steps for quieting the populace, and fortunately no disturbance ensued. If we now again enter upon the previous consultations about it, the public will, as before, feel fear and annoyance, goods will become unsaleable, and very great obstacles accrue to the trade. The British merchants have traversed a wide ocean, and should they have come here in order to enter the city? The entrance into the city is moreover in reality injurious, and no way advantageous to English merchants. Why should, then, by the useless entrance into the city, the commerce, their original object, be lost?"—China Papers, 1857, p. 150. It will be observed that in this document there is not a single word of reference to the pledge given by Keying that the gates should be opened in April, 1849.

one in hardly a less degree of convenience. And it was admitted that, although there was no doubt as to the concession having been made by the Chinese Government, it remained a matter of questionable policy whether it was advisable to insist on the compliance with a diplomatic stipulation if it was clear that compliance could only be secured by resorting to violence and at the cost of constant friction. The question had to be discussed, therefore, not so much on its merits as with regard to its practical consequences,* for already it was becoming clear that to yield to the Chinese on one point meant to set a precedent of concession that could not fail to be very inconvenient and in the end attended with many dangers.

No other conclusion can be drawn from the despatches of Lord Palmerston and Sir George Bonham than that they were both most anxious to avoid all occasion of serious disagreement with China. In the interest of peace itself they were desirous to obtain the fulfilment of the pledges made by the responsible Chinese officials, and they never failed to realize that the objections of the Canton Viceroy to execute

* Mr. Bonham wrote as follows to Lord Palmerston on October 23rd, 1848: "If the gates of Canton can only be opened by the force of arms, the consequences of such a step become a matter for deep consideration. I am thoroughly persuaded that the populace and the 'braves' of the adjacent country will join heartily in resisting our approach, and the result will be that we should require a very respectable force to gain our point, for the opposition will be infinitely greater than it was in 1841, when the troops and mandarins were in the first instance its only defenders. A military operation of this nature would, under the most favourable circumstances, not only for a time put a stop to all trade, but it would furthermore require a very long period to elapse before confidence would be restored. This would cause much loss to the native as well as to our own merchants, and operate most detrimentally on our revenues at home." Lord Palmerston stated in reply to this letter that the entrance into Canton was "a privilege which we have indeed a right to demand, but which we could scarcely enjoy with security or advantage if we were to succeed in enforcing it by arms. It may be true that the Chinese might be encouraged, by their success in evading compliance with their engagements in this matter, to attempt to violate other engagements; but this consideration does not seem to me to be sufficient to determine Her Majesty's Government to put the issue of peace and war upon this particular point."

what he was bound to perform, arose from a dislike to the whole transaction, and not from inability to coerce the populace and to afford protection to foreigners. In his dilemma Su had appealed to the Emperor himself, and the Imperial Council presided over by Muchangah had sent him but cold words of comfort, if he thought that there was only fear at the capital of admitting the foreigners into a provincial city. At that price the Emperor and his ministers would have been very glad to have got rid of the foreign question once and for all. When the central administration and the highest executive in the realm stated that it was a matter of right, and beyond that, moreover, one of comparative unimportance, that the barbarians should insist on the privilege, conceded by Keying, of entering the city of Canton, it can no longer be contended that either the English Cabinet or the Chief Superintendent of Trade in China was mistaken in maintaining that only a little firmness was needed to carry the point. A mistaken consideration of the difficulties of the Chinese led to the postponement of the enforcement of a right ceded in the most formal manner, and, so far as official intercourse was concerned, one that was absolutely necessary to tranquillity.*

The consideration of these early disputes is not to be avoided if the true meaning of the grave difficulties which broke out, shortly after Hienfung's accession, between his officers and the representatives of the English Government,

* The decision of the Chinese Council was conveyed in a remarkable State paper, which should alone suffice to preserve the name of Muchangah from oblivion. In it he said: "It may be said that these barbarians are of an insatiable nature, and that after being admitted into the city they will again give rise to disturbance and cause the commencement of hostilities. But you do not consider that the outside of the city is the same as the inside of the city. If they may give rise to disturbance inside the city, may they not also give rise to disturbance outside the city? . . . We therefore conclude that the repugnance to this proceeds from the ignorant populace, which relies on mere animal courage, and is deluded by false reports. . . . We now look up to your Sacred Majesty to issue orders to the Governor of that province to persuade and guide the people, and impress upon them the great principles of justice. Let them not act wantonly, and cause war upon our frontiers."—Blue Book, pp. 177-78.

is to be mastered. Those disputes did not arise out of any single occurrence, but entirely from a chain of events, of antagonistic views and of opposite readings of accepted obligations, which followed the refusal in 1849 of the Viceroy Su to carry out the promise of Keying to open the gates of Canton. The populace were noisy in their expression of the resolve to make no surrender, and the policy of the English Government was never expressed in that emphatic language which foreshadowed the employment of force. The Chinese were very shrewd in detecting that the hands of the English Superintendent of Trade were tied, and the tokens of success already rested with them when the accession of Hienfung strengthened the influence of those whose sympathies were adverse to Europeans. The long delay in enforcing the right, and the appearance of a new and less pacifically disposed sovereign on the throne, put an end to all hopes of obtaining the surrender of the principal stipulation with Keying * in 1847, of course unless force was to be employed.

The question had progressed in this manner when in 1852 Sir George Bonham returned to Europe on leave, and was temporarily succeeded by Dr. John Bowring, who had officiated for a short period as Consul at Canton. In his first instructions received from Lord Granville, at that moment beginning a very long career at the Foreign Office, he was informed that it was "the anxious desire of Her Majesty's Government to avoid all irritating discussions with that of China." The new representative of the English Government in that country, who was regarded as no more than a temporary official, was also directed to avoid pushing arguments on doubtful points in a manner to fetter the free action of his Government, but he was at the same time to recollect that it was his duty to carefully watch over and insist upon the performance by the Chinese authorities of their engagements. It will be admitted that the proper

* It may be interesting to state that Keying, applied to by Su for his advice, had replied that the opinion of the people was greatly to be considered, but that the will of the Emperor overruled all. He was careful to point out that what he had done had been sanctioned by a special Edict of the Vermilion Pencil.

fulfilment of the latter necessarily involved some infringement of the former recommendation ; and while the paramount consideration with the Government in London was to keep things quiet, it was inevitable that the agent on the spot should think a great deal, if not mostly, of how best to obtain compliance to the fullest extent with the pledges given in the treaty and subsequent conventions. The emphatic manner in which the Foreign Office impressed on the acting Governor the necessity of abstaining from all decisive measures in his dealings with the Chinese was partly explained by his being a new man, and one moreover who might naturally be thought not to possess the same perfect agreement with official views as Sir George Bonham had held.*

A change of Government having taken place at home, and a Conservative Administration having been installed in office, it is necessary to state that Lord Malmesbury repeated, in language more emphatic if possible than Lord Granville's, that "all irritating discussions with the Chinese should be avoided," and that the existing good understanding was to be in no way imperilled.

The first communication from Dr. Bowring to the Chinese was dated in April, 1852, and contained the expression of a desire for an opportunity of paying his personal respects to the high Chinese officials at Canton, with a view to arranging such matters as remained unsettled. The reply of the Viceroy Su was to compliment him upon his appointment, but at the same time to express the wish that the interview should be postponed until the hostilities against the rebels had been triumphantly concluded. Dr. Bowring accepted the excuse, and more than two years passed by before the question of an interview was resumed. By that time Dr.

* In his reply, Dr. Bowring said : "The Pottinger Treaties inflicted a deep wound upon the pride, but by no means altered the policy, of the Chinese Government. . . . Their purpose is now, as it ever was, not to invite, not to facilitate, but to impede and resist the access of foreigners. . . . It must then ever be borne in mind, in considering the state of our relations with these regions, that the two Governments have objects at heart which are diametrically opposed except in so far that both earnestly desire to avoid all hostile action, and to make its own policy as far as possible subordinate to that desire."

Bowring had been knighted, and had received full powers as Governor of Hongkong in succession to Sir George Bonham ; and the Viceroy Su had experienced the opposite extreme of fortune, and, having fallen from the position of popular champion to that of a disgraced official, his place had been taken at Canton by his former subordinate, Yeh.

Up to this point all Sir John Bowring's suggestions with regard to the settlement of the questions pending with the Chinese had been received in London with the official reply, expressed indeed in peremptory terms, that he was to abstain from all action, and that he was not to press himself on the Canton officials. But in the early part of the year 1854 there was a modification in the rigidity of this policy of doing nothing ; and Lord Clarendon admitted that it was desirable to secure certain points, of which the two principal were "free and unrestricted intercourse with the Chinese officials," and "admission into some of the cities of China, especially Canton." Encouraged by this statement, Sir John Bowring felt justified in detailing his views on the points at issue, and in seizing the opportunities that presented themselves for obtaining what had been formally granted.

Sir John Bowring's first step after his definitive appointment was to notify the fact to Yeh ; but the reply to this notification was so long delayed, that he had written, before any answer to the first communication had reached him, a second letter inviting the Chinese Commissioner to an early interview, but at the same time stating that there could only be one mode of reception, viz. within the city of Canton at the official yamen or residence of the Viceroy. The question which had long lain dormant was thus brought to a clear issue, and it only remained to be seen what would be the outcome of it. But while Sir John Bowring, with commendable frankness, at the very commencement of the controversy stated the conditions on which he would alone proceed to Canton, it must be observed that he was demanding less than Keying's arrangement had provided for. That convention had opened the gates of Canton, after an interval long expired, to all Englishmen. The English Government

and Sir John Bowring would have been perfectly satisfied had the concession been confirmed in favour of the official representatives of England alone.

The reply of the chief Chinese official was not encouraging. While saying that he would be gratified if it were possible to hold an early interview, he stated that the management of the military arrangements in different parts of the province occupied the whole of his time, and left him no opportunity to name a day. By replying in this general way to the request of the English representative, Yeh thought that he avoided the necessity of stating his objections to the presence of Sir John Bowring in Canton. Sir John Bowring was not to be so easily balked, and encouraged by Lord Clarendon's approval of his propositions, he sent his official secretary, Mr. Medhurst, to Canton, for the purpose of overcoming the repugnance of the Viceroy Yeh to the proposed interview. This preliminary mission was not successful, and failed to provide an easy issue from the complication. Mr. Medhurst was unable to execute his charge, as the mandarins sent to meet him were of very inferior rank, and he returned to Hongkong with the report that the Viceroy stood firmly to his text of denying that Keying's arrangement possessed any validity. The Chinese contended that it had been allowed to drop on both sides, was practically extinct, and, moreover, the attitude of the Canton populace rendered it quite impossible for any attempt to be made to give it effect. The utmost that Yeh could be induced to concede was to appoint a day for an interview at the Jinsin Packhouse on the Canton river, but outside the walls of the city.*

This proposal was declared to be inadmissible, and no sign of yielding being manifested by Yeh, who at length told Sir John Bowring that he supposed he "did not wish for an interview," the English representative left for

* Mr. Medhurst wrote, on his return: "Our failure has been altogether owing to the pertinacious endeavours of the Commissioner to oblige us, against our better judgment, to meet low officials whom we could not have received without prejudice to our position as your Excellency's delegates, and whom we therefore obstinately declined to see." It should be added that Lord Clarendon conveyed the approval of these proceedings on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

Shanghai, where he hoped to be able to place himself in communication with the central authorities. On the 10th of July, 1854, he addressed Eleang, then Viceroy of the Two Kiang, complaining of the want of courtesy evinced by Yeh throughout his correspondence with him, and expressing a desire to negotiate either with him or with some other high official of the Empire. Eleang's reply did not tend to advance matters. He had no authority, he said, on the subject, and he could not interfere in what was not his concern. Commissioner Yeh was a high official specially appointed by the Emperor to conduct the relations with foreigners, and it was impossible for any one except the Emperor himself to assume or withdraw his functions.*

The insurrectionary movement, which has been already described, by threatening to result in the subversion of the Emperor's authority at Canton, seemed likely to give a more satisfactory turn to the question, as it compelled Yeh in the extremity of his distress to apply to the English representative, if not for assistance, at least for co-operation against the rebels. Sir John Bowring thereupon proceeded to Canton, where his acts made it clear that his only intention was to restrict himself to the performance of his duty, which was to protect English interests. From him, therefore, Yeh could expect no direct support. The Consuls issued a joint notice proclaiming their strict neutrality, and their firm intention to protect the lives and property of their subjects against all attacks whether from the one side or from the

* Eleang will be remembered as the Commissioner to Formosa at an earlier period. His letter concluded as follows: "I have no means of knowing what kind of treatment your Excellency or your predecessors received at the hands of the Commissioner at Canton. It is, to my mind, a matter of more consequence that we of the central and outer nations have made fair dealing and good faith our rule of conduct, and thus for a length of time preserved entire our amicable relations. Familiarity or otherwise in social intercourse, and all such trifles, are, in my opinion, to be decided by the laws of conventionality. As your Excellency cherishes such a dislike to discourteous treatment, you must doubtless be a most courteous man yourself—an inference which gives me sincere pleasure, for we shall both be able to maintain Treaty stipulations, and continue in the practice of mutual good-will to your Excellency's everlasting honour."

other. Immediately after his arrival Sir John Bowring went over the settlement with the naval officer in order to arrange for its defence, and several alterations were notified to the Canton mandarins as military precautions that were absolutely necessary. Some of these changes had been mentioned in the arrangement with Keying, others were completely new. Yeh could not be expected to receive these manifestations of self-interest with any deep sense of obligation to the English people, and when he discovered that the only result of his overtures was to induce the Europeans to encroach on Chinese rights for the purpose of guarding their own, he assumed the tone that the rebellion was on the eve of being put down, and that the foreigners had consequently nothing to fear, as he was quite able to afford them protection.

The suppression of the rebellion left matters, therefore, very much where they were ; but his success over the insurgents inspired Yeh with increased confidence, and rendered him less than ever disposed to make the smallest concession to the English. Mr. Alcock, who had been temporarily transferred from Shanghai to Canton, reported many acts of obstruction on the part of the mandarins, and called attention to the many difficulties he experienced in officially communicating with them. In June, 1855, Sir John Bowring returned to the subject of official interviews, and made an explicit demand for the reception, if not of himself, then at the least of the new Consul, Mr. Rutherford Alcock. After a month's delay Commissioner Yeh replied that there was no precedent for an interview with a Consul, and that Sir John having refused his former appointment to meet him outside the city, there was an end of the matter. He went on to say that, although tranquillity was restored, the movements of the troops occupied the whole of his time and left him no leisure for "unnecessary" interviews and discussions. It was then that Sir John Bowring wrote that "until the city question at Canton is settled there is little hope of our relations being placed on anything like a satisfactory foundation."

That the difficulty of the situation was enhanced by the personal pride and character of Yeh does not admit of

question ; and had not the operations of the Crimean War intervened, there is little room to doubt that the year 1855 would not have passed away without another naval demonstration at Canton. But the extreme remedy of all was several times thrust on one side, and events progressed after their usual fashion. Canton remained a closed city, the Viceroy's yamen was not to be polluted by the step of a European, and the consuls had to transact their business as best they could under the difficulties of their position. Mr. Alcock returned to Shanghai as Consul, and his place at Canton was taken by Mr. Harry Parkes, and if there was continued tranquillity it may be attributed to the tact and good judgment of these officials, and to that combination of fortunate circumstances which can never be sufficiently allowed for in discussing human affairs. But the evil day could not be finally averted, and the antagonism caused by clashing views and interests at last broke forth, with the accentuated force of long restraint, on a point which would have been promptly settled had there been direct intercourse between the English consulate and the Viceroy's yamen.

On the 8th of October, 1856, Mr. Parkes reported to his superior, Sir John Bowring, at Hongkong, the facts in connection with an outrage which had been committed on a British-owned lorcha at Canton.* The lorcha *Arrow*, employed in the river trade between Canton and the mouth of the river, commanded by an English captain and flying the English flag, had been boarded by a party of mandarins and their escort while at anchor near the Dutch Folly. It had been duly registered in the office at Hongkong, and although, as was subsequently discovered, not entitled at that precise moment to British protection through failure to renew the license, no one was aware of the fact. The gravity of the outrage was increased by the circumstance that the English ensign was conspicuously displayed, while the absence of the captain gave the Chinese descent all the advantages

* "Lorcha" is the Portuguese name given to a special kind of fast-sailing boat used on the Canton river. Although the name is foreign, there were numerous English lorchas, and the name is specially used in the Nankin Treaty.

of a surprise. The crew, with the exception of two men left at their request to take care of the boat, were carried off by the Chinese, and the English flag was hauled down. To the remonstrances of the master, who returned during the altercation, the Chinese officials turned a deaf ear. In describing this event, which has been made the subject of much heated discussion, it is necessary to make use of the calmest language; but even in the heat of the moment the only epithet used by Mr. Parkes was to style it "a significant insult," a fact not to be disputed. Mr. Parkes also addressed Yeh on the subject of this "very grave insult," and presented a request that the captured crew of the *Arrow* should be returned to that vessel without delay, and that any charges made against them or the owner should be then examined into at the English consulate.

The reply of Commissioner Yeh was to justify and uphold the act of his subordinates. Of the twelve men seized he returned nine, but with regard to the rest he stated that one was a criminal and the two others were important witnesses. Not merely would he not return them, but he proceeded to justify their apprehension. Of outrage to the English flag, of his violation of treaty stipulations in not having first requested the English Consul to arrest the accused and investigate the charges against him, he appeared to be supremely indifferent. A Chinese official had far more serious matters to attend to than to consider the silly pride of a barbarian people. Commissioner Yeh had triumphed when he refused to fulfil the pledges contained in Keying's Convention. Why should he be less successful in ignoring the stipulations of the Nankin Treaty of fourteen years before? It would be a laudable patriotism, he thought, to make the attempt, and the consequences of failure did not enter into his calculations.

Yeh's reply to Mr. Parkes was not meant as an explanation of his proceedings, much less as an excuse for them. It consisted of the assertion of certain facts which in his opinion it was sufficient for him to accept in order that they should pass current. The evidence on which they were based was not sufficient to command credence in the laxest court of justice; but even if it had been conclusive, it could not have

justified the breach of international law and right in the forcible removal of the crew from the lorcha *Arrow** when the British flag was flying conspicuously at her mast.

What in effect was the Chinese reply? It was that one of the crew had been recognized by a man passing in a boat as one of a band of pirates who had attacked, ill-used, and plundered him several weeks before. He had forthwith gone to the Taotai of Canton, laid the information before him, and presented a demand for redress. It was then that the Chinese officials had proceeded to the lorcha, and committed the acts of which complaint was made. The charge bore on the face of it the appearance of truth. It was highly probable that the man recognized the face one of his assailants, and that the perpetrator of the crime should endeavour to hide himself by taking service on one of the numerous boats trading under a foreign flag on the Canton river was only in the natural course of things. But this did not warrant the proceedings of the Chinese, which were at distinct variance with the terms of the Treaty of Nankin, and the ex-territorial rights of preliminary consular investigation before trial granted to all those who were under the protection of the English flag. They could not even plead the necessity of despatch and the delay that would have been involved by acting in the proper way through the English Consul. The accused, once the case had been legally established, could have been as easily secured at Hongkong, or any other point on the river, as he was at Canton on the 8th of October.

But Commissioner Yeh attempted no excuses. He did not plead the necessity of haste, and he did not blame the over-zeal of his assistants. So far as the matter was worthy of his notice it appeared in his eyes to be a very ordinary affair, and one at which all men should naturally rejoice as involving the capture of a criminal who seemed likely to elude the grasp of justice. Moreover, he declared "the *Arrow* is not a foreign lorcha, and therefore there is no use

* The lorcha *Arrow* had been registered at Hongkong, Sir John Bowring stated, in the name of a Chinese resident. The boat, moreover, was well known in the river. The registration period expired during the last cruise.

to enter any discussion about her." The Commissioner thus plainly proclaimed his intention to consider the statements of Chinese witnesses about the nationality of any lorcha as far outweighing the undoubted facts of a foreign flag flying at the masthead, and of its name being registered on the books at Hongkong.* Had his view been accepted, there

* The question of the nationality of the lorcha *Arrow* was complicated by the fact that its registry had expired ten days before the outrage. The master explained that this was due to the vessel having been at sea, and that the omission was to have been rectified as soon as he returned to Hongkong. As Lord Clarendon pointed out, this was not merely unknown to the Chinese, but it was also "a matter of British regulation which would not justify seizure by the Chinese." Lord Clarendon expressed his full approval of everything that had been done, and considered that the demands made upon the Chinese were very moderate. "No British lorcha would be safe if her crew were liable to seizure on these grounds." The following are the true facts in connection with the personal history of the *Arrow*, taken from the "China Mail," and officially certified as correct:—"The lorcha *Arrow* was heretofore employed in trading on the coast, and while so employed was taken by pirates. By them she was fitted out and employed in the Canton river during the disturbances between the Imperialists and the Insurgents. While on this service, she was captured by the 'braves' of the Soo-tsoi-che-tong Company or Guild, one of the loyalist associations organized by the mandarins for the support of the Imperial Government. By this guild she was publicly sold, and was purchased by a Chin-chew Hong, a respectable firm at Canton, who also laid out a considerable sum in repairing and otherwise fitting her out. She arrived in this harbour about the month of June, 1855, at which time a treaty (which ended in a bargain) was on foot between Fong Aming, Messrs. John Burd & Co.'s comprador, and Lei-yeong-heen, one of the partners in the Chin-chew Hong, for the purchase of the lorcha by the former. Shortly after the arrival of the vessel here, she was claimed by one Quan-tai of Macao, who asserted that she had been his property before she was seized by the pirates. Of course, the then owner disputed his claim; upon which he commenced a suit in the Vice-Admiralty Court. After a short time, by consent of the parties, the question was referred to arbitration; and the arbitrators appointed were Mr. Edward Pereira, on behalf of Quan-tai, and the Hon. Mr. J. F. Edger on behalf of Lee-yeong-heen, as representing the parties who opposed the claims of Quan-tai. These arbitrators could not agree; and Mr. George Lyall was appointed umpire, who awarded that the possession or ownership of the lorcha should continue undisturbed; but as he was not satisfied that Quan-tai had sufficient opportunities afforded him of regaining what he asserted to have been originally his property, he also awarded that the sum of 2100 dollars should be paid to him, being the sum at which the lorcha had been sold

would have been an end to the security of English subjects—under the English flag* and to the special rights accorded by the Treaty of Nankin.

The immediate act of reprisal decided upon was to capture an Imperial war-junk, with the view of showing that the British Government was in earnest in its demand for reparation. Within less than a week of the seizure of the

by the Soo-tsiu-che-tong Guild, and which appeared to be the value of the lorcha at the time of such sale. Upon this award, a question rose between Fong Aming, of Messrs. John Burd & Co., and the Ching-chew Hong, as to who was to pay the 2100 dollars; and it was finally arranged between them that Fong Aming was actually to pay the money to Quantai, but that the Chin-chew Hong were to allow him out of the purchase-money for the lorcha the sum of 1000 dollars, being their contribution to the amount of the award, and that the balance of 1100 dollars was to be Fong Aming's contribution. This sum of 2100 dollars Mr. Block advanced for Fong Aming, and paid it to Messrs. Gaskell Brown, the proctors for Quantai, who acknowledged the receipt thereof from him on account of Lee-yeong-heen, the partner in the Chin-chew Hong, who had been made defendant in the suit. In the accounts between the Hong and Fong Aming, the sum of 1000 dollars was deducted from the total amount of the purchase-money for the lorcha. The ownership of the vessel was transferred to Fong Aming, and in his name she is registered. These are the simple facts connected with the purchase of the lorcha by a resident in this colony and her registry as a British vessel; and it is from these facts that the Imperial Commissioner Yeh has arrived at the erroneous conclusion expressed in this letter of the 12th ultimo, where he says, that a register was purchased for Soo Aching of the merchant Block for 1000 dollars—the fact being that Mr. Block interested himself in the matter solely for the purpose of extricating his comprador (Fong Aming) from the difficulty he had with the lorcha at this place. As an evidence of the truth of the above statement, the documents bearing reference to it have been placed in our hand, for the inspection of any person who may feel interested in the matter; and we are assured that Mr. Block received no remuneration whatsoever for his assistance, nor did he derive any profits, either directly or indirectly, nor had he any interest or share in the lorcha."

* One of the Chinese crew on board the *Arrow* described the incident of hauling down the flag as follows: "I heard the mandarin, who wore the crystal button, cry out, 'This is not a foreign lorcha, for there is no foreigner in command. Haul down her ensign!' Several of us assured the mandarin that we had an European captain. One of the soldiers hauled down the ensign, and flung it on the deck." This evidence was confirmed by that of the master, Thomas Kennedy, who returned on board the instant he perceived what had happened from the other lorcha, on which he was.—See depositions in Blue Book.

Arrow's crew, a junk thought to be in the Imperial service had been seized by the English commodore at Canton, and naval preparations were made to attack if necessary the forts near Whampoa and at the Bogue. The former operation was effected without loss to either side; and then Mr. Parkes directed another letter to Yeh, reminding him that "the matter which has compelled this menace still remains unsettled." Unless prompt reparation were made, it was already evident that the offensive measures directed against the Chinese authorities would have to go on.

If it was clear that the *Arrow* complication would, humanly speaking, never have arisen * had there been that regular diplomatic intercourse between the English Governor at Hongkong and the Chinese authorities in Canton which was provided for by the Treaty of Nankin and the arrangement with Keying, it is not less certain that the *Arrow* case would not have produced such serious results as it did but for the arrogance of Yeh. Throughout his replies to the numerous letters and despatches of the English officials there is not the least trace of any desire to offer an apology, or even to express regret for what had taken place. He repeated, even after the seizure of the Chinese junk, which he declared with ill-concealed gratification to be not a war-junk, although it carried eight or nine guns, that the English had no business to interfere in the matter, as the *Arrow* was a Chinese vessel. Moreover, he denied that the lorch carried an English flag—a fact proved by several witnesses on the very day of the occurrence. There was consequently not the least ground for supposing that the Viceroy would make any concession in the direction of compliance with the demands presented on two separate occasions by Mr. Parkes, and any delay in the matter could only tend to encourage and prolong resistance. On the 22nd of October, therefore, the matter was placed in the hands of the Admiral on the

* Mr. Bonham had written, in April, 1849, the following prophetic words: "Let the Chinese Government well consider these things; and whatever may happen in future between the two countries that may be disagreeable to China, let the Chinese Government remember that the fault thereof will be upon them."—P. 102 Canton Blue Book, 1857.

station, Sir Michael Seymour ; and on the following day the four forts known as those of the Barrier were attacked and taken without any loss to the English. When captured they were quickly dismantled and the guns in them were spiked.

It cannot therefore be alleged that the *Arrow* case came either unexpectedly or without warning. There had been a long series of insults and outrages which had shown that the Chinese did not respect treaties, and that the Government made but faint efforts to restrain the popular animosity that so frequently broke forth on the slightest pretexts. Those who have regarded the outrage of October, 1856, as if it were merely an untoward incident in the happy and friendly relations of two great Governments well disposed towards each other, should peruse the long and extensive official correspondence on the question of "Insults to foreigners in China," and if they do their only marvel will be that the hour of hostile collision should have been put off so long. At Canton itself the attack, in 1854, on Mr. Seth, a native of British India, was but the precursor of the grosser attack on two leading English merchants in 1856. It was only three months before the seizure of the *Arrow* crew that Mr. Bulkeley Johnson and Mr. Whittall had been stoned in the outskirts of Canton, and that, despite the urgent representations of Mr. Parkes, neither reparation for the outrage nor guarantee for greater protection in the future was vouchsafed. A placard calling upon the populace to attack and slay all foreigners was freely distributed throughout the city, and only withdrawn in consequence of the emphatic remonstrance of the English Consul. The arrest of an English missionary in Kwantung, the occurrence of a riot at Foochow during which an American gentleman lost his life, and the murder of a French missionary on the frontier of Tonquin, all showed that the question of foreign relationship was far indeed from being satisfactorily adjusted.

The last of these events promised to have more serious consequences than the other, for the French Government took up the brutal murder of M. Chapdelaine with great earnestness, and declared its determination to exact the fullest

reparation for the offence and at all cost. Before the outrage on the *Arrow* had been committed, therefore, the question of foreign relations, not with England only, but with other countries, had reached so critical a pass as to afford but little hope of the continuation of peace, unless, of course, the Chinese authorities should consent at the eleventh hour to abandon what was an absolutely untenable position, and one that could only be preserved on the assumption that the Chinese Government was not to recognize in the European States its equals, and that that pretension was to be supported by superior power.

Those who persist in regarding the *Arrow* incident as being a matter to be judged by itself, and with complete indifference to the events that preceded and led up to it, may, of course, delude themselves into the belief that, because its register as an English vessel had expired a few days it had forfeited its claim to protection under the English flag. But as a matter of fact it cannot be so separated, and the conviction becomes irresistible from the perusal of the documents of Yeh, the only spokesman of the Chinese Government, and the one enunciator of the national policy, that, if there had been no *Arrow* case at all, a hostile collision could not have been much longer averted. It is a mistaken view to consider that incident by itself. It furnished the crowning touch to the arrogance of Yeh, who believed that the forbearance of the English officials was inexhaustible, and that they were so loth to employ force that they might be defied and thwarted with impunity.

The proceedings of Sir Michael Seymour should have revealed how baseless were such hopes and speculations at the same time that they demonstrated the naval power of England. On the 23rd of October the English Admiral carried the Barrier Forts without any serious resistance, and, having made sure that they would prove as little hindrance to his retreat as they had been to his advance, he proceeded towards Canton, where, capturing the fort in the Macao passage on his way, he arrived the same afternoon. A further ultimatum was then presented to Yeh, informing him that unless he at once complied with every demand that had been

made, the English Admiral would "proceed with the destruction of all the defences and public buildings of this city and of the Government vessels in the river." In fulfilment of this threat, as the only reply received from Yeh was a reiteration of his previous misstatements, Sir Michael Seymour dismantled the forts at Canton itself, and, having landed a body of marines for the protection of the factories, placed his war-ships opposite the city, as if he had the intention of bombarding it.

It is impossible to deny Yeh the credit of having the courage of his opinions, although in obstinacy alone lay his chance of personal safety. Seeing that his attitude had precipitated a quarrel which would be regarded with displeasure at Peking, and knowing that the only way to avert his official ruin and disgrace was to obtain some success, Yeh, far from being cowed, showed greater confidence and assumed a higher tone after the capture of the forts than he had before. His defiance was expressed in the most emphatic terms, and the rage of the people who had suffered would, he said, speedily retrieve the injury inflicted on the Chinese. In these brave words no sign of yielding could be detected, and it was evident that the success which had up to this point attended the English had not been sufficient to ensure compliance with the terms demanded in reparation for the *Arrow* outrage. A still more significant proceeding was his placing the price of thirty dollars on the head of every Englishman brought to him, at the same time that he appealed to the patriotic to effect their extermination. In the face of this pronounced hostility there was nothing left save to renew operations of war against Canton itself.

On the 27th, and again on the 28th of October, the fire of the ships was directed first against Yeh's yamen and then on the city wall from guns placed on the Dutch Folly as well as from the fleet. The townspeople, warned of the approaching bombardment, abandoned those houses that were in the line of fire, and comparatively few lives were lost. The damage done to the walls was not as great as had been anticipated, and the Chinese troops took care to remain at a safe distance beyond shot and shell. However, after two

days' bombardment, a breach was declared to be practicable, and a small body of marines planted the English flag on the walls. The Tsinghai gate was occupied, and Sir Michael Seymour and Mr. Parkes proceeded with a small force to the Viceroy's yamen, to which the English representatives had been rigidly refused the right of admission. It was found that no advantage would accrue from the retention of these posts, which were commanded by the guns of the fleet, and which were much exposed to attack by large parties of Chinese from the narrow streets and dark passages of Canton. That the possibility of a Chinese surprise proving dangerous was not chimerical was demonstrated by the comparatively severe loss suffered by the marines in attacking the wall. The events of the next few days were unimportant, being confined to a desultory bombardment on the part of the English to keep the breach open, and of many abortive attempts on that of the Chinese to close it up.

Active measures were renewed early in November, when, a fleet of war-junks having been collected outside the fort called the French Folly, it was decided to attack and disperse them, as they threatened to imperil the safety of the Admiral's communications. Sir Michael Seymour accordingly attacked them, and after a warm engagement the junks were destroyed and the French Folly fort captured. An attempt subsequently made to destroy the English fleet by fire-ships miscarried, although one of the vessels blew up almost under the bow of the steamer *Barracouta*. That the Viceroy had fully made up his mind to resist to the bitter end was shown by his proclamation of the 5th of November to the people of Canton, in which he said that he had "assembled a very large force and decided in his own mind as to the course he was to pursue;" and there was consequently no reason for further delaying the progress of the necessary measures. On the 9th of November a final ultimatum was presented, to the effect that unless reparation were granted within twenty-four hours active operations would be recommenced. To this the only reply given deserved remark for the skill in evading the points in dispute, as well as for the eloquent language expatiating on the growing indignation of the Chinese people.

On the 12th and 13th of November Sir Michael Seymour attacked the Bogue forts, mounting in all about four hundred guns, on both sides of the channel, and captured them after an ill-directed resistance with very trifling loss. With this success all the defences of the Chinese had fallen into the hands of the English, but at the same time that it seemed to crown their victory it had the disadvantage of leaving no further object of attack within their reach. If Yeh remained obdurate, and further operations should become necessary, it was clear that the small English force would be quite inadequate to carry them out with the same certainty of success as had hitherto attended all its efforts. That the bitterness of the official animosity rendered the continuance of military pressure necessary was foreshadowed in the attempt made to set fire to the ship *Niger* left off the factories, and which was only baffled by the vigilance of its officers. The indignation felt against the Chinese was becoming general among all the foreigners; and the squadron of the United States, in revenge for their flag having been fired upon, proceeded without any hesitation to bombard the forts and city walls, which had been re-armed after their capture and subsequent abandonment by Sir Michael Seymour.

The endurance of the Chinese in face of an enemy whom they could not defeat, and from whom they were suffering every day the most serious injuries, cannot fail to excite a feeling of admiration not unmixed with astonishment. Batteries and forts were disarmed and dismantled only to be re-armed and re-fortified the next week. The braves of the surrounding towns and villages came forward in their thousands to take the places of those who had fallen; and six weeks after Sir Michael Seymour had declared that the city of Canton was at his complete mercy, the Chinese did not hesitate to provoke the hostility of another great Power in the bitterness of their animosity against all foreigners. And in December, 1856, their hostility broke out to some purpose, for on the night of the 14th of that month a band of incendiaries succeeded in setting fire to the houses of the foreign settlement. The English factory alone escaped from the conflagration; and there Sir Michael Seymour proceeded to entrench

himself in the garden of the factory, and in the church, which remained intact. He garrisoned this position with 300 men, composed equally of sailors, marines, and a detachment of a line regiment. The Dutch Folly fort was also held by a body of 140 blue jackets, and in this position the English admiral awaited the development of events. His plans were suddenly changed in consequence of the renewal of the conflagration within the limits of the English factory itself, and of the destruction of all the buildings which it had been proposed to defend. Sir Michael then determined to withdraw his troops and to conduct future operations from on board ship; but for a short time further he remained in occupation of the garden.

Having thus destroyed all vestiges of the foreign presence on land, the Chinese devoted their energies to the task of capturing such stray Europeans as it was possible to secure. On the 20th of December a party of Chinese, with singular skill, kidnapped a Mr. Cowper from on board his own house-boat at Whampoa, and carried him off. A few days later a still more daring outrage was perpetrated on board the postal steamer *Thistle*, plying between Canton and Hongkong. A party of seventeen soldiers and braves, concealing their weapons about their persons, took passage on board her; and when they had reached a safe or convenient spot they turned on the crew, killed the white passengers and officers, and, having guided the steamer up one of the creeks, set fire to her. They carried off the heads of their victims,* but left the rich cargo of the ship to be destroyed, a most unusual occurrence, and proving that they were not river pirates. Again, a few days later, a Bavarian boat-carer for an American doctor was murdered at Whampoa, and his head carried off for the purpose of procuring the reward for each white man killed, which had

* The victims were the captain, a Spanish passenger, an English soldier, two engineers, the crew of four Manilla men, and two others, one of whom was the Spanish passenger's servant, or eleven in all besides the mate, who jumped overboard and was drowned. The Spanish passenger happened to be a man of some importance, the Vice-Consul at Macao, named Don Diaz de Sobre Casas, and his death necessarily caused considerable diplomatic agitation.

been raised to as much as thirty pounds. To this pass had Yeh's frenzy brought the question; and the heads of Europeans treacherously seized and barbarously murdered were paraded throughout the villages of Kwantung in order to stimulate recruiting, and to raise national enthusiasm to a high pitch.

Although Sir Michael Seymour, after the burning of the greater portion of the foreign settlement, continued to hold the factory garden, and although, by means of his fleet, he was able to ensure the safety of the detachment left on shore, there was no longer any ground to question that the Chinese had succeeded for the moment in wearing out their opponent, and that a stronger expedition was needed from Europe before a definite result could be ensured. The Chinese also were never inactive, and their attempts to destroy the English war-vessels were so constant as to be productive of, at the least, continual alarm. There was almost daily apprehension of some desperate attempt to send fire-ships and rafts down the river, and stink-pots were constantly thrown from the city walls and forts, with the view of igniting the vessels at anchor. These incessant hostilities compelled the English admiral to sanction an attempt to destroy by fire the remaining suburbs between the city wall and the river, for it was here that the incendiaries found most shelter as well as the most convenient point for directing their efforts against the English fleet. The suburbs were accordingly destroyed by fire, but not without loss to the English. Then Sir Michael Seymour resolved to withdraw his small force from the land and the Dutch Folly fort, and to confine his line of defence to the broad stream of the river and the Macao fort opposite Honan. It had already become plain that with the small force at his disposal he had reached the limit of his power. Until fresh troops arrived from Europe there was, in short, no way of showing that Chinese endurance had not worn out English superiority in valour and military resources.

While Sir Michael Seymour sent home a request for 5000 troops to be sent to the Canton river from India, and while a few hundred men despatched from Singapore served

to restore confidence at Hongkong,* Yeh was busily employed in strengthening the defences of Canton and in preparing to withstand whatever force the English barbarians might bring against him. For the moment Yeh was not dissatisfied with the result. He had sufficient facts to appeal to in order to persuade his own Government that his measures would ultimately be crowned with success. The people of Canton had enough confidence in their leader to see in the destruction of the foreign settlement, and in the gradual retirement of the English fleet, an earnest of their coming victory; and their hostility consequently became more unequivocal and pronounced in its implacability.

The confidence of the Chinese was raised to such a point by the withdrawal of the English from their position opposite the city, that they resumed their activity along the whole course of the Canton river, and not a day passed by without some attempt to destroy one or other of the vessels keeping open the navigation of the river. The junks grew more daring in their attacks from the sense of security they felt through the inability of the English vessels to pursue them up the shallow creeks of the river, and even ventured on more than one occasion to engage men-of-war. But it was in their fire-ships that they placed their main reliance, and many ingenious contrivances † were invented for the purpose of blowing up the foreign vessels. At the same time the work of destruction which had been commenced so successfully at Canton was continued at Whampoa, where the English and

* Several circumstances had alarmed the residents at Hongkong during this troubled period. Not only had there been official proclamations from the mainland ordering all Chinese subjects to leave the island, under pains and penalties of the harshest kind, but placards had been put up in the public streets offering "a handsome reward" for the heads of any Europeans. All these acts of hostility were cast into the shade by the attempt to poison the white men by putting arsenic in the bread sold by the chief baker of the town. Fortunately the would-be poisoner put too much arsenic into the bread, and the fact was discovered before any serious harm was done. Yeh repudiated at the time and afterwards all responsibility or complicity in the matter; and the truth was never ascertained.

† One of these was an explosive machine fixed in a saucepan, and so arranged as to burst on coming into contact with a ship's side.

American docks, factories, and residences were burnt towards the end of January, 1857. Not until several merchant vessels of light draught had been procured and armed was the English admiral able to cope on something like equal terms with the innumerable junks which always shunned a close encounter, and promptly sought safety in the creeks and estuaries of the Bocca Tigris. The rare occasions when they could be brought to action served to demonstrate over again the oft-proved valour and energy of the English sailor, although the incidents must remain here untold.

The peculiarity of the disturbances at Canton consisted in their being essentially the outcome of Yeh's personal policy and resentment. Elsewhere there were tranquillity, if not goodwill, and the expression of a desire for peace if not the friendly sentiment which rendered it a matter certain to follow. The Governor-Generals of the Two Kiang and of Fuhkien were forward in their protestations of a desire to maintain the cordial relations arranged for under the Treaty of Nankin, and threw upon Yeh the responsibility of his own actions. And even with regard to the Imperial Government itself the expression of opinion was, to say the least, ambiguous, although the young Emperor Hienfung was much impressed by the reports of many victories over the barbarian English, with which his lieutenant at Canton took care to keep him well supplied. While local zeal was roused to its highest pitch in order to give Yeh some chance of holding his ground and succeeding in his main object, not less energy had been evinced in recommending the Viceroy's proceedings to the central administration as expressing the best and most profitable policy for the Chinese ruler to pursue. There was much in that policy to commend itself to the favour of a proud and youthful prince; and could Yeh have only convinced Hienfung that his power was equal to his will, he would no doubt have obtained the hearty support of the Emperor. Even as it was, Hienfung was loth to discourage one whose views coincided so closely with his own private opinion, and whose main fault was his anxiety to uphold the claims of China to a place of superiority among the nations.

Hienfung's policy consisted in the wish that the quarrel should remain as far as possible a local one. In this way he thought to avoid any immediate danger to the central Government, at the same time that he believed his own dignity and security would not be compromised. In the event of any conspicuous success, he would thus derive all the benefit in a national sense from a victory over the Europeans. A document which purported to be an Imperial Edict gave Yeh the support to be derived from the expression of these views; but as he required definite assistance to hold his ground, it is doubtful if the announcement of what the Emperor wished and hoped to gain by his policy carried to his mind any sense of assurance or comfort. As Yeh had reported two victorious engagements in which the Chinese had inflicted a loss of 400 men, including an admiral, on the barbarians, it was not supposed that the victor in such an engagement could need any material support against an enemy whom he had so easily vanquished. However much concern, therefore, the central Government may have felt in these early disputes, which resulted in the military operations that have been described, their attitude continued to be one of strict abstention from any direct interference. The settled policy at Peking was to cast all the responsibility upon Yeh. He was long versed in the ways of the Europeans. He had had many dealings with them; he must treat the question from his own experience, and at his personal risk. With him, in the event of success, would rest the credit of humbling and defeating the hated foreigner. With him also would lie the shame and the penalty of failure in a course essentially of his own seeking, and one wherein his action had been left untrammelled.

Only those who from want of application prefer to judge the bearing of a great question by some isolated occurrence or from a single incident, instead of by the light of all the events relating to the issues involved, will persist in regarding the *Arrow* case as the only, because the immediate, cause of the hostile collision between England and China. That outrage—for it was an outrage—was but the last of a long succession of acts showing the resolve of the ruling

authorities at Canton to thwart and humiliate the English in every way, just as it was the precursor of many outrages unknown in the practice of fair warfare, and repugnant to human sentiment. Had there been no *Arrow* incident at all, we must repeat, the attacks on Europeans, the refusal to hold diplomatic intercourse on terms of equality, the whole tenor, in short, of Yeh's policy and attitude, rendered the outbreak of war sooner or later a matter that was inevitable. But even with regard to the *Arrow* case, which in the heat of Party warfare was made the mark of moral indignation at home, it is possible to declare that the more carefully the facts are examined, the more attentively the whole course of English relations with the Chinese at Canton is studied, the more evident does it become that no other policy was open to Sir John Bowring* and Mr. Parkes than that they pursued and recommended in 1856-7. The action of Sir John Davis ten years before, when his measures were much more summary and decisive, was far more open to adverse criticism, and was attended in the first place by a greater loss of human life. But the chief reason of all for insisting on the injustice of the sweeping and violent denunciations bestowed on the *Arrow* case is that the Chinese Viceroy had the command of peace and war in his own hands. At

* Sir John Bowring said, in his despatch of February 28th, 1857: "I have the comfort of believing that, notwithstanding the losses, privations, sufferings, and disquietudes which these events have produced, there exists an almost unanimity of opinion among Her Majesty's subjects in China as to the opportunity and necessity of the measures that have been taken, and a conviction that the crisis which has occurred was an inevitable one; while the councils of the Canton authorities were directed by such intolerable pride, presumption, faithlessness, and ignorance, as they have long exhibited. And it has greatly added to my gratification to know that the representatives of foreign Powers in China have generally concurred in approving of the course which has been pursued." When Sir John Bowring made the last statement, he had in his mind a recent despatch of Dr. Parker, the American Plenipotentiary to Yeh, in which the following lines occur: "The fountain of all difficulties between China and foreign nations is the unwillingness of China to acknowledge England, France, America, and other great nations of the West, as her equals and true friends, and to treat them accordingly. So far as respects this grave matter, the American Government is sensible that the English are in the right, and does choose to co-operate with them."

the time, and at any point during the following three months, he had only to say the word to ensure peace and the cessation of hostilities. That he did not say it must be attributed to his own blind obstinacy, while the presence of such a man in authority at Canton at so critical a moment must be reckoned among the many misfortunes which China has from time to time suffered since her foreign relations first became a matter of prime importance.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SECOND ENGLISH WAR.

IF there had ever been doubt in London as to the importance of the Chinese difficulty, it was dispelled when in 1856 Sir Michael Seymour sent home a request for 5000 troops. When it became known that he had called in all the reinforcements he could gather from the Straits Settlements, it was admitted that he must have felt the urgent necessity of neglecting no precaution to render his own position secure. The Chinese question then emerged from its position of comparative unimportance into one of almost national magnitude; and it was thought desirable to send an accredited ambassador of high rank to China, who was fully acquainted with the views of the Home Government, in order to convince the Peking authorities that, while such acts as those of Yeh at Canton would not be tolerated, there was no desire to press with undue harshness on a country traditionally opposed to external intercourse. The choice fell upon the Earl of Elgin, a nobleman who added to broad statesmanlike views amiable qualities which generally served to smooth over the difficulties he encountered. Lord Elgin received his instructions * from Lord Clarendon on the 20th of April, 1857, and

* Those instructions were conveyed in two despatches of the same date, 20th April, 1857. (See Blue Book on Lord Elgin's Mission, 1857-9.) We quote the following as the more important passages: "The demands which you are instructed to make will be (1), for reparation of injuries to British subjects, and, if the French officers should co-operate with you, for those to French subjects also; (2) for the complete execution at Canton, as well as at the other ports, of the stipulations of the several Treaties; (3) compensation to British subjects, and persons entitled to



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John a Kincardine

[The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine.]

within less than a week from that date he had set out for his destination.

At the same time that a high ambassador was sent to place matters on a satisfactory basis, preparations were made to meet Sir Michael Seymour's wish and to despatch an armed force to Hongkong. Fifteen hundred men were sent to Singapore from England, one regiment was ordered from Mauritius, a considerable detachment of native troops was to move from Madras; and such force as could be spared from Singapore had already been hurriedly despatched to Hongkong. General Ashburnham was appointed to the military command of the China Expedition, which was expected to rendezvous at Singapore in the latter portion of the summer. These vigorous measures could not have failed to effect a prompt settlement of the complication with China had they been carried out to their natural and expected conclusion. But at the very moment when there seemed every reason to hope that the prompt manifestation of English power would induce the Peking Government to repudiate the acts of Yeh, and to conform its policy to the provisions of the treaty, an untoward event of the deepest significance interrupted these proceedings, diverted the attention of the British Government

British protection, for losses incurred in consequence of the late disturbances; (4) the assent of the Chinese Government to the residence at Peking, or to the occasional visit to that capital, at the option of the British Government, of a Minister duly accredited by the Queen to the Emperor of China, and the recognition of the right of the British Plenipotentiary and chief Superintendent of Trade to communicate directly in writing with the high officers at the Chinese capital, and to send his communications by messengers of his own selection, such arrangements affording the best means of ensuring the due execution of the existing Treaties, and of preventing future misunderstanding; (5) a revision of the Treaties with China with a view to obtaining increased facilities for commerce, such as access to cities on the great rivers as well as to Chapoo and to other ports on the coast, and also permission for Chinese vessels to resort to Hongkong for purpose of trade from all ports of the Chinese Empire without distinction." These were the demands formulated by the English Government for the consent of China, and seven proposals were made as to how they were to be obtained should coercion become necessary. It was also stated that "it is not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to undertake any land operations in the interior of the country."

to a more critical matter, and by postponing rendered more difficult the attainment of that solution of the China question, which was as desirable in the interests of that country herself as it was in those of the Europeans.

On the 3rd of June, 1857, Lord Elgin arrived at Singapore, where he found an urgent letter from Lord Canning, the Governor-General of India, imploring him to alter the course of the China Expedition from Hongkong to Calcutta, as a military insurrection had broken out in the North-West Provinces, and every Englishman would be of untold value in weathering the storm that had suddenly beset the fortunes of the Paramount Power in Hindostan. In brief but pregnant sentences Lord Canning told the story of the early stages of the Indian Mutiny. The aid he asked for was not to proceed to the punishment of the mutineers in Delhi, but to prevent the further perpetration of outrages similar to those at Meerut and elsewhere in the valley of the Ganges, where "for a length of 750 miles there were barely 1000 European soldiers." To such an appeal there could be only one reply. The China Expedition was diverted to India, where the regiments that were to have chastised Commissioner Yeh rendered good service at Cawnpore and Lucknow, and Lord Elgin proceeded on his journey eastwards without that material force which always simplifies the process of diplomacy, but still hoping that tact and Sir Michael Seymour's squadron might suffice to enable him to effect the principal part of his commission.

Lord Elgin arrived at Hongkong in the first week of July, 1857; but before he reached the scene, events of considerable importance had occurred on the Canton river. The desultory engagements which had never wholly ceased during the winter months were followed by naval operations of a more definite, and, as it also proved, a more decisive character. Towards the end of May Sir Michael Seymour, having been reinforced in ships, and having also procured several merchant vessels of limited draught which he armed for the purpose of pursuing the junks up the creeks in which they were wont to seek shelter, resolved to assume the offensive against the large fleet of war-junks collected on the river above the city,

with the intention of driving the barbarians back to the sea.

The first operation taken in hand was the destruction of a large number of junks, belonging to the Imperial service as well as to the loyal merchants of Canton, and collected in Escape Creek, one of those intervening between Hong-kong and the Tiger Gates, or Bocca Tigris. The task of destroying this force was entrusted to Commodore Elliott, who accordingly proceeded on the 25th of May up the creek with such force as was available. The English expedition consisted of five gun-boats, with the manned galleys of three of the larger men-of-war. A short distance up the creek they found a number of junks drawn in a line across the stream, and as each of these vessels, forty-one in number, carried a gun of heavy calibre, in addition to many smaller pieces of artillery, the position of the Chinese force was far from being one that could be attacked without some consideration. However, the attack was made, and after some protracted firing the Chinese broke and fled. They were closely pursued, first by the gun-boats, and then, when those had grounded, by the row-boats. Twenty-seven junks were destroyed by either the English sailors or their own crews. Thirteen escaped, and of one the fate is not recorded.

The operations were renewed on the following days in the adjoining creeks, which were found to have inter-communication with each other;* and the pursuit was maintained with such energy that Commodore Elliott had the satisfaction of surprising the remaining junks at anchor off an island town called Tungkoon. The Chinese did not attempt to defend their boats against the impetuous onset of their assailants; but from the walls and houses of the town they opened a troublesome fire, which greatly annoyed the English and caused them some loss. There was after this a little street-fighting, and the Chinese made sufficient stand to show that there would be considerable difficulty in

* At this point, Mr. Wingrove Cook began his most graphic and interesting letters in his capacity of Special Correspondent for the *Times*; and during these two years they afford a most valuable and material aid towards the history of the time.

carrying off any of these junks as spoil of war and proof of victory. The largest junk was accidentally blown up, and the others were then burnt. The expedition returned to the main stream of the river, having inflicted an immense loss upon the Chinese navy, and a still ruder blow on the growing confidence and prestige of Yeh and his satellites.

The expedition to Escape Creek was the preliminary to a still more serious and dangerous undertaking. The town of Fatshan, west of Canton, from which in a straight line it is distant less than six miles, but by water more than twice that distance, had been made the principal centre of the warlike preparations by means of which Yeh counted on establishing the wisdom of his policy, and his own reputation as the national champion. Having learnt the complete success of Commodore Elliott's operation in his rear, Sir Michael Seymour resolved from his bases at the Macao Fort and in the Blenheim passage * upon making a forward movement into the upper reach of the river, known at the time as the Fatshan channel. On the 29th of May he hoisted his flag on the *Coromandel* steamer, a hired and quite insignificant vessel, which the Admiral had used on several occasions for his own convenience in personally directing the measures upon which he had decided. At the same time the gun-boats and larger ships were ordered to collect near the entrance to the Fatshan branch of the river. These numbered twenty vessels in all ; but many of these, owing to their size, were useless for the projected attack.

At Macao Fort, where 250 marines held an inclosure surrounding a three-storied pagoda, the final arrangements were made for the attack on the Chinese position in the Fatshan channel. That position was unusually strong, and had been selected with considerable military judgment. An island, called after the hyacinth, lies in mid-stream, two miles from the entrance to this branch which joins the main course of the Sikiang a few miles above Fatshan. It is flat and presents no special feature for defence, but it enabled the

* The former is on Gough island, opposite Honan, south of Canton city. The latter is south of Haddington and Barrow islands, which again are south of Honan.

Chinese to draw up a line of junks across the two channels of the river, while a battery of six guns on the island itself served to connect the two divisions of war-ships with each other. The junks, to the number of seventy-two, were drawn up so that their stern-guns were pointed towards any boats proceeding up-stream, while their prows were conveniently placed for retreat to Fatshan, if flight became necessary. A steep hill on the left bank had been crowned with a battery of nineteen guns, and this position, strong at all points, being precipitous on one side, was deemed impregnable to attack. Other batteries had been erected along the shore ; and when it is remembered that each junk carried, in addition to a large gun, several smaller cannon, it does not seem an exaggeration to say that there were more than 300 pieces of artillery and some 10,000 men engaged in holding a position which had been admirably chosen and carefully strengthened.

The attack on this formidable position began early in the morning of the 1st of June, not inappropriately, as that date was the anniversary of another famous victory in the naval annals of England. Sir Michael Seymour himself headed the advance in the *Coromandel*, having the boats in tow with 300 marines on board. He was followed by six gun-boats or small steamers, accompanied by the boats and crews of all the larger vessels of the fleet. Taken altogether the number of sailors and marines engaged exceeded two thousand. The Chinese look-out was good, and the approaching vessels were speedily detected. They were received with a tremendous fire from junks, batteries, and forts, under which the marines were landed, and ordered to attack and carry the battery on the hill. The guns therein had been so placed as to cover the river, and also the easy approaches which were considered the weak points of the position. The precipitous side had been left to its own strength and fancied security. Even the guns could not be depressed so as to be brought to bear on those who were climbing up by it. The resistance made by the Chinese is never very determined when they find that the weak point of a strong position has been detected, and that they are taken in flank. A few shot were rolled down on the climbers ; some stink-pots were thrown ;

and then the garrison slowly retired as the Englishmen streamed over the sides of their fortress. It was recorded by an eye-witness that the Chinese retired sulkily at a walk, and that the ill-directed volleys of the marines long failed to make them run. Who knows, but perhaps if their dash had been equal to their fortitude, or if they had had a leader to set the example, the result might have been different, or at least more stubbornly disputed?

But the chief events of the day were not with the marines on the hill, but with the sailors on the river. The tide was at low water, and the Chinese had barred the channel with a row of sunken junks, leaving a narrow passage between known only to themselves. The leading vessel struck on the hidden barrier, but the opening being discovered, other vessels got through. Others again, less fortunate, ran aground either against the same obstacle, or through the shallowness of the stream. However, the river soon rose rapidly, and the boats one after the other were carried over the barrier—only, however, to reach the stakes which the Chinese had placed to mark the range of the guns in their junks. Here the fire from the junks became so furious and so well-directed that it was matter of general astonishment how the boats escaped complete destruction; but the impetuous attack of the sailors was not to be denied. The line of junks was reached and pierced. Junk after junk was destroyed by fire. The patriotism of a whole province did not avail to guard the fleet which the zeal of the Viceroy and the treasure of the great commercial city of Canton had brought together.

The hero of the hour, by general assent, was Commodore Harry Keppel. He, at the head of his own galley and the boats of three of the larger vessels, mustering in all, perhaps, 500 cutlasses, had pierced the line of junks carrying out Nelson's principles. "Never wait, lads," was the spirit-stirring order Keppel shouted to his men, as he boarded the largest junk of the fleet. Nor let us deny their peculiar merit to the Chinese, attacked in an impetuous fashion unknown to their system of war, and always counting for more than mere numbers. If they abandoned their junk as the boarders clambered over the sides, it was in no pusillanimous panic.

They were resolved to baffle the victor of his anticipated prize: the junk was mined, and the English had scarcely left before it blew up. But the English officer had fixed on what he had to do. With his seven boats he hastened on, leaving the destruction of the junks to the rest of the fleet. In his own mind he had determined on the capture of Fatshan as the real way of discomfiting the enemy, and without any misgiving he hastened onwards to complete the work.

After four miles' hard rowing, the large island which lies immediately outside the town of Fatshan was reached, and here the Chinese had made preparations for defence scarcely less formidable than those at Hyacinth island, while the position presented greater natural difficulties to attack. The fire of the Chinese batteries was described as tremendous, at the short range of a quarter of a mile. Keppel's own galley was pierced by several successive shots, and reduced to a sinking condition. That leader had to abandon it, and some of his best officers, Kearney, Barker, and others, had fallen to rise no more.* Three of his boats were aground, one was sunk; there was no choice save to halt in the advance, if only for a breathing space. The gongs from the Chinese junks sounded the premonitory notes of triumph, but their rejoicings were premature. Thinking they had checked the attack, and becoming aware of the full extent of the disaster to their comrades lower down the river, the junks quitted their anchorage, and prepared to retire up the narrow channel to Fatshan. The movement was perceived in time, the English boats closed upon them once more, and the action was renewed. The firing on both sides continued furiously, another English boat was sunk, but the Chinese lost still more heavily. They sacrificed the chance of victory when they took to flight, and junk after junk was given to the flames, or, abandoned by its crew, became the prize of the conqueror. The men

* Major Kearney, the Assistant Quartermaster-General of the Expedition, was smashed to pieces by a round shot received full in the heart. Barker, a young midy, died of his wounds. A brother of the latter had been killed at Inkermann. Prince Victor of Hohenlohe, a flag-lieutenant, greatly distinguished himself on this occasion.

of Fatshan turned out along the banks to oppose the foe, and to prevent him carrying off the five junks which were his spoil. They fared no better than their kinsmen on the water; and Keppel returned reluctantly with his small and wearied, but still enthusiastic force, having the five junks in tow, to rejoin the Admiral. He had wished, no doubt, to hold Fatshan, and to put it to ransom; but Sir Michael Seymour prudently forbade the adventure. In these encounters thirteen men were killed and forty wounded,* a loss not heavy if the nature of the work accomplished is considered, but sufficient to remind the sceptical that the Chinese possess some fighting qualities.

When Lord Elgin reached Hongkong the first serious operation of the second war with China had been thus carried out. The Imperial fleet on the Canton river had been destroyed. There only remained to decide the important question, what was the best way to obtain the reopening of the Canton river and city to trade, and the surrender of some of its lofty pretensions by the Peking Government. The English Plenipotentiary had arrived, but he had not brought with him the army which Sir Michael Seymour had stated to be necessary. It was evident that many months would elapse before other regiments could be supplied in the place of those diverted to India. Not merely was there much inconvenience to commerce from the delay in settling the question, but the Chinese were greatly encouraged by the evidence of the embarrassment in which the English were placed through the mutiny of the native troops in India. It was highly desirable that something should be attempted, but it was not clear what could be done. The garrison of Hongkong was less than 1500 men, and of these one-sixth were invalided. It was the hottest period of the year, and no European force could possibly take the field without the certainty of suffering severely from the climate. So much was plain, although many refused to recognize the hard logic of facts. This was the position of the case when Lord Elgin, having consulted the local

* Many of these were severely wounded, and some died. It was noticed that the Chinese shot inflicted cruel wounds.

authorities, felt compelled to decide upon the course of action he should pursue.

The opinion at Hongkong was unanimous among official and mercantile circles alike that the first step should be to take Canton and put an end to Yeh's power in that city. The merchants gave expression to this opinion in a memorial to Lord Elgin, Sir Michael Seymour held the same view on the subject, and Sir John Bowring did not conceal that in his mind he had come to the same conclusion. The boasts of the Chinese at Hongkong, the general belief in the impregnability of Canton, and the continued defiance of Yeh were all quoted or referred to as showing that the first step towards the solution of the China problem was to effect the arrangement of the Canton difficulty, which could only be accomplished by the capture of that city. The view was perfectly sound, but without the necessary force impossible of realization. Sir Michael Seymour said that 5000 soldiers were necessary to seize Canton and hold it against attack; General Ashburnham thought it might be done with 4000, provided they were all effectives, which was practically the same thing. The garrison of Hongkong, even by denuding the fleet, could not produce half that number. Obviously, therefore, an attack on Canton must be postponed until the arrival of fresh troops from Europe or India. The only question, as Lord Elgin said, was whether the wiser course was to do nothing, or to shift the scene of operations for a time to the mouth of the Peiho, where the naval forces of which he could dispose would enable him to address the Pekin Court with some of the authority justified by visible power.

Against a policy of inaction there are always strong objections. It is, indeed, only justifiable when it is not clear that the adversary can do anything, and when no other course seems open to be followed. But it is nearly always the proof of indecision, and indecision, perilous under all circumstances, is generally fatal in the East, where Europeans have to contend against superior numbers, and the irremovable antipathy of subject races, or of peoples who have felt the shame, if they have avoided the fate, of the vanquished. Lord

Elgin was not blind to this truth, and, resolving to do something, declared his intention to proceed with the fleet to the Peiho. He wrote home a long and able despatch on the subject, which received Lord Clarendon's approval, and the preparations were made for carrying the plan into execution.

But the scheme did not commend itself to the judgment of those who had been on the spot throughout the earlier stages of the difficulty. The quarrel with Yeh, they said, was one of a personal character. It should be dealt with and decided at Canton. Trade had continued undisturbed at the other Treaty Ports; but were the central Government drawn into the discussion, it would inevitably lead to the general suspension of intercourse. Already there were symptoms that the Emperor's sympathy was being gradually enlisted in Yeh's favour. The failure of any demonstration at the Peiho would result in the adoption of that official's policy at Peking, unless he had been previously chastised in a most effectual manner. Lord Elgin could not help being swayed by these representations; he allowed himself to be so far moved by them as to give up the intention of proceeding to the north, almost at the very time that Lord Clarendon was expressing to him the approval of the Cabinet for having ignored the opinions of those on the spot and for having decided upon approaching Peking direct. Instead of the expedition to the Peiho in the summer of 1857, Lord Elgin went to Calcutta to ascertain in person when Lord Canning would be able to spare those regiments which were to have constituted the China expedition. Excuses may be made for this change of plans, but the fact is undoubted that the Chinese were encouraged by this inaction and indecision. The very months that were to have witnessed the discomfiture of Yeh and the humiliation of the Chinese Government beheld instead the inaction of the English, and the arrival indeed of a High Ambassador from the Queen, but also his speedy departure. At Hongkong, such was the opposition to the projected expedition to the north, that the results of this indecision were approved of, even although Chinese confidence was raised by it to a higher point than ever.

It is unnecessary to follow Lord Elgin to Calcutta.* He returned to Hongkong on the 20th of September, and he found there matters very much the same as he had left them, with the exception that the total force at his disposal now barely sufficed to garrison that place. A blockade had been established of the Canton river, but it had not produced any important results or interesting incidents. The Russian envoy, Count Poutiatine, a man of great ability, who had been the first to predict the coming change in the attitude of the Japanese towards foreigners, had, however, made an experiment towards ascertaining the views of the Peking authorities. He had been to the mouth of the Peiho, and had requested an interview. The Chinese officers would not allow him so much as to land. It was clear, therefore, that force would be quite as much needed to open the way to the capital as the gates of Canton.

Two months passed away in military preparations at Hongkong. A coolie corps of 750 natives, Chinese, Hakkas, and other races of inferior caste, had been organized by Captain Temple and Mr. Power. Fifteen hundred marines had arrived from England, others were at last on their way from India. The cooler weather had restored the health of the garrison, and emptied the hospitals of Hongkong. Captain Sherard Osborn had brought out a fleet of useful gun-boats, which were to undeceive the Chinese in their belief that the English could not follow their junks or navigate their smaller rivers. Still more, a French ambassador, Baron Gros, had arrived with instructions similar to Lord Elgin's, and he too could dispose of a small naval force to give effect to the

* He reached that city in the first week of August, bringing with him 1700 troops. The spread of the Mutiny had caused the diversion to India of two other regiments of the China Expedition. The crews of the *Shannon* and *Pearl* were then formed into that naval brigade which, under Captain William Peel, rendered such splendid service against the mutineers (see Colonel Malleon's "History of the Indian Mutiny," vol. ii.). If there was misfortune for those interested in the speedy adjustment of the China question in this alteration of the force's destination, it was also a merciful dispensation that in the great crisis the Governor-General was able to procure the assistance of these English troops and sailors.

wishes of his Government. The "absurd pretensions of China to superiority" were to be shown once and for all to be untenable. But the immediate question of the hour revolved round the coming attack on Canton rather than upon the exact form in which concessions were to be exacted from Peking. General Ashburnham had left for India, and General van Straubenzee had assumed the command of the small land force left at Hongkong.

In November Sir Michael Seymour proposed to take some steps towards improving his position for the attack on the city. The principal of these was the occupation of the island of Honan; but in deference to Lord Elgin's wish that no measures should be taken until he had presented his ultimatum to Yeh, the plan was not carried out. On the 12th of December Lord Elgin sent Yeh a note informing him of his arrival in China as the representative with full powers of Queen Victoria. In this note, after dwelling on the generally amicable relations between England and China, he pointed out the repeated insults and injuries which had been inflicted upon foreigners, and on Englishmen in particular, by the authorities of the city of Canton, culminating in an insult to the English flag, and the repeated refusal to grant reparation. But even at the eleventh hour there was time to avert further evil and to stay the progress of hostile proceedings by making prompt and complete redress. The terms were plain and simple. The English demands were confined to two points—the complete execution at Canton of all treaty engagements, including the free admission of British subjects to the city, and compensation to British subjects and persons entitled to British protection for losses incurred in consequence of the late disturbances.

To this categorical demand Yeh made a lengthy reply, going over the whole ground of controversy, reasserting what he wished to believe were the facts, and curtly concluding that the trade intercourse might continue on the old conditions, and that each side should pay its own losses.* If

* This was probably his meaning; but his language might have the interpretation, Mr. Wade said, that the English Consul, Mr. Parkes, should bear all the cost himself!

this line of proceeding was intended as a joke, it was both a poor and a very dangerous one. In all probability he thought he was taking the most dignified course, and he may have trusted in the supposed strength of Canton and the military fervour of its population. At any rate, this was not the way to secure a peaceful solution of the question, and on the 15th of the month Sir Michael Seymour seized without opposition Honan point on the island of that name opposite the city. Another ten days were employed in bringing up the last of the troops from Hongkong, and perhaps still more in concerting a plan of action between the allies. But on Christmas Day, 1857, an ultimatum was presented, and forty-eight hours were allowed for the evacuation of the city. To this threat Yeh made no answer. It almost seemed as if he were incredulous to the end that the attack would be delivered, although more than 6000 men * had been at last assembled for the assault.

A preliminary reconnaissance had shown that the best line of attack was on the east side, where Lin's Fort, which could be carried at a rush, would afford a safe and strong position for ulterior operations. The distribution of the placards announcing the coming attack, which was made under great risk and in a most daring manner by Mr. Parkes and Captain Hall, had warned the people of what was going to happen,† and the inhabitants of the more exposed suburbs sought safety in timely flight. Early on the morning of the 28th December the cannonade from the ships showed that the bombardment had begun, and under cover of the fire, which was mainly directed against the city

* Composed as follows:—800 troops (59th, Engineers, etc.), 2500 marines, 1500 sailors, 900 French sailors and marines; together, 5700; with 987 coolie corps (Chinese and Malays); making a total of 6687.

† In this work they met with several adventures, one of which was of a ludicrous character. "They land a strongly-armed company suddenly in a suburb, and post up the proclamation or distribute it to the crowd which were assembled. In one of these rapid descents, Captain Hall caught a mandarin in his chair, not far from the outer gate. The captain pasted the mandarin up in his chair with the barbarian papers, pasted the chair all over with them, and started the bearers to carry this new advertising van into the city. The Chinese crowd, always alive to a practical joke, roared."—Wingrove Cook.

walls, the troops were landed in Kuper creek, opposite the island of the same name, and to the east of the city. The attack on Lin's Fort, where there were three guns in position, began the battle. After standing to their guns for half an hour the small garrison evacuated the position and escaped to the northern hills above Canton, where at Gough's Fort and along the neighbouring heights the Chinese had pitched their principal camps and made their definite plans of defence. This success was rendered of the less importance by the fact that the fort was destroyed soon afterwards by the accidental explosion of the magazine. The country round Lin's Fort consisted of wide undulating fields, which had been used as burial-grounds, and afforded excellent cover. The Chinese sought too late to avail themselves of this, but some skirmishing ensued before their braves were driven back to the camps on the hills. In this position the army passed the night of the 28th, in readiness to resume the more serious operations of the next day. While the infantry rested the bombardment was kept up during the hours of darkness with redoubled energy.

The order for assault at three different points in the eastern wall was given, and simultaneously the whole line rushed towards the wall, the ladders in front, under the command of Captain Bate, who was, however, one of the few men shot down by the desultory fire opened from the gingsals. Until the men got close the fire was well sustained; but whether because these Chinese were not the best fighters of their kind, or that they were badly led, they abandoned their defences almost before the ladders were planted against the walls. But although they retired, their object was to make their way along the wide ramparts to the North Gate, where they would be in communication with their main body on Gough Hill. Here, reinforced by some Tartar troops, they endeavoured to restore the battle, and even charged up to the bayonets of the 59th. But they were driven back and out of the city to the large camps on the eminence already mentioned. At the same time the fort on Magazine Hill, the key of the city, and doubly important as commanding that on Gough Hill, was captured without

loss or resistance. In less than one hour and a half the attack had been crowned with complete success. The great city of Canton was in the hands of the English and their allies. The Chinese had shown inexplicable want of courage and resolution in defending their city, but the coolies on the side of the invaders had distinguished themselves by their remarkable coolness and pluck during the heat of the action.*

The victors established themselves in force on Magazine Hill, and made use of the walls as a road of communication with the ships. As yet they did not venture into the narrow streets of the city, where many of the late garrison remained concealed and maintained a desultory fire with the outposts at the gates or on the ramparts. The Chinese were compelled to evacuate the forts on Gough and the adjoining hills, as they were all commanded from the Magazine Hill, and their fortifications were in a few days blown up. So far as military success went, it was complete ; but there was something strange in the fact that the greater part of the city still remained in possession of the natives and even of Yeh in person. The English troops held the northern heights and forts, as well as the wall in that direction, and thence along the eastern side to the river. The English fleet also commanded the whole course of the river ; but the southern part of the town, including the Manchu quarter, continued in the hands of Yeh and his myrmidons. Even in the lowest stress of calamity that official had lost neither his fortitude nor his ferocity. He gave not the slightest symptom of surrender, and his very last act of authority was to order the execution of 400 citizens whom he considered traitors to their country, or perhaps enemies to his own interest. His tenure of power had now reached its close. The Chinese were increasing in boldness ; their isolated attacks had become more frequent. From his yamen in the interior of the city Yeh still sent forth threats of defiance, and lavish promises of reward to those who would bring in

* The English loss was fourteen killed and eighty-three wounded, some of whom died subsequently. The French loss was thirty-four killed and wounded.—Official Return.

the heads of the barbarians. It became necessary to track this truculent and implacable enemy to his den. There could be no tranquillity in Canton while Yeh remained at large.

On the 5th of January, 1858, detachments from three different directions moved into the native city. Their object was the official quarter, where stood the public offices and the residences of Yeh and Pihkwei, the governor of the city. The Chinese were taken completely by surprise; and although there were many guards and servants about, no resistance was offered beyond the first few shots fired on penetrating into the narrow lanes that led to the heart of the town. Pihkwei was taken in his own house, the Treasury was carried at a rush, and the very considerable amount of silver stored there was safely removed with the assistance of the Chinese* themselves to the English camp. The French had the credit of capturing the Tartar general in his residence in the Manchu quarter—a vast stone-built suburb which had been long allowed to fall into decay, and the condition of which at once revealed the cause of Chinese defeat. The 7000 Manchu troops, who were supposed to be the mainstay of the Emperor's authority in the second city of his realm, had evidently ceased to exist as a military force for a considerable period. They had become gradually merged in the civil population; while the gloomy walled Manchu quarter remained deserted and desolate—the residence of bats and nauseous creatures.

But although much had been done, Yeh was still at large, and no one seemed to know where to seek him, as all the larger official buildings had been searched in vain. At this moment Mr. Parkes, whose indefatigable inquiries had been at last rewarded by a clue as to Yeh's whereabouts, appeared upon the scene, and, obtaining the assistance of Captain Key and a hundred sailors, proceeded in search of the great

* "But how to remove the heavy load of bullion? Crowds had assembled in front, and a happy thought occurred to one of the officers, 'A dollar's worth of cash to every coolie who will help to carry the silver to the English camp!' In a moment the crowd dispersed in search of their bamboo-poles, and in another moment there were a thousand volunteer Cantonese contending for the privilege of carrying for an enemy their own city's treasure."—Wingrove Cook.

mandarin. At the public library, where it had been said that he would be found, only one poor scholar remained poring, in the midst of the prevailing confusion, over one of the classics in a dark closet. To all questions he at first replied that he knew nothing; but at last he admitted that Yeh had been there some days before, and, more important, that he would now, in all probability, be found at a yamen in the south-west corner of the city. That information was confirmed by the Governor, and thither hastened Mr. Parkes, Captain Key, and the sailors. They arrived there just in time. All the preparations for a hurried flight were apparent. Coolies were packing up, mandarins were running about, Yeh himself was superintending the measures for departure. The sailors forced in the doors, and Captain Key had the pleasure of seizing Yeh when about to escape over the wall in the rear. One mandarin came forward with admirable devotion and proclaimed himself to be Yeh; but the imposture was detected. Captain Key's prisoner was identified by Mr. Parkes, and at once assured of his life, when his self-confidence, which had deserted him at the moment of capture, returned, and he resumed his wonted imperturbability.*

The capture of Yeh completed the victory of the foreigners. In some ways it was more important than the seizure of Canton. It deprived the chief enemy of the English, the man who had spared neither European captive † nor native

* Mr., now Lord, Loch says that "Yeh exhibited great self-possession, and remained perfectly quiet while his boxes, of which the room was full, were opened and examined for papers." But this was after Mr. Parkes had assured him that his life was safe. Captain Key, Yeh's capturer, it may be added, was the late Admiral Sir Astley Cooper Key.

† The capture of Mr. Cooper, at Whampoa, will be remembered. He was brutally treated and murdered, there was no moral doubt, by the order of Yeh and his War Committee. There were worse and less-known crimes still. Yeh revealed the fact that eighteen men had been taken, that they died, and that he had been at much trouble to have them properly buried. When asked for particulars, he replied, "How can I tell you who they were, and how can I remember when they were taken? You were fighting from October till January, when you were beaten off and expelled, and your ships ran away. It was during this time." This incident should give a fair idea of the innate arrogance of the Chinese officials. The only circumstance which seemed to bring home to Yeh his unpleasant predicament was when a party of the Coolie

opponent, of all means of showing his fierce resentment or of indulging his anti-barbarian predilections. Knowing what we did of his bitter and relentless hatred, of his falseness, of his breach of the simplest obligations of humanity, far too much consideration was shown towards him. But even the mistaken view of the English representatives as to his importance and the manner in which he should be treated could not save him from the punishment and disgrace which he had so thoroughly deserved. He was conveyed on board one of the ships, and thence, after a further interval, transported to Calcutta, where he died two years later.

Pihkwei was re-appointed Governor of Canton for the maintenance of order. A commission—a Frenchman and two Englishmen,* one of whom was Mr. Parkes—was nominated to assist him in the work of administration. European sailors and soldiers did the duty of policemen. The arms in the arsenals were surrendered and removed to a place of safety. A sense of security and of freedom filled the minds of the Cantonese such as they had perhaps never felt before; and the light-hearted but ever-industrious population turned with renewed energy to those pursuits on which their worldly happiness and prosperity depended. If the mandarins ever thought on the subject at all, there could hardly fail to have been, even to their minds, something suggestive in the order and absence of all cause of complaint visible under the rule of the barbarian conquerors.†

Corps, meeting him on his way to the ship, laid down their burdens and burst out laughing at him. Then he gnashed his teeth in helpless rage. The laughter of Hakkas at a high mandarin of the Empire gave the full point to English victory.

* Colonel Holloway and Captain Martineau des Chenez were the two other members.

† Among the most appalling incidents was the emptying of the prisons—loathsome dens where the victims of official tyranny underwent the most frightful suffering. The scenes witnessed of human misery and wretchedness defy description. Nor were the victims all Chinese. Two Portuguese were rescued; but in the prison set apart for Europeans, the story was unravelled piecemeal of six foreigners (four English and two Frenchmen) who had been most barbarously treated, and then poisoned. Mr. Wingrove Cook has given a moving description of the scenes he witnessed; but no revenge was taken.

The difficulty at Canton having been thus settled for the time, it remained for Lord Elgin to undertake that more serious portion of his instructions which required him to place the diplomatic relations between England and China on a satisfactory basis by obtaining the right of direct communication with Peking. On the 11th of February, 1858, Lord Elgin addressed the senior Secretary of State at the Chinese capital in a lengthy letter, stating what had occurred in the south, and enumerating the further points on which concessions would be required. The military occupation of Canton was to be continued; and the English Plenipotentiary and his French colleague would proceed to Shanghai, where they were prepared to enter into negotiations with the Chinese authorities. Perhaps the most significant sentence in this document was that stating that the English Ambassador would require the official appointed to discuss affairs with him to hold his commission direct from the Emperor of China. This despatch was entrusted to Mr. Oliphant, Lord Elgin's private secretary, for delivery through the Consul at Shanghai to the Viceroy of the Two Kiang for transmission to Peking. A note in similar terms was sent in the same manner and at the same time by Baron Gros, the representative of France.

In the following month Lord Elgin left Hongkong* for Shanghai, having previously written to Sir Michael Seymour to say that it would be advisable, in view of possible contingencies, "to collect at Shanghai towards the end of March, or as soon after as may be convenient, as large a fleet, more especially of gun-boats drawing little water, as could be spared from service elsewhere."† Meanwhile Mr. Oliphant had succeeded in his mission. The Governor of Kiangsu, in the absence of the Governor-General of the double province of the Two Kiang, received the letter to the first Secretary of State, acknowledged its receipt in a note to Lord Elgin, and stated that he had duly forwarded it to Peking. This was as

* Left March 3rd, reached Amoy on the 6th, Foochow on the 8th, and Ningpo on the 18th, and Shanghai before the 30th.

† Sir Michael Seymour replied that "one of the gun-boats and one gun-vessel have already sailed for Shanghai, and arrangements are in progress for others to follow."—P. 224 of Blue Book.

favourable a commencement for the negotiations as could be expected, for the great difficulty up to this point had been to obtain an admission from the provincial authorities that foreigners had the right to trouble the Peking Government in any way ; and the merit of a mandarin was certainly enhanced in the eyes of the Emperor and his immediate advisers if he could prevent their being worried by the intrusiveness of the outer barbarians.

The reply of Yuching, Hienfung's chief minister, was not long delayed. When Lord Elgin reached Shanghai he found it awaiting him under cover of another letter from the Viceroy of the Two Kiang.* Yuching's letter was worthy of the great Yeh himself. In its language all the arrogance of the Chinese character stood revealed. There was an absolute refusal to recognize what seemed to the European mind the most obvious facts. Yuching spoke as the representative of a Government that admitted no equal. He seemed to be as blind to the meaning of the defeat at Canton as he was to

* The following is the text of Yuching's despatch : " I have perused the letter received, and have acquainted myself with all that it relates to. In the ninth moon of the year (1856) the English opened their guns on the provincial city (Canton), bombarding and burning buildings and dwellings, and attacked and stormed its forts. The gentry and people of both the city and the suburbs thronged the Court of Yeh, imploring him to make investigation and take order accordingly. These are facts of which all foreigners are alike aware. The seizure of a Minister, and occupation of a provincial city belonging to us, as on this occasion has been the case, are also (facts) without parallel in the history of the past. His Majesty the Emperor is magnanimous and considerate. He has been pleased by a decree, which we have had the honour to receive, to degrade Yeh from the Governor-Generalship of the Two Kwang for his maladministration, and to despatch his Excellency Hwang to Kwantung as Imperial Commissioner in his stead, to investigate and decide with impartiality ; and it will of course behove the English Minister to wait in Kwantung, and there make his arrangements. No Imperial Commissioner ever conducts business at Shanghai. There being a particular sphere of duty allotted to every official on the establishment of the Celestial Empire, and the principle that between them and the foreigner there is no intercourse being one ever religiously adhered to by the servants of our Government of China, it would not be proper for me to reply in person to the letter of the English Minister. Let your Excellency, therefore, transmit to him all that I have said above, and his letter will in no way be left unanswered."

the pledges given in the Treaty of Nankin—that Treaty which was considered of such little importance at Peking that the solemnly ratified copy was found in Yeh's yamen at Canton. It required but little knowledge to perceive that from a Government imbued with this high sense of its own dignity no concessions would be wrung save by force, and that even those that were obtained would be shirked and disregarded as frequently as its agents dared. Lord Elgin's reply to Yuching's indirect communication was to return the Viceroy's letter, to point out the infraction of the Treaty of Nankin, and to announce his intention of proceeding to the north, where he could place himself in closer communication with the high officers of the Imperial Government at the capital.

The foreign plenipotentiaries reached the Gulf of Pechihli in the middle of April, and the fleet had been instructed to collect there as speedily as possible from its different stations along the coast. When Lord Elgin appeared at the mouth of the Peiho he drafted a letter to Yuching in temperate language, stating that he had come as the representative of the Queen of England to the Peiho, and that he was willing to hold an interview with any minister duly appointed by the Emperor for the purpose of discussing and arranging together the several questions that had arisen. The letter concluded with a notice that if, after the expiry of six days, no minister should be so accredited, Lord Elgin would consider his pacific overtures to have been rejected, and that he would deem himself at liberty to adopt other measures to carry out his instructions. The appointment of three officials of moderate rank to act as Imperial Commissioners showed that there was a desire or at least the curiosity to know what the foreigners wished before proceeding to the extremity of refusing to hold all relations with them.

But it soon became clear that these Chinese officers had not received the full powers from their sovereign which Lord Elgin had stated to be necessary. They were only appointed to receive the foreign envoys and report what they wanted to the Throne. They had no authority to discuss and determine the various questions which pressed for decision ;

and in consequence Lord Elgin declined to meet them. On the 6th of May he again addressed the Chinese representative to the effect that he could only negotiate with a minister having plenipotentiary powers, that the instances of Keying and Elepoo in 1842 formed a precedent for it, and that he would delay further proceedings for six days in order to allow time for the necessary authority to be received from Peking. Five days later a reply was received, asserting that the powers of the officials appointed were as full as those of Keying had been, and that in any case they were quite ample for the adjustment of affairs.

To this distinct refusal there could only be one reply, and that was that the English Ambassador would proceed up the Peiho to place himself in nearer communication with the Peking Government, and that the temporary possession of the forts at the mouth of that river would be requisite for the effectual execution of the measure. A delay of some days ensued in consequence of an informal representation by the Russian Envoy, Count Poutiatine, who had tried to play the part of a mutual friend throughout, that a settlement was not hopeless; but when that officer wrote that "the Chinese Emperor refused to admit foreign envoys to Peking," it became impossible to doubt that the same violent remedies which had been employed in the south would have also to be used in the north.

The harmony of action which usually marks the relations of high English diplomatic officers and the military commanders with whom they may have to act in concert had been disturbed, a few weeks before the question with China had reached this crisis, by the feeling of disappointment which Lord Elgin experienced at what seemed to him the tardy arrival of the fleet in the Gulf of Pechihli. Unfortunately, as it must be considered, he gave expression to his sense of dissatisfaction in a long despatch to Lord Clarendon, which partook very much of the character of a charge against Sir Michael Seymour of supineness and inaction. It should be stated that that gallant admiral had said at Hongkong that he expected to reach Shanghai about the 16th of March, but he qualified that statement a few days later

by saying that he could not leave Hongkong till the 15th of March ; and that, therefore, he would not be in readiness to move from Shanghai with his force until the end of the first week of April. This delay at the outset might have suggested the idea that there was a possibility of the preparations requiring some longer time than had been supposed or allowed for. Be that as it may, Sir Michael Seymour was prevented leaving Hongkong until the 25th of March, and he did not reach the Gulf of Pechihli until the 24th of April, and the various vessels of the fleet arrived in the course of the following fortnight. Early in May twenty-five war-ships were drawn up opposite the forts which guarded the entrance to the Peiho, and the approach to Peking from the sea.

Lord Elgin was not unnaturally annoyed at the delay which he termed "a most grievous disappointment," for he believed that if he had had ten or twelve gun-boats he would have been allowed by the forts to proceed unresisted to Tientsin, and that the Emperor's Government would have yielded at once everything that was demanded of them. It is certainly possible that the affair might have had that satisfactory issue ; but hopes are a bad basis on which to found a charge against a gallant colleague, in connection with whom sluggishness was the last term that could be justly used. Of course it was intelligible that Lord Elgin and his diplomatic assistants should be disappointed at their month's delay off the Taku forts ; but remembering the monsoon and the possibility of accident interfering with what was at the most an indefinite understanding, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that greater caution would have been shown in staying at Shanghai till the naval force had been assembled than in hastening on to the Peiho, or, as that course was adopted, that a better and more generous feeling towards a colleague would have been evinced if the delay in the arrival of the ships had been attributed to circumstances coming under the category of the unavoidable.

On the 19th of May the allied fleet proceeded to the mouth of the river, and summoned the commandant to surrender his forts on the following morning. No reply being

received to the summons, the gun-boats proceeded in-shore to make the attack. The Chinese fired the first shots, which were returned after the different vessels had arrived at short range. The bombardment continued for one hour and a quarter, when, all the gunners having been driven out of the batteries, the troops and sailors landed and seized the forts. Further resistance was encountered higher up the river, and a desperate attempt was made to let down a fleet of fire-ships among the foreign vessels. But the former was overcome, and the fire-junks drifted ashore instead of among the boats of Sir Michael Seymour and Admiral Rigault de Genouilly. The victors proceeded as far as the village or town of Taku, where they had established their advanced position while the forts in their rear were being dismantled. The resistance made by the Chinese, who included some of the best troops from the capital, was creditable without being obstinate. The forts had been renovated and armed with guns sent from Peking and Tientsin. The *élite* of the Imperial Guard was stated to have held the entrenched camp in the rear of the batteries. But neither their courage nor their preparations availed them. Their commander, in despair at his defeat, committed suicide, and others imitated his example. The loss among the English was slight. The French suffered more heavily, partly from the accidental explosion of a magazine, partly from the unequal fortunes of battle.

The capture of the forts on the Peiho roused the Peking Government to a sense of the imminent danger in which they stood. Their military resources had been devoted to their defence, and with their fall they were for the time exhausted. Tientsin could offer no resistance. The foreigners there commanded the entrance to the Grand Canal, and with it the route by which the capital was supplied with grain. No opposition could be made save at Peking itself, and a siege of the capital might entail dangers far greater than were involved in the unconditional surrender of every claim advanced by the dreaded and still more hated Europeans. The fleet proceeded up the river to Tientsin, and Lord Elgin also hastened to that city, where he could count with some degree of confidence on the Chinese showing a more conciliatory demeanour. Before

he reached that place he had received another communication from the Imperial Commissioners, stating that they would repair in person to the Emperor and ascertain what arrangements he would sanction. At the same time they had the courage to declare that the ascent of the river by the English ships was highly improper. Their representations produced an immediate effect on the mind of the Emperor, as Kweiliang and Hwashana, both Manchus and dignitaries of the highest order, were instructed "to go by post route to the port of Tientsin for the investigation and despatch of business." The powers* conferred upon these officers were of the amplest kind, and greater even than those previously bestowed upon Keying.

It is a distinctive feature of the Chinese character that when the season has arrived for making concessions it can adapt itself to the necessities of the time, and show as broad and generous a spirit of toleration as those who have constantly in their mouths the assertion of human equality and mutual rights. These moments have, no doubt, been rare, but one of them had arrived when the English Ambassador reached Tientsin, and when it seemed as if the allied forces could make their way almost unresisted to the capital. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the proposals of

* The following is the text of the Imperial decree appointing them, dated 1st of June: "Tau having failed in his treatment of the questions regarding which the different nations had been earnestly preferring requests, we have specially commissioned Kweiliang and Hwashana to proceed to Tientsin and to devise means by which (these questions) may be satisfactorily discussed and decided. As, however, to judge from the communications written by the different nations, they are in doubt as to whether Kweiliang and his colleague are competent or not to act independently, we command Kweiliang and Hwashana, with affectionate earnestness, to set the right before them. If the matters (in question) be reasonable, the desire for a cessation of hostilities sincere, anything not injurious to China will certainly be granted them: there is no occasion for further doubt or suspicion. Kweiliang and his colleague have been specially chosen by us; they will not fail (on the one hand) to be careful of the dignity of the State; (on the other) to watch in silence the feelings of the people. In any conjunction requiring that the action taken be suited to the emergency, unless the case be in contravention of what is right and proper, their course is to deviate (from the beaten track) accordingly. Let them be zealous!"

the new Chinese representatives. They were most anxious to settle all matters without the least delay, and they had been invested with the fullest possible authority to arrange matters without reference to Peking. Had the two Manchus been brought up in the school of Talleyrand and Metternich they could not have shown greater tact in managing the details of an important negotiation, or more eagerness to make as speedy an end as possible of an unpleasant business.

At this point in the negotiations there re-appeared upon the scene a man whose previous experience and high position entitled him to some consideration. Less than a week after Lord Elgin's preliminary interview with Kweiliang and Hwashana, he received a letter from Keying stating that he had come in obedience to the Emperor's commands to discuss and decide the foreign question. Keying acted separately from the other Commissioners; and his intervention promised to produce embarrassment and delay. It was not clear at first what he really wanted, or with what object he had sought an interview with Lord Elgin; but when he told Mr. Wade that the solution of the difficulty was the withdrawal of the fleet from the river, the motives of his visit and overtures became sufficiently evident. He had been sent in the expectation that from his special knowledge of the English he might succeed in inducing them to forego the great advantage of position which they had acquired by the possession of Tientsin.

The idea was probably his own, and he undertook the task in the hope of recovering the political power and rank of which he had been deprived eight years before. But it may have been that the Emperor Hienfung recollected the existence of the author of the Nankin Treaty, and thinking that he might be able to mislead the foreigners, or to obtain some concession from them, had commanded him to proceed to Tientsin. His fervour in the task he had accepted was increased by the knowledge that the penalty of failure would be death. Perhaps his efforts would have been not altogether unavailing, for Keying's reputation had been great among Europeans, if documents found in Yeh's yamen had not

shown that he had played a double part throughout that old transaction, and that at heart he was as anti-foreign as the most Chauvinist of them all. Seeing that his plan was discovered, and that his wiles would be useless, Keying returned to Peking. There he was at once arrested and brought before the Board of Punishment. Found guilty without delay, Prince Hwui Wang pressed for his immediate punishment, and it was ordered that, as he had acted "with stupidity and precipitancy," he should be strangled at once. As an act "of extreme grace and justice," the Emperor sent him, as a member of the Imperial Family, the order "to put an end to himself," and it was obeyed. Let it, however, be recorded to the credit of the aged minister that it was he who impressed upon the English representative the necessity of the Emperor's plenipotentiaries being provided with a seal or kwan fang, as without it no treaty or concession would be valid.

The discussion of the various points on which Lord Elgin insisted as the basis of a fresh treaty occupied several days; and more than one interview took place between Mr. H. N. Lay, one of Lord Elgin's Chinese Secretaries, and the Chinese Commissioners and their secretaries on the subject of these details. The matter to which the most serious objection was raised was that of allowing a Resident Minister at Peking. This demand was opposed on general and on specific grounds. Such a thing had never been heard of, and was attended with peril both to the individual and to the Chinese Government. Then, changing their position, they asked would the minister wear the Chinese dress, would one minister suffice for all the Powers, would he make the kotow, or at least bend both knees to the Emperor? But every conversation ended with the declaration that these concessions were inadmissible and could never be granted.

On the 11th of June the Commissioners sent an important despatch, making the most of the concessions demanded, and suggesting, as a compromise on the main point, that the visit of an English Ambassador to Peking might be postponed until a more favourable opportunity. The important admission was made that "there is properly no objection to

the permanent residence of a Plenipotentiary Minister of Her Britannic Majesty;" and a later passage stated that the Emperor would select, after the conclusion of peace, an officer to proceed to convey his compliments to the Queen of England in token of amity. On the terms of this letter the Commissioners proceeded to draw up the regular treaty. Some further slight delays ensued, but on the 26th of June the treaty was formally signed, and on the 4th of July Lord Elgin received the ratification by Imperial Edict of the Treaty of Tientsin.*

There remained for settlement the scarcely less important revision of the tariff, which was to be undertaken by England alone, the other states contenting themselves with a most-favoured-nation clause which secured for them without trouble whatever privileges or advantages might be gained by the English. The discussion of this matter was resumed after Lord Elgin's return from Japan, where he had the satisfaction of promptly concluding a very favourable treaty. The Imperial Commissioners who had acted at Tientsin were re-appointed with several assistants, and with the Viceroy of the Two Kiang as a colleague, to proceed to Shanghai for the express purpose of arranging all commercial matters and placing them on the desired satisfactory footing. The arrangement of the details of the tariff was entrusted by Lord Elgin to Mr. Wade † and Mr. Oliphant. The general principle arrived at was that neither the import nor the export duties should exceed five per cent. *ad valorem*; but the principal clause, and the one of historical importance, was that legalizing the importation of opium on payment of a duty of thirty taels, or about ten pounds per chest, at the price then prevailing equivalent to 8 per cent.

It had long been evident that, apart from all consideration of the moral effect of the use of opium, the extensive

* The Treaty of Tientsin contained fifty-six articles, and one separate article with reference to the indemnity. The right to station an Ambassador at Peking, "if Her Majesty the Queen see fit," was the most important concession.—See Appendix for this Treaty.

† Mr. Wade, in his despatch of October 1, 1858, expresses his indebtedness for assistance to Mr. Horatio Lay and Dr. Wells Williams.

smuggling of it into the country as a contraband article was attended with special dangers, and followed by distinct evil consequences of its own. Its exclusion did not prevent the Chinese obtaining the drug in any quantities they pleased, and only provided a cause of frequent strife along the coast at the same time that it resulted in defrauding the Government of a legitimate source of revenue. The representative of the United States, Mr. Reed, had been one of the first to perceive this, and it was greatly due to his arguments that Lord Elgin had taken up the position which he did on the subject, and which he was confirmed in maintaining by the ready acquiescence of the Chinese Commissioners in its wisdom and necessity.

The satisfactory arrangement of the tariff emboldened the Chinese representatives to assume a firmer tone with regard to the permanent residence of an English envoy at Peking. On this point their language was always consistent. They deprecated the proposal not merely because it was novel, but because it promised to entail the gravest dangers for the strength and dignity of the Emperor's executive, at this moment hard pressed through the Taeping rebellion. These representations could not fail to produce some effect, especially as they were confirmed by the personal observation of the Europeans themselves. Obviously it was not to the interest of the Power which had just concluded a treaty with China that the Emperor's authority should be repudiated, and anything calculated to entail that result called for a distinct expression of disapproval. The attitude of the Chinese representatives on other points conciliated good will, and when their entreaties were added to their arguments it was found both advisable and politic to assure them informally, but none the less solemnly, that for the present the right should be waived, save in so far as it would be necessary to assert it in the following year for the purpose of the exchange of the Treaty ratifications at Peking. That necessary act once performed, the English Plenipotentiary stated that his efforts would be to induce the Queen's Government to abstain from enforcing the extreme letter of its rights, at the price of embarrassing the Chinese Government. The practical

settlement of the point was, therefore, to stand over until that occasion; but while there was much in the attitude of the Chinese ministers to justify the hope of a satisfactory issue, there was also evidence in the opposite and less agreeable direction. While Kweiliang and his colleagues were showing the greatest courtesy and zeal in arranging matters of detail in connection with a peace that was "to endure for ever," information not to be treated lightly declared that the Chinese were engaged in restoring and improving the fortifications on the Peiho, and in issuing secret edicts for the purpose of raising national effort to the point of staking everything on the expulsion of the foreigners. Which conduct better represented the national mind time alone could show.*

During these months of negotiation in the north, Canton had remained in the possession of the English forces, assisted by a small body of French, to show that the two great nations of the West held identical views on the subject of China's position with regard to Europeans. They had not been altogether uneventful. There had been alternate periods of confidence and tranquillity, of doubt and danger. Nowhere else did the population reveal so many elements of hostility, or so deep-rooted an antipathy towards foreigners. The teaching of such men as Lin and Yeh had evidently fallen upon fertile ground, and the Cantonese, instead of acquiring from their closer contact with foreigners a greater sympathy for them, seemed to discover a more intense and irremovable hatred. The occupation of the city by an English garrison, the proclamation of martial law to be administered by a foreign Commissioner and a native Governor, had been followed by such beneficial results that few of the respectable classes resident in the town were disposed to murmur at a rule which guaranteed absolute security. But in the surrounding villages and townlets it was different. There no advantage was obtained by the English occupation; and the gentry

* Lord Elgin left China in March, 1859, arriving in England on 19th of May. There will not be two opinions on the point that both in its features and its consequences Lord Elgin's Embassy to China was one of the most important missions ever sent from this country to the East.

of the province were incited by the natural impulse of patriotism, by the hope of office or notoriety, and even by a feeling of emulation, to arm their followers and employ their resources in raising bands of soldiers or braves to free the land of the strangers who had established themselves so easily and so securely in their chief city.

Soon after the first departure of Lord Elgin the garrison at Canton was reinforced by the arrival of two Bengal regiments ;* and when the five forts on the northern hills had been all blown up the position in a military sense might be held to be secure, more especially as the Magazine Fort was to be, in extreme need, the rallying point. The danger which first presented itself was caused by attacks on detached parties venturing, either for amusement or reconnoitring purposes, beyond the limits of the town. The friendliness of the people of some of the nearer villages often encouraged these parties to go beyond safe limits, when they rarely failed to discover the presence of fortified camps and hostile villages. Collisions brought about in this manner frequently ensued ; and if they fortunately did not entail any loss of life, they certainly increased the confidence and extended the influence of the hostile bands prowling about the neighbourhood. Although martial law prevailed in the city, proclamations were set up in different places offering rewards for European heads, and, what was still more significant, desperate and systematic attempts were made to earn them. Several of the followers of the native regiments were murdered, and more than one Englishman had reason to feel grateful for a narrow escape.

At first, Pihkwei was suspected of connivance in these outrages ; and when the placards became more numerous and more hostile he was deposed and placed under arrest. Later information went far to exculpate him, and he was released.

* The 65th and 70th Native Infantry. A regrettable incident occurred soon after the arrival of the latter regiment. A party of sepoys, not looting, as Mr. Wingrove Cook reported, but employed in finding lodgings, were fired on by a French picket, and three men were killed or wounded. The circumstance made the more noise at the time, as French soldiers had not shown a very strict regard for the rights of property.—See Colonel Fisher's "Narrative of Three Years' Service in China."

It was then found that this manifestation of hostility emanated from the new Viceroy named Hwang, who had just been sent from Peking to supersede Yeh, and also that he was strongly supported by the provincial gentry, who had formed themselves into patriotic committees. Prominent among these was that known as the Fayuen committee, which carried its zeal so far as to place a reward of 30,000 dollars on the head of Mr. Parkes. The principal result of this disturbed state of public feeling was that an order was sent from Downing Street, in October, 1858, to continue the occupation of Canton until further instructions.

Some natural hesitation was shown in attacking the hostile bands which had assembled in the neighbourhood, from a desire to afford no excuse for saying that the English were less scrupulous than they expected the Chinese to be in fulfilling the terms of the peace. This moderation was only misunderstood, and with the new year more vigorous proceedings were reluctantly sanctioned. The town of Shektsin, six miles north-west of Canton, had been turned into the principal camp and base of the loyal braves of Kwantung. The position was strong. Surrounded on three sides by a river sixty yards wide, the only approach to it was along a causeway completely commanded by the guns in the fortress. The Chinese had shown very considerable skill in constructing batteries on the opposite side of the river ; and, in every way, Shektsin was a place not to be attacked without deliberation and extensive preparation. A strong force was directed against it by land, and the attack was made in two columns, while the gun-boats proceeded to bombard it from the river. For a time the garrison kept up a steady fire, but the gun-boats turned their position. The Chinese escaped with very trifling loss, and when the English and French stormers gained the interior they found the place abandoned.*

* Colonel Fisher, who was present, writes : " The enemy meanwhile had evaporated ; no other term can describe the sudden breaking-up of what seemed a large body of men. A very few dead and wounded were found. Some labourers were here and there apparently busily employed in the fields, their scanty clothing suggesting the idea that their uniform was hidden in an adjoining hole, and that, by some mysterious process, their gingsals had been transformed into hoes."

The effect produced by this expedition was excellent. Even the turbulent people of Fatshan received in a most respectful manner the officers and force which visited them a few weeks later. The agreeable change which had passed over the minds of even the patriotic gentry of Canton and the neighbourhood was finally demonstrated by the unopposed entry of the English general and troops into Fayuen itself. While the courtesy and hospitality of the authorities seemed to augur well for the future, the discovery of cannon, hastily concealed in the surrounding ponds, went to show how hollow and illusory these appearances and the expectations based on them were.

While, therefore, the Treaty of Tientsin and the events which accompanied and followed it justified some hope as to the future harmony of China's foreign relations, there were not wanting sinister reports to show that the Chinese Government was still far removed from the frame of mind necessary to admit the equality of the Western rulers and their right to depute resident ambassadors to Peking. Nor was clearer evidence altogether wanting. Copies of secret decrees found at Shektsin went far towards proving that the Emperor had been insincere throughout the whole of the negotiations. His language in these documents, which cannot be suspected of fabrication, was very lofty, and could only bear the construction that he would not waive one iota of his rights and privileges, and that he intended to employ the whole force of his Empire in overthrowing the foreigners and in retrieving past disgrace and disaster.

Such language was more in accordance with what was known of Hienfung's character than the fair words and promises sent to Tientsin. He had come to the throne with the resolve to wipe out the stigma of Taoukwang's weakness and misfortune; but, instead of succeeding, he had incurred greater misery and disappointment. From his point of view he contended that Yeh had deceived and misled him, and that, taken at a disadvantage by the English admiral on the Peiho, he had been compelled to make a virtue of necessity, and to surrender privileges as deeply cherished as his life and honour. But his forces

were gathering to his aid, and a little time would enable him to look to his defences. Should he yield his birthright without a struggle? These were unquestionably the thoughts that filled the mind of the young ruler; and there was to be no long interval before they were revealed. The question of a permanently resident ambassador at Peking was to remain in abeyance, but in the course of a few months the representative of the English Queen would demand permission to proceed to the capital of China for the solemn exchange of the Treaty ratifications. What answer would he receive when he came?

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PEKIN CAMPAIGN.

THE matter that was to put the sincerity of the Chinese Government to the touch was the reception of the English officer entrusted with the duty of exchanging the ratified copies of the Treaty of Tientsin. Would that envoy be permitted to proceed to Peking? If he were allowed to do so it would be a proof of good faith. Afterwards there would be room to allow that the objections of the Celestial authorities to residence in their capital were based on some valid reason, and not merely on a sentiment of blind hostility to foreigners. If they would only show on this one special occasion their anxiety to meet the English and other peoples on a footing of diplomatic equality, it would be possible to acquiesce in the reasonableness of their contention that so long as the Emperor's Government was encompassed by difficulties it would be politic not to enforce the right of permanent residence. The great object, after all, was to obtain some certain proof of the sincerity of the Government of Emperor Hienfung, and that was the point which Mr. Bruce's mission to Peking was to test and decide.

By the most natural process of selection Mr. Frederick Bruce, who had been secretary to his brother's embassy, and who had returned to England with the copy of the Treaty of Tientsin, was appointed in the early part of 1859 to proceed to China as Her Majesty's representative for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications* of that treaty.

* See Lord Malmesbury's letter of 1st March, 1859. The exchange of ratifications had to be effected before the 26th June.

He was instructed to apprise the Chinese authorities that, while the English Government would not renounce the right of having a permanent ambassador at Peking, it was prepared for the moment to waive it so far as to allow diplomatic relations to be for a time transacted at Shanghai. But with the resolve to insist on the ratification taking place at Peking there existed also a fear that the Chinese would oppose that arrangement with all the means in their power. "All the arts at which the Chinese are such adepts will be put in practice to dissuade you from repairing to the capital," wrote the Foreign Secretary to Mr. Bruce; and the result only too fully confirmed the prescience of Lord Malmesbury. Any proposition to exchange the ratifications elsewhere than at Peking was to be met with a simple and emphatic refusal. That point conceded, however, much should be yielded to the convenience or necessities of the Chinese.

Mr. Bruce arrived at Hongkong in April, and he found among the foreign community there ample confirmation of the fears of his own Government that the Chinese were entertaining the hope, even at the last moment, of averting the humiliation involved in the reception of the English Envoy at Peking. Not only were rumours rife as to the extensive military preparations in progress on the Peiho, but the Chinese Commissioners, Kweiliang and Hwashana, had not quitted the neighbourhood of Shanghai, where they still seemed to contemplate being able to conclude the last offices in connection with the Treaty before returning to the capital with a claim on the gratitude of their master for having saved his dignity. The conflict between such expectations and the realities of the situation was precipitated by Mr. Bruce's formal letter to Kweiliang announcing his imminent departure for Tientsin, and his hope that safe conveyance to Peking, and appropriate accommodation in that city, would be provided for himself and his suite.

But already it was apparent that the anti-foreign party, encouraged, as rumour had it, by Hienfung's own example, would make a desperate effort to thwart the British Envoy; and that, if Mr. Bruce was to succeed in his task, it would be necessary for him to be supported by as imposing a

force as the British military commanders in the south could direct to the Peiho. What had been suspicion became conviction when the Imperial Commissioners presented a request to Mr. Bruce on his arrival at Shanghai to enter upon the discussion of some unsettled details, calmly ignoring that the ratification was stipulated to take place within a period of which only a limited number of days remained unexpired. Chinese policy has always relied upon procrastination as one of the strongest weapons at its disposal. It would have been in their eyes a legitimate device to have detained the English representative at Shanghai under various pretexts, and to have then taken full advantage of the expiration of the stipulated term to declare that the non-ratification of the Treaty invalidated its most important clauses.

Neither Mr. Bruce's instructions nor his own reading of the situation justified any delay in proceeding to the north. A land force was summoned from the garrison at Canton, the fleet was directed from the Canton river to the Peiho, and Admiral Hope, who had succeeded to the command of the China squadron, assumed the personal direction of the operations which were to ensure the safe and honourable reception of Mr. Bruce at Tientsin. The arrival of the fleet * preceded that of the envoy by a little more than two days, and Admiral Hope, in the execution of the plan agreed upon with Mr. Bruce, sent a notification to the officers at the mouth of the Peiho that the English Envoy was coming. The reception met with could not be considered distinctly discouraging. Two boats were sent ashore in order to establish communications. The first unfavourable symptom observed was that the entrance to the river had been barred by a row of iron stakes, while a still more formidable line of inner defence, consisting of an admirably constructed boom, hindered the approach of any hostile force; and when the boats approached the shore they were warned not to attempt to land by an armed and angry crowd. In reply to the

* The fleet reached the Shalootien islands on the 16th of June. On the 17th it proceeded to the Peiho, and Mr. Bruce arrived on the 20th.

inquiries of the interpreter, it was said that these warlike preparations had been made against the rebels, that the garrison only comprised the local militia, and that no high official would be found nearer than Tientsin. In reply to a further demand, they were understood to promise that a sufficient passage for the English vessels would be made through the barriers in the course of a few days. On the occasion of a second visit the crowd became still more demonstrative, one man even drawing his sword on the interpreter ; but the most unequivocal token of hostility was the closing up of the narrow passages through the stakes instead of their being widened, as had been promised.

In face of these proceedings, which could hardly be considered equivocal, there remained no alternative save to obtain by force that which was denied to friendship. The garrison declared themselves to be only the local militia acting in behalf of what they held to be their own rights, and without any reference to Peking. There were reasons to doubt the correctness of this statement, but in the event of their defeat it simplified the position of Hienfung and his ministers. The latter could throw all the blame on the shoulders of the local officers, and deny their personal responsibility. There was, therefore, good reason to suppose that were a vigorous move made against the forts at the mouth of the river, the opposition of the Peking Government would be as easily overcome as that of its soldiers. The result, of course, depended on the success of the attack ; but no one anticipated that the forts would make a more effectual defence than they had the previous year, or that skill and enterprise would fail to obtain their usual rewards.

On the 25th of June, some preliminary matters having been arranged as to the disposal of the fleet, and as to how the marines and engineers told off to land were to be conveyed on shore, the attack on the forts began with the removal * of the iron stakes forming the outer barrier. This part of the operations was unopposed. A sufficient passage

* Performed by the *Opossum* steamer, which steamed up to them, fastened a hawser round each in turn, and then reversed engines.—Fisher.

was soon made, and the vessels proceeded towards the entrance of the river without a single shot having as yet been fired on the one side or the other. But when the ships reached and struck against the inner boom the forts immediately opened fire with a rapidity and precision which showed that the guns had been trained to bear on that very spot. Eleven vessels in all were engaged in the attack; four of these reached the inner boom and engaged the forts at comparatively close quarters. The severity of the fire was soon shown in the damaged condition of the ships. Two of the gun-boats were soon in a sinking state, and not one had escaped without severe injury. Many officers and men had been killed; and when, after a three hours' cannonade, the firing from the shore became less vigorous, either from want of ammunition or from loss of men, the English expedition had itself suffered too much to be able to take full advantage of the superiority which its artillery had demonstrated after so fierce a contest.

The doubtful fortune of the day might, it was hoped, be restored by an attack on land; and the marines and engineers, who had been sent from Hongkong, and who had been placed in junks, were brought up to attempt the capture of the forts by storm. The troops on landing had to cross for 500 yards a mud-bank, in which the men sank ankle deep; and as they were exposed all the time to a sustained and galling fire, they suffered considerable loss. Some of the marines, too, in their haste, rendered their guns useless by wetting their powder, or by jumping too quickly into the mud and getting them stuffed up with it. Before the attacking party reached the edge of the ditch it was clear that the chances were decidedly against a successful issue; the ladders and portable bridges had been all destroyed by the fire of the Chinese. An advance party got to within twenty yards of the works, but it could effect nothing. It was safely withdrawn under cover of the darkness, which very fortunately soon set in and shielded the retreat of the forlorn hope, and the Chinese were left in undisputed possession of the Taku forts and of the glory of the battle. The loss of three gun-boats, and of more than 300 men killed and wounded, was a very heavy

price to pay ; but the most serious of all the consequences of this disastrous attempt on the Taku forts consisted in its encouraging the Chinese to believe in their capacity to resist the English, and thus necessitated a fresh campaign. The engagement in the Fatshan channel had first shown Europeans of what a vigorous resistance Chinese troops were capable ; but the defence of the Taku forts produced a wider and more profound impression. It was no longer wise or possible to treat the Chinese as adversaries of an utterly contemptible character.

The effect of this success on Chinese policy proved hardly less than it was on foreign opinion. The Chinese Government had up to that point been swayed by opposite counsels. The party in favour of peace and the ratification of the Treaty was hardly less able or active than that which demanded if not war at least an unyielding attitude towards foreigners. At the very moment that the garrison of the Taku forts was making its resolute and successful stand against Admiral Hope the former had gained the upper hand, and were causing a house to be prepared at Peking for Mr. Bruce's use and reception. There is little doubt that had Admiral Hope's attack been successful the acts of the Chinese at the mouth of the Peiho would have been repudiated, and that the so-called peace party would have carried the day, much to their country's advantage. But if that was the probable result of an English success, the consequences of what happened were quite as unequivocally in favour of the war party. Sankolinsin, the Mongol prince who had first checked the Taeping rebels in their march on Tientsin, became the master of the situation, and declared that there was nothing to fear from an enemy who had been repulsed by the raw levies of Pechihli, while he held the flat country between Peking and the Peiho with the flower of the Tartar Banners. The mind is most easily influenced by the recent event, and the successful defence of the Taku forts obliterated all remembrance of previous defeat. The ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin at Peking became at once impossible, save at the point of the sword.*

* Mr. Bruce concluded his despatch home describing these events as

So distinct a repulse could not fail to be followed by a long delay in the resumption of military measures calculated to be decisive. Mr. Bruce returned to Shanghai, the land forces were sent back to Hongkong, and the vessels of the fleet were disposed so as to be of the best possible use in protecting the interests of English commerce. Beyond this nothing could be attempted until further instructions and reinforcements arrived from Europe. Nearly three months elapsed before the Cabinet in London had made up its mind as to the course it should pursue, but on the 26th of September, 1859, Lord John Russell wrote to say that military preparations had been authorized which would enable the objects of English policy to be obtained. While these preparations were in progress, and the new Cabinet of Lord Palmerston was somewhat reluctantly, if we are to judge from the delay, sanctioning the further employment of force, some events happened in China to show whither matters were tending.

The news of the victory at Taku was followed by a general ebullition of anti-foreign feeling in all the trading ports. At Shanghai a riot occurred, when an Englishman was killed, and Mr. Lay, an officer in the Chinese service, and several others, were wounded. The Russian minister, General Ignatieff, succeeded in reaching Peking by the land route long open to Russia from Kiachta, and in obtaining the ratification of the Russian Treaty; but the details of his reception showed that the treatment accorded to him was not of a kind that would have satisfied what the English held to be the requirements of the occasion. The American Minister, Mr. Ward, also proceeded to Peking, but not by the Peiho. The circumstances* of his visit would not have been held

follows:—"Whatever may be the ultimate decision of this Government with reference to the Treaty of Tientsin, I do not think that its provisions can be carried out until we recover our superiority in the eyes of the Chinese."

* The circumstances of this visit to Peking were described as follows in the *North China Herald* of August 22nd, 1859:—"The mission was limited to twenty persons and landed at Pehtang. During residence in the capital, the Americans were confined to their quarters, and not allowed the use of horses. They were refused audience unless they made the kowtow, and the exchange of the ratifications was effected not at Peking,

satisfactory by either Mr. Bruce or the British Government. As Mr. Wade stated, the Government and people of China will hold ambassadors received in this manner at precisely the same value as a Loochooan or Siamese envoy.

The length of time required for communication between England and China entailed a delay which the impossibility of conducting naval operations in the Gulf of Pechihli during the winter further extended. But a demand arrived from London requiring the amplest apology to be promptly made for the attack on the ships by the Taku forts, and that if this were not forthcoming a heavy indemnity would be demanded and obtained by force as compensation for the insult and injury. In November, 1859, a plan of joint action was proposed and agreed upon between the Governments of France and England. An armed expedition was to be sent to the China Sea, and the island of Chusan was to be again occupied as a base for further operations in the Gulf of Pechihli. It was hoped that the expedition would have assembled at its rendezvous by the middle of April, 1860, and that decisive operations would have been begun before the end of that month. An ultimatum, with thirty days' grace, was presented by Mr. Bruce on the 8th of March, embodying certain terms with which the strictest compliance was stated to be necessary.*

but at Pehtang. An Imperial Decree of the 9th of August draws an unfavourable comparison to the English between the conduct of Mr. Bruce and Mr. Ward."

* The objects of the English Government were described in the official despatch of Lord John Russell dated the third of January, 1860, which were detailed by Mr. Bruce in his proclamation as follows:—
"The Emperor of China made, in June, 1858, a treaty of peace with my sovereign, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The Emperor ordered, by special command, that this treaty should be signed by his ministers. It was provided and agreed to by the Emperor that the treaty should be ratified at Peking within a year. But when, in pursuance of the orders of the Queen my sovereign, I attempted to go by the ordinary route of the Peiho to Tientsin, with a view to travel with my retinue from the mouth of the Peiho to Peking, in the most friendly manner, I found the river blocked with stakes and rafts, and when the Queen's ships endeavoured to remove these obstacles they were fired upon, and many of the Queen's subjects were killed and wounded by the cannon of the Emperor of China. No notice had been given to me that

The troops which were to form the expedition were mainly drawn from India, and Sir Hope Grant,* who had not merely distinguished himself during the Mutiny, but who had served in the first English war with China during the operations round Canton, was appointed to the command of the army; while Admiral Hope, strongly reinforced in ships and with Admiral Jones appointed to assist him, retained the command of the naval forces. A force of five batteries of artillery, six regiments of infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, together with a body of horse and foot from the native army of India, amounting in all to about 10,000 men, was to be placed at the general's disposal in addition to the troops already in China. The French Government had agreed to send another army of about two-thirds this strength to co-operate on the Peiho, and General Montauban had been named to the command. The collection of this large expedition brought into prominence the necessity of employing as ambassador a diplomatist of higher rank than Mr. Bruce's; and accordingly in February Lord Elgin and Baron Gros were commissioned to again proceed to China for the purpose of securing the ratification of their own treaty. They were instructed to demand from the Chinese Government as compensation to both countries a sum equivalent to nearly five millions sterling.†

the way to Peking by this the ordinary passage was to be prohibited, although a year had gone by since the signature of the treaty. The Queen has ordered me to ask for an apology for this injury, and to demand the ratification of the treaty. The Queen has asked that the Emperor should fulfil his solemn promise. This has been refused. It has been refused, also, to the Queen's august ally, the Emperor of the French. We go to seek redress for these wrongs and to require that the word of the Emperor should be observed, and that an indemnity should be paid for the loss of men and the heavy expense of obtaining redress. We wish to continue the friendly relations of commerce and peaceable communications with the people of China. We wish to carry on the war only against armed men, and the advisers of the Emperor of China who urge him to war. Rely upon our disposition to respect your property and your families. Peace may thus continue between our nations, and the Emperor be forced to do justice."

* Sir William Mansfield was first named for the command; but the Duke of Cambridge very justly insisted that, by right both of seniority and active experience, the command was the due of Sir Hope Grant.

† 60,000,000 francs to each, or £4,800,000 in all.

The impossibility of obtaining these concessions in any other way than by force was clearly shown in the reply sent by the minister Pang Wanching to the ultimatum of the English representative. In this document all his demands were categorically refused. No indemnity would be paid, no apology given. If the English went to Pehtang they might perhaps be allowed to proceed to Peking; the route by Taku and the Peiho would never be open to them, and there was much more to the same effect expressed in language the reverse of courteous. To place their hostility in the most unequivocal light, the Grand Secretary Pang Wanching directed his reply to the Viceroy of the Two Kiang for transmission, thus openly ignoring that clause of the Tientsin Treaty which provided that there should be direct communication between the English representative and the ministers at the capital.

For a time the interest in the situation ceased to be diplomatic, and all attention centred in the military movements for curbing the pride of an arrogant Government. Sir Hope Grant reached Hongkong in March, and by his recommendation a stronger native contingent* was added, raising the English force in the field to more than 13,000 men. A lease, through the skilful negotiation of Mr. Parkes, was obtained in perpetuity, of Kowlun and Stonecutter island, where, from their salubrious position, it was proposed to place the troops on their arrival from India or England. Chusan was occupied the following month without opposition by an English brigade of 2000 men; but the effect produced by this move was practically none, and it may be doubted whether any end could be served by the temporary occupation of an island about the fate of which the Emperor cared nothing at all. The French commanders were opposed to it, and the views of the allies were already far from being completely in accord—the usual experience of all alliances.

The summer had commenced before the whole of the expedition assembled at Hongkong, whence it was moved

* One Sikh regiment, four Punjab regiments, two Bombay regiments, one Madras regiment of foot, and two irregular regiments of Sikh cavalry, known as Fane's and Probyn's Horse. Sir John Michel and Sir Robert Napier commanded divisions under Sir Hope Grant.

northwards to Shanghai about a year after the failure of the attack on the forts of the Peiho. A further delay was caused by the tardiness of the French, and July had begun before the expedition reached the Gulf of Pechihli. Then opposite opinions led to different suggestions, and while the English advocated proceeding to attack Pehtang, General Montauban drew up another plan of action. But the exigencies of the alliance compelled the English, who were ready, to wait for the French, who were not, in order that the assault might be made simultaneously. Before that time arrived the French commander had been brought round to the view that the proper plan of campaign was that suggested by the English commander; viz. to attack and capture Pehtang, whence the Taku forts might be taken in the rear. It is somewhat remarkable to observe that no one suggested a second time endeavouring to carry by a front attack these forts, which had in the interval since Admiral Hope's failure been rendered more formidable.

At Pehtang the Chinese had made few preparations for defence, and nothing of the same formidable character as at Taku. The forts on both sides of the river were neither extensive nor well armed. One contained thirteen guns, the other eleven. The garrison consisted largely of Tartar cavalry, more useful for watching the movements of the foreigners than for working artillery when exposed to the fire of the new Armstrong guns of the English. The attacking force landed in boats and by wading, Sir Hope Grant setting his men the example. No engagement took place on the night of disembarkation, and the advanced force slept on an elevated causeway bordered on both sides by the sea which had flooded a considerable extent of the country. When morning broke, a suspicious silence in the enemy's quarters strengthened the belief that Pehtang would not be defended; and Mr. Parkes, ever to the front when information was wanted, soon was able to confirm the impression. While the garrison had resolved not to resist an attack, they had contemplated causing their enemy as much loss as if he had been obliged to carry the place by storm, by placing shells in the magazine which would be exploded by the moving of

some gunlocks put in a spot where they could not fail to be trodden upon. This plot, which was thoroughly in accordance with the practices of Chinese warfare, was fortunately divulged by a native more humane than patriotic, and Pehtang was captured and occupied without the loss of a single man.

This success at the commencement enabled the whole of the expedition to be landed without further delay or difficulty; but Pehtang was itself an inadequate base for so large a military force. The great merit of the movement was that it avoided a direct attack by the Peiho. The inconveniences of Pehtang as a station were so great that no longer halt would be made there than was inevitable, and three days after its capture reconnoitring parties were sent out to ascertain what the Chinese were doing, and whether they had made any preparations to oppose an advance towards Taku or Tientsin. Four miles from Pehtang the scouts came in sight of a strongly-entrenched camp, when several thousand men opened fire upon the reconnoitring parties with their gingals, and a dozen Europeans were wounded. The object being only to find out what the Celestial army was doing, and where it was, the Europeans withdrew on reaching the proximity of so strong a force. The great difficulty was to discover a way of getting from Pehtang on to some of the main roads leading to the Peiho; for the whole of the surrounding country had been under water, and was more or less impassable. In fact, the region round Pehtang consisted of nothing but mud, while the one road, an elevated causeway, was blocked by the fortified camp just mentioned as having been discovered by the reconnoitring party. A subsequent reconnaissance conducted by Colonel Wolseley* revealed the existence of a cart-track which might prove available for troops.

This track was turned to advantage for the purpose of taking the Chinese position in flank, and to Sir Robert Napier's division was assigned this, as it proved, difficult

* Now Lord Wolseley, then Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-General to the Chinese Expedition, and the author of an excellent account of the campaign, published in 1862.

operation.* When the manœuvre of outflanking had been satisfactorily accomplished, the attack was commenced in front. Here the Chinese stood to their position, but only for a brief time, as the fire from eighteen guns, including some 40-pounders, soon silenced their gingals, and they precipitately abandoned their entrenchments. While the engagement in front had reached this favourable termination Sir Robert Napier had been engaged on the right hand with a strong body of Tartar cavalry, which attacked with considerable valour, and with what seemed a possibility of success, until the guns opening upon them and the Sikh cavalry charging, their momentary dream of victory was dispelled. The prize of this battle was the village of Sinho with its line of earthworks, one mile north of the Peiho, and about seven miles in the rear of the Taku forts.

The next day was occupied in examining the Chinese position and in discovering, what was more difficult than its capture, how it might be approached. It was found that the village, which formed a fortified square protected by batteries, could be best assailed by the river-bank, for the only obstacle in this quarter was that represented by the fire of the guns of two junks, supported by a battery on the opposite side of the river. These, however, were soon silenced by the superior fire directed upon them, and the guns were spiked by Captain Willis and a few sailors who crossed the river for the purpose. The flank of the advance being thus protected, the attack on Tangku itself began with a cannonade from thirty-six pieces of the best artillery of that age. The Chinese fire was soon rendered innocuous, and their walls

* Sir Hope Grant described the march as follows :—" We encountered great difficulty in dragging the artillery along. The horses got bogged, the guns sank up to their axletrees, and the waggons stuck fast. At last we were compelled to leave the waggon bodies behind us, and to content ourselves with the gun and waggon limbers. At one time I really thought we should be obliged to give up the attempt ; but Sir Robert Napier (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala) was full of energy ; the struggle was continued, and sound ground was reached." Mr. Robert Swinhoe, in his account of the North China Campaign, says : " It was a fearful trudge across that mud for the unfortunate troops. . . . The Punjaubees, finding their boots an impediment, preferred throwing them away, and, tucking up their trousers, pushed boldly on."

and forts were battered down. Even then, however, the garrison gave no signs of retreat, and it was not until the Armstrongs had been dragged to within a very short distance of the walls, and the foot-soldiers had absolutely effected an entrance, that the garrison thought of their personal safety and turned in flight.*

Some days before the battle and capture of Tangku, Lord Elgin had received several communications from Hang, the Governor-General of Pechihli, requesting a cessation of hostilities, and announcing the approach of two Imperial Commissioners appointed for the express purpose of ratifying the Treaty of Tientsin. But Lord Elgin very wisely perceived that it would be impossible to negotiate on fair terms unless the Taku forts were in his possession; and with the view of being in a position to discuss affairs with the Chinese at as early a date as possible, he wrote to Sir Hope Grant expressing his wish that there might be no unnecessary delay in reducing those forts, and in thus opening the way to Tientsin. The capture of Tangku placed the allied forces in the rear of the northern forts on the Peiho; and those forts once occupied, the others on the southern side would be practically untenable and obliged to surrender at discretion.

Several days were passed in preliminary observations and skirmishing. On the one side the whole of the Tartar cavalry was removed to the southern bank; on the other,

* Colonel Fisher gives a very graphic description of the attack on Tangku in his "Narrative of Three Years' Service in China." During the night preceding the attack Colonel Mann and he, with a party of engineers, constructed a trench at 500 paces from the wall—an operation which contributed not a little to the easy success on the following day. The following description of how the Chinese fought at a great disadvantage will be interesting:—"The Tartars really for a time fought nobly. I saw one man, stripped to his loins, fighting his gun single-handed after every bit of parapet near him had been knocked away and our shot was crashing in all around him. . . . Having seen that one brave man, the survivor of all the gun detachment, working his gun alone, loading and firing among the corpses of his fellows, with no one near to applaud him nor witness his fall, working away, whatever his motive might be, until he fell like his comrades, I could not but picture to myself in all those grim groups of eight or ten perhaps at a gun, how one by one they had fallen and yet the survivors disdained to fly."

a bridge of boats was thrown across the Peiho, and the approach to the northern fort carefully examined up to 600 yards from the wall. At this point again the views of the allied generals clashed. General Montauban wished to attack the southern forts. Sir Hope Grant was determined to begin by carrying the northern. The result furnished the most expressive commentary on the respective merits of the two plans. The attack * on the northern fort commenced on the morning of the 21st of August with a heavy cannonade; the Chinese, anticipating the plans of the English, were the first to fire. The Chinese fought their guns with extraordinary courage. A shell exploded their principal magazine, which blew up with a terrible report; but as soon as the smoke cleared off they recommenced their fire with fresh ardour. Although this fort, like the others, had not been constructed with the same strength in the rear as in the front, the resistance was most vigorous. A premature attempt to throw a pontoon across the ditch was defeated with the loss of sixteen men. The Coolie Corps here came to the front, and, rushing into the water, held up the pontoons while the French and some English troops dashed across. But all their efforts to scale the wall were baffled, and it seemed as if they had only gone to self-destruction. While the battle was thus doubtfully contested, Major Anson, who had shown the greatest intrepidity on several occasions, succeeded in cutting the ropes that held up a draw-bridge, and an entrance was soon effected within the body of the works. The Chinese still resisted nobly, and it was computed that out of a garrison of 500 men but 100 escaped.†

There still remained four more forts on the northern side of the river, and it seemed as if these would offer further resistance, as the garrisons uttered threats of defiance to a

* A division of 2500 English troops was alone engaged. Eleven heavy or siege guns, four batteries, and one rocket battery were employed in the cannonade. The French force consisted of 400 infantry and two field batteries.

† The English loss was 22 killed and 179, including 21 officers, wounded. Lord Napier of Magdala was hit in five places without being actually wounded. To these figures must be added the French loss.

summons to surrender. But appearances were deceptive, and for the good reason that all of these forts were only protected in the rear by a slight wall. The French rushed impetuously to the attack, only to find that the garrison had given up the defence, while a large number had actually retired. Two thousand prisoners* were made, and evidently no further resistance would be attempted. The fall of the forts on the northern bank was followed by an immediate summons to those on the southern to surrender; and as they were commanded by the guns in the former, they yielded with as good a grace as they could muster. The following day formal occupation was made, and the spoil included more than 600 cannon of various sizes and degrees of efficiency. On that day also the fleet, which had during these operations been riding at anchor off the mouth of the river, proceeded across the bar, removed the different obstacles that had been intended to hinder its approach, and Admiral Hope anchored in security off those very forts which had repulsed him in the previous year, and which would in all probability have continued to defy any direct attack from the sea. Let it not be said, therefore, that Sir Hope Grant's capture of the Taku forts reflected in any way on the courage or capacity of Admiral Hope for the failure in 1859. If it bore in any way on the earlier event, it went to show that the Chinese were capable of a skilful as well as a valiant defence.†

* Mr. Loch, in his "Narrative of Events in China," says: "In the inside there were upwards of two thousand men seated on the ground; they neither moved nor spoke as we approached. They had thrown away their arms and divested themselves of all uniform or distinctive badge that could distinguish them as being soldiers."

† It should be stated that after the capture of the northern forts Mr. Parkes, Mr. Loch, Major Anson, and three French officers crossed the river with a flag of truce, carried on the spear of a Sikh trooper, in order to arrange for the giving up of the southern forts. The undertaking was one of extreme danger and difficulty. The mandarins refused to make any sign, and as the small party passed below the walls of the forts they could see the gunners with their lighted matches through the embrasures. They made their way, however, unmolested to Hang's yamen at Taku, where the surrender of the other forts was soon agreed upon as the only way to obtain the cessation of hostilities. For a graphic description of the scene with Viceroy Hang, see Mr. (now Lord) Loch's narrative already mentioned.

By this decisive success, which fully justified the foresight of the English general, the road to Tientsin was opened both by land and by the river. The fleet of gun-boats, which had participated as far as they could without incurring any undue danger in the attack on the forts, was ordered up the Peiho ; and the English ambassador, escorted by a strong naval and military force, proceeded to Tientsin, where it would be possible, without any loss of dignity, to resume negotiations with the Peking Government, whose excessive pride made it seem false, but whose weakness had now been rendered painfully apparent. Up to this point the Chinese had never been altogether sincere in their peace overtures. They had not abandoned the hope of victory even when the large foreign army landed at Pehtang. The defeat at Sinho had somewhat shaken their confidence ; but while the forts at the mouth of Peiho remained untaken the situation was not regarded as desperate. Papers found in the general's quarters at Sinho showed that, while Hang was expressing his own and his master's desire for peace, the military officers were requested to lose no occasion of achieving a military success. The one thing that was clear at Peking was that only victory could save the national honour and avert the necessity of making those further concessions to foreigners which were incompatible with the dignified position claimed by the Emperor. The hope that Heaven might intervene in favour of the Celestial dynasty was never abandoned until Peking itself had been reached ; but after the capture of the Peiho forts it became clear that some terms must for the moment be arranged with the English, if only as a means of gaining time for the arrival of Sankolinsin's last levies from Mongolia.

The advanced gun-boats arrived at Tientsin on the 23rd of August, and three days later the greater portion of the expedition had entered that city. No resistance was attempted, although several batteries and entrenched camps were passed on the way. Precautions were at once taken to make the position of the troops as secure as possible in the midst of a very large and presumably hostile population. The people showed, according to the ideas of Europe, an

extraordinary want of patriotic fervour, and were soon engaged, on the most amicable terms, in conducting a brisk trade with the invaders of their country ; but there was never any doubt that on the first sign of a reverse they would have turned upon the foreign troops, and completed by all the means in their power their discomfiture. Several communications passed between the opposite camps during these days ; and when Hang announced the withdrawal of all Chinese troops from Tientsin he expressed a wish that the English ambassador would not bring many vessels of war with him. But such requests were made more with the desire to save appearances than from any hope that they would be granted. The reality of their fears, and of their consequent desire to negotiate, was best shown by the appointment of Kweiliang, who had arranged the Treaty of Tientsin, as High Commissioner to provide for the necessary ceremonies in connection with its ratification.

Kweiliang apparently possessed powers of the most extensive character ; and he hastened to inform Lord Elgin, who had taken up his residence in a beautiful yamen in Tientsin, that he had received the Emperor's authority to discuss and decide everything. In response to this notification the reply was sent that the three conditions of peace were an apology for the attack on the English flag at the Peiho, the payment of an indemnity, including the costs of the war, and, thirdly, the ratification and execution of the Treaty of Tientsin, including, of course, the reception at Peking of the representative of the Queen of England on honourable terms adequate to the dignity of that great sovereign. To none of these was Kweiliang himself disposed to raise any objection. Only in connection with the details of the last-named point was there likely that any difference of opinion would arise ; and that difference of opinion speedily revealed itself when it became known that the English insisted on the advance of their army to the town of Tungchow, only twelve miles distant from the walls of Peking. To the Chinese ministers this simple precaution seemed like exacting the extreme rights of the conqueror, before, too, the act of conquest had been consummated ; for already fresh troops were arriving

from Mongolia and Manchuria, and the valour of Sankolinsin was beginning to revive.

That the Chinese Government had under the hard taskmaster, necessity, made great progress in its views on foreign matters was not to be denied, but somehow or other its movements always lagged behind the requirements of the hour, and the demands of the English were again ahead of what it was disposed to yield. Hienfung had at last been brought 'low enough to acquiesce in the reception of the English plenipotentiary in Peking itself. No doubt both he and his ministers had anticipated being able to cover their retreat and discomfiture by a success snatched from the foreigners over some point of etiquette ; but such hopes were rudely dispelled by the announcement that the English ambassador would not proceed to Peking unless he were supported by the presence of that formidable army which had pierced the most efficient defences of the Empire and scattered the braves of Sankolinsin in mortal fray.

If the Chinese Government had promptly accepted the inevitable, and if Kweiliang had negotiated with as much decision as he pretended to be his mission, peace might have been concluded and the Chinese saved some further ignominy. But it soon became clear* that all the Chinese were thinking about was to gain time, and as the months available for active campaigning were rapidly disappearing it was imperative that not the least delay should be sanctioned. On the 8th of September Lord Elgin and Sir Hope Grant left Tientsin with an advanced force of about 1500 men ; and marching by the high-road, reached the pretty village of Hosiwu, half-way between that town and the capital. A few days later this force was increased by the remainder of one division, while to Sir Robert Napier was left the task of guarding with the other Tientsin and the communications with the sea.

At Hosiwu negotiations were resumed by a nephew † of

* As the result of an interview between Messrs. Wade and Parkes on the one side and Hangki and ultimately Kweiliang also on the other. It was then discovered that the Commissioners had no express authority, and that consequently everything would have to be referred to the Emperor at Peking. See Blue Book, pp. 156-8.

† Tsai, Prince of I.

the Emperor, who declared that he had received authority to conclude all arrangements ; but he was curtly informed that no treaty could be concluded save at Tungchow, and the army resumed its advance beyond Hosiwu. The march was continued without molestation to a point beyond the village of Matow, but when Sir Hope Grant approached a place called Chan-chia-wan he found himself in presence of a large army. This was the first sign of any resolve to offer military opposition to the invaders since the capture of the Taku forts, and it came to a great extent in the manner of a surprise, for by a special agreement with Mr. Parkes the settlement of the difficulty was to be concluded at Chan-chia-wan in an amicable manner. Instead, however, of the Emperor's delegates, the English commander found Sankolinsin and the latest troops drawn from Peking and beyond the Wall occupying in battle array the very ground which had been assigned for the English encampment.

The day before the English commander perceived that he was in face of a strong force Mr. Parkes and some other officers and civilians* had been sent ahead with an escort of Sikh cavalry to arrange the final preliminaries with the Imperial Commissioners at Tungchow, both as to where the camp was to be pitched and also as to the interviews between the respective plenipotentiaries of the opposing Powers. This party proceeded to Tungchow without encountering any opposition or perceiving any exceptional military precautions. Troops were indeed observed at several points, and officers in command of pickets demanded the nature of their business and where they were going, but the reply "To the Commissioners" at once satisfied all inquiries and opened every barrier. The one incident that happened was of happy augury

* The party consisted, besides Mr. Parkes, of Mr. Henry Loch, Mr. De Normann, and Mr. Bowlby, the Special Correspondent of the *Times*. The escort was composed of six English dragoons and twenty sowars of Fane's Horse under the command of Lieutenant Anderson. Colonel Walker and Mr. Thompson, of the Commissariat, also accompanied the party for a portion of the way (Loch's narrative). They were subsequently joined on their return by the French commissioner, Comte d'Escayrac de Lauture, who prepared an exhaustive memoir on the condition of the Chinese Empire, in six volumes.

for a satisfactory issue* if the result went to prove the fallaciousness of human expectations.

A change had in the meanwhile come over the minds of the Imperial Commissioners, whether in accordance with the working of a deep and long-arranged policy, or from the confidence created by the sight of the numerous warriors drawn from the cradle of the Manchu race for the defence of the capital and dynasty, can never be ascertained with any degree of certainty. Their tone suddenly assumed greater boldness and arrogance. To some of the Englishmen it appeared "almost offensive," and it was only after five hours' discussion between Mr. Parkes and the Commissioners at Tungchow that some sign was given of a more yielding disposition. The final arrangements were hastily concluded in the evening of the 17th of September for the arrival of the troops at the proposed camping-ground on the morrow, and for the interview that was to follow as soon afterwards as possible. While Mr. Parkes and some of his companions were to ride forward in the morning to apprise Sir Hope Grant of what had been agreed upon, and to point out the site for his camp, the others were to remain in Tungchow with the greater part of the Sikh escort.†

On their return towards the advancing English army in the early morning of the following day, Mr. Parkes and his party met with frequent signs of military movement in the country between Tungchow and Chan-chia-wan. Large bodies of infantry and ginal-men were seen marching from all quarters to the town. At Chan-chia-wan itself still more emphatic tokens were visible of a coming battle. Cavalry were drawn up in dense bodies, but under shelter. In a nullah one regiment of a thousand sabres was stationed with the men standing at their horses' heads ready for instant

* "A party of mandarins galloped up to us; one of them, evidently a man of high rank, asked which was Mr. Parkes. On his being told, he mentioned that he was the general who had commanded at the battle of Sinho. He said, 'It will be peace now, and I shall be glad to take by the hand those who fought me that day.'"—Loch's narrative.

† Mr. Parkes, Colonel Walker, Mr. Loch, Mr. Thompson, the Dragoons and three Sikhs formed the first party. De Normann, Bowlby, and Anderson remained at Tungchow with seventeen Sikhs.

action. At another point a number of men were busily engaged in constructing a battery, and in placing twelve guns in position. When the Englishmen gained the plain they found the proposed site of the English camp in the actual possession of a Chinese army, and a strong force of Tartar cavalry, alone reckoned to number six or seven thousand men, scouring the country. To all inquiries as to what these warlike arrangements betokened no reply was made by the soldiers, and when the whereabouts of the responsible general was asked there came the stereotyped answer that "he was many li away."

To the most obtuse mind these arrangements could convey but one meaning. They indicated that the Chinese Government had resolved to make another endeavour to avert the concessions demanded from them by the English and their allies, and to appeal once more to the God of Battles ere they accepted the inevitable. The first attitude of the Imperial Commissioners the day before had represented the true promptings of their hearts, and the subsequent change must be attributed to the desire to obtain a few more hours' grace for the completion of Sankolinsin's plans. When the whole truth flashed across the mind of Mr. Parkes, the army of Sir Hope Grant might be, and indeed was, marching into the trap prepared for it, with such military precautions indeed as a wise general never neglected, but still wholly unprepared for the extensive and well-arranged opposition planned for its reception by a numerous army established in a strong position of its own choosing. It became, therefore, a matter of the greatest importance to communicate the actual state of affairs to him, and to place at his disposal the invaluable information which the Englishmen returning from Tungchow had in their possession. But Mr. Parkes had still more to do. It was his duty to bring before the Chinese Imperial Commissioners at the earliest possible moment the knowledge of this flagrant breach of the convention he had concluded the day before, to demand an explanation, and to point out the grave consequences that must ensue from such treacherous hostility. In that supreme moment, as he had done on the many other critical occasions

of his career in China—at Canton and Taku in particular—the one thought in the mind of Mr. Parkes was how best to perform his duty. He did not forget also that, while he was almost in a place of safety near the limits of the Chinese pickets, and not far distant from the advancing columns of Sir Hope Grant, there were other Englishmen in his rear possibly in imminent peril of their lives amid the Celestials at Tungchow.

Mr. Parkes rode back, therefore, to that town, and with him went one English dragoon, named Phipps, and one Sikh sowar carrying a flag of truce on his spear-point. We must leave them for the moment to follow the movements of the others. To Mr. Loch was entrusted the task of communicating with Sir Hope Grant ; while the remainder of the party were to remain stationary, in order to show the Chinese that they did not suspect anything, and that they were full of confidence. Mr. Loch, accompanied by two Sikhs, rode at a hard canter away from the Chinese lines. He passed through one body of Tartar cavalry without opposition, and reached the advanced guard of the English force in safety. To tell his news was but the work of a minute. It confirmed the suspicions which General Grant had begun to feel at the movements of some bodies of cavalry on the flanks of his line of march. Mr. Loch had performed his share of the arrangement. He had warned Sir Hope Grant. But to the chivalrous mind duty is but half performed if aid is withheld from those engaged in fulfilling theirs. What he had done had proved unexpectedly easy ; it remained for him to assist those whose share was more arduous and perilous. So Mr. Loch rode back to the Chinese lines, Captain Brabazon insisting on following him, again accompanied by two Sikhs,* but not the same who had ridden with him before. Sir Hope

* Sowars of Probyn's Horse. One was named Nal-sing, "for whom I shall always entertain an affectionate recollection" (Loch). Mr. Loch is the present Lord Loch. Captain Brabazon did not go, it should be stated, without an object, as the following extract from Sir Hope Grant's journal, edited by Captain Henry Knollys, will show :—"At first I refused this latter request, but Brigadier Crofton, commanding the Royal Artillery, pointed out how valuable would be the knowledge of the ground thus obtained, and I regret to say I yielded."—P. 109.

Grant had given him the assurance that unless absolutely forced to engage he would postpone the action for two hours.

This small party of four men rode without hesitation, and at a rapid pace, through the skirmishers of the Chinese army. The rapidity of their movements disconcerted the Chinese, who allowed them to pass without opposition and almost without notice. They rode through the streets of Chanchia-wan without meeting with any molestation, although they were crowded with the mustering men of the Imperial army. They gained Tungchow without let or hindrance, after having passed through probably not less than thirty thousand men about to do battle with the long hated and now feared foreigners. It may have been, as suggested, that they owed their safety to a belief that they were the bearers of their army's surrender! Arrived at Tungchow, Mr. Loch found the Sikh escort at the temple outside the gates unaware of any danger—all the Englishmen being absent in town, where they were shopping—and a letter left by Mr. Parkes warning them on return to prepare for instant flight, and saying he was off in search of Prince Tsai. In that search he was at last successful. He found the High Commissioner, he asked the meaning of the change that had taken place, and was told in curt and defiant tones that "there could be no peace, there must be war."

The last chance of averting hostilities was thus shown to be in vain. Prince Tsai endorsed the action of Sankolinsin. Mr. Parkes had only the personal satisfaction of knowing that he had done everything he could to prove that the English did not wish to press their military superiority over an antagonist whose knowledge of war was slight and out of date. He had done this at the greatest personal peril. It only remained to secure his own safety and that of his companions. By this time the whole party of Englishmen had re-assembled in the temple; and Mr. Loch, anxious for Mr. Parkes, had gone into the city and met him galloping away from the yamen of the Commissioner. There was no longer reason for delay. Not an Englishman had yet been touched, but between this small band and safety lay the road back through the ranks of Sankolinsin's warriors. From Tungchow

to the advanced post of Sir Hope Grant's army was a ten-mile ride; and most of the two hours' grace had already expired. Could it be done?

By this time most of the Chinese troops had reached Chan-chia-wan, where they had been drawn up in battle array among the maize-fields and in the nullahs as already described. From Tungchow to that place the country was almost deserted; and the fugitives proceeded at "a sharp canter" and unmolested along the road till they reached that town. The streets were crowded partly with armed citizens and peasants, but chiefly with panic-stricken householders; and by this time the horses were blown, and some of them almost exhausted. Through this crowd the seven Englishmen and twenty Sikhs walked their horses, and met not the least opposition. They reached the eastern side without insult or injury, passed through the gates, and descending the declivity found themselves in the rear of the whole Chinese army. The dangers through which they had passed were as nothing compared with those they had now to encounter. A shell burst in the air at this moment, followed by the discharge of the batteries on both sides. The battle had begun. The promised two hours had expired. The fugitives were some ten minutes too late.

The position of this small band in the midst of an Asiatic army actually engaged in mortal combat with their kinsmen may be better imagined than described. They were riding down the road which passed through the centre of the Chinese position, and the banks on each side of them were lined with the matchlock-men among whom the shells of the English guns were already bursting. Parties of cavalry were not wanting here, but out in the plain where the Tartar horsemen swarmed in thousands the greatest danger of all awaited the Europeans. Their movements were slow, painfully slow, and the progress was delayed by the necessity of waiting for those who were the worse mounted.* In the accumulation of difficulties that stared them in the face not the least seemed to be that they were advancing in the teeth of their own

* Principally De Normann and Bowlby. But they were "all in the same boat, and, like Englishmen, would sink or swim together."

countrymen's fire, which was growing fiercer every minute. In this critical moment men turned to Mr. Parkes, and Captain Brabazon expressed the belief of those present in a cool brave man in arduous extremity when he cried out, "I vote Parkes decides what is to be done."

To follow the main road seemed to be certain destruction and death without the power of resisting ; for even assuming that some of them could have cut their way through the Tartar cavalry, and escaped from the English shell, they could scarcely have avoided being shot down by the long lines of matchlock-men who were ready to fire on them the instant they saw their backs. There was only one possible avenue of escape, and that was to gain the right flank of the army, and endeavour to make their way by a detour round to the English lines. Assuredly this was not a very promising mode of escape, but it seemed to have the greatest chances of success, if, indeed, it was not the only one feasible. But when the Chinese troops, who had up to this regarded their movements without interfering, saw this change in their course, they at once took measures to stop it. A military mandarin said if they persisted in their attempt they would be treated as enemies and fired upon ; but that he was willing to respect their flag of truce, and that if they would accompany him to the general's presence he would obtain a safe conduct for them. The offer was accepted, partly no doubt because it could not be refused, but still also on its own merits. Safe conducts during the heat of battle, even with civilized European peoples, are, however, not such easy things either to grant or to carry out.

Mr. Parkes accepted his offer, therefore, and he, Mr. Loch, and the Sikh trooper Nalsing, bearing a flag of truce, rode off with the mandarin in search of the general, while the five other Europeans and the Sikh escort remained on the road awaiting their return. They proceeded to the left, where it was understood that Sankolinsin commanded in person. They met with some adventures even on this short journey. Coming suddenly upon a large body of infantry, they were almost pulled from their horses, and would have been killed but for the mandarin rushing between them and shouting to the men

"not to fire." A short distance beyond this they halted, when the approach of Sankolinsin was announced by loud shouts of his name from the soldiery. Mr. Parkes at once addressed him, saying that they had come under a flag of truce, and that they wished to regain their army. The Chinese commander replied to his remarks on the usages of war in true Tartar fashion—with laughter and abuse. The soldiers pressed round the unfortunate Englishmen and placed their matchlocks against their bodies. Escape was hopeless, and death seemed inevitable. But insult was more the object of the Mongol general than their death. They were dragged before him and forced to press the ground with their heads at the feet of Sankolinsin.* They were subjected to numerous other indignities, and at last, when it became evident that the battle was going against the Chinese, they were placed in one of the country carts and sent off to Pekin. While Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch were thus ill-used, their comrades waiting on the road had fared no better. Shortly after their departure the Chinese soldiers began to hustle and jeer at the Englishmen and their native escort, and as the firing increased and some of the Chinese were hit, they grew more violent. When the news was received of what had happened to Mr. Parkes, and of how Sankolinsin had laughed to scorn their claim to protection, the soldiers could no longer be restrained. The Englishmen and the natives were dragged from their horses, cruelly bound, and hurried to the rear, whence they followed at no great distance their companions in misfortune.

While the greater portion of these events had been in progress, Colonel Walker, Mr. Thompson, and the men of the King's Dragoon Guards, had been steadily pacing up and down on the embankment as arranged, in order to show the Chinese that they suspected no treachery and had no fears. They continued doing this until a French officer

* Some of the Chinese officers did not share Sankolinsin's views. After this incident the prisoners were for a time placed in the tent of the second general in command, who treated them with civility, and told Mr. Parkes that "he deplored the failure of negotiations which, he said, the Chinese army had hoped would have brought the war to a happy conclusion."—Loch.

joined them, but on his getting into a dispute with some of the Chinese about his mule, he drew his pistol and fired it at them. He was immediately killed. There was then no longer the least hope of restraining the Chinese, so the whole of the party spurred their horses and escaped to the English army under a heavy but ineffectual fire from matchlocks and gingals.* It will be understood that this party was never in the same perilous position as the others. It had remained at the advanced post of the Chinese army, and when the disturbance came it was only a short gallop to a place of safety. But their flight was the signal for the commencement of the battle, although at that very moment, had they only known it, the chief party of Englishmen had gained the road east of Chan-chia-wan, and, if the battle had only been delayed a quarter of an hour, they might all have escaped.

But the two hours of grace were up, and Sir Hope Grant saw no further use in delay. General Montauban was still more impatient, and the men were eager to engage. They had to win their camping ground that night, and the day was already far advanced. The French occupied the right wing, that is the position opposite the spot where we have seen Sankolinsin commanding in person, and a squadron of Fane's Horse had been lent them to supply their want of cavalry. The battle began with the fire of their batteries, which galled the Chinese so much that the Tartar cavalry were ordered up to charge the guns, and right gallantly they did so. A battery was almost in their hands, its officers had to use their revolvers, when the Sikhs and a few French dragoons, led by Colonel Foley,† the English Commissioner with the French force, gallantly charged them in turn, and compelled them to withdraw. Neither side derived much advantage from this portion of the contest, but the repulse of the Tartar cavalry enabled the French guns to renew their fire with much effect on the line of Chinese infantry.

* Colonel Walker was wounded in the hand, Mr. Thompson in the back, and one of the dragoons in the leg. Sir Hope Grant speaks of there being one sowar and four dragoons only.

† The late General the Hon. Sir St. George Foley, K.C.B.

While the French were thus engaged on the right, the English troops had begun a vigorous attack from both their centre and left. The Chinese appeared in such dense masses, and maintained so vigorous, but fortunately so ill-directed a fire, that the English force made but little progress at either point. The action might have been indefinitely prolonged and left undecided, had not Sir Hope Grant suddenly resolved to reinforce his left with a portion of his centre, and to assail the enemy's right vigorously. This later part of the battle began with a charge of some squadrons of Probyn's Horse against the bodies of mounted Tartars moving in the plain, whom they, with their gallant leader * at their head, routed in the sight of the two armies. This overthrow of their chosen fighting-men greatly discouraged the rest of the Chinese soldiers, and when the infantry advanced with the Sikhs in front they slowly began to give ground. But even then there were none of the usual symptoms of a decisive victory. The French were so exhausted by their efforts that they had been compelled to halt, and General Montauban was obliged to curb his natural impetuosity, and to admit that he could take no part in the final attack on Chan-chia-wan. Sir Hope Grant, however, pressed on and occupied the town. He did not call in his men until they had seized without resistance a large camp about one mile west of the town, where they captured several guns. Thus ended the battle of Chan-chia-wan with the defeat and retreat of the strong army which Sankolinsin had raised in order to drive the barbarians into the sea, and which, as English witnesses stated, had occupied in the morning a position of very considerable strength in front of that town.

Although the battle was won, Sir Hope Grant, measuring the resistance with the eye of an experienced soldier, came to the conclusion that his force was not sufficiently strong to overawe so obstinate a foe; and accordingly ordered Sir Robert Napier to join him with as many troops as he could spare from the Tientsin garrison. Having thus provided for the arrival of reinforcements at an early date, he was willing to resume his onward march for Tungchow, where

* Colonel Probyn, the present General Sir Dighton Probyn.

it was hoped some tidings would be obtained of the missing officers and men. Two days intervened before any decisive move was made, but Mr. Wade was sent under a flag of truce into Tungchow to collect information. But he failed to learn anything more about Mr. Parkes, than that he had quitted the town in safety after his final interview with Prince Tsai. Lord Elgin now hastened up from Hosiwu to join the military head-quarters, and on the 21st of September, the French having been joined by another brigade, offensive operations were re-commenced. The delay had encouraged the Chinese to make another stand, and they had collected in considerable force for the defence of the Palikao bridge, which affords the means of crossing the Peiho west of Tungchow.

Here again the battle commenced with a cavalry charge which, despite an accident * that might have had more serious results, was completely successful. This achievement was followed up by the attack on several fortified positions which were not defended with any great amount of resolution, and while these matters were in progress on the side where the English were engaged, the French had carried the bridge with its twenty-five guns in position in very gallant style.† The capture of this bridge and the dispersion of the troops, including the Imperial Guard, which had been entrusted with its defence, completed the discomfiture of the Chinese. Peking itself lay almost at the mercy of the invader, and, unless diplomacy could succeed better than arms, nothing would now prevent the hated foreigners violating its privacy not

* "The King's Dragoon Guards and Fane's Horse, with Probyn's regiment in support, now advanced to the charge; the first-named taking a bank and ditch on their way, and attacking the Tartars with the utmost vigour, instantly made them give way. Fane's men followed them in pursuit, and on reaching the margin of a road jumped into it over an interposing high bank and ditch. The first rank cleared it well; but the men in the rear, unable to see before them owing to the excessive dust, almost all rolled into the ditch. Nevertheless, the Tartars had but a poor chance, and suffered severely."—Sir Hope Grant's narrative.

† This success gave General Montauban his title of Comte de Palikao. Although a dashing soldier, he was not a skilful general. His advice in China was generally none of the most prudent, and in the Franco-Prussian war he was one of the earliest and most conspicuous failures.

merely with their presence, but in the most unpalatable guise of armed victors.

The day after the battle at the Palikao bridge came a letter from Prince Kung,* the Emperor's next brother, stating that Prince Tsai and his colleagues had not managed matters satisfactorily, and that he had been appointed with plenipotentiary powers for the discussion and decision of the peace question. But the prince went on to request a temporary suspension of hostilities—a demand with which no general or ambassador could have complied so long as officers were detained who had been seized in violation of the usages of war. Lord Elgin replied in the clearest terms that there could be no negotiations for peace until these prisoners were restored, and that if they were not sent back in safety the consequences would be most serious for the Chinese Government. But even at this supreme moment of doubt and danger, the subtlety of Chinese diplomacy would have free play. Prince Kung was young in years and experience, his finesse would have done credit to a grey-haired statesman. Unfortunately for him the question had got beyond the stage of discussion: the English ambassador had stated the one condition on which negotiations would be renewed, and until that had been complied with there was no need to give ear to the threats, promises, and entreaties even of Prince Kung.

Of course the Chinese diplomatist argued that the surrender of the prisoners would be one of the conditions of peace, and he had even the amazing temerity to ask that the English should withdraw their fleet from Taku. But he could not have expected to succeed in these efforts. He was only sounding the depths of English good temper and simplicity. But all his artifice failed in face of the simple sentence, "You must surrender Mr. Parkes and his companions." As the Prince gave no sign of yielding this point during the week's delay in bringing up the second division

* In 1859 he had been mentioned as being with Prince Hwuy, Hien-fung's uncle, and another Manchu official, members of a board for managing the affairs of the barbarians. He had also taken part in the trial of Keying in 1858.

from Tientsin, Lord Elgin requested Sir Hope Grant to resume his march on Pekin, from which the advanced guard of the allied forces was distant little more than ten miles. The cavalry had reconnoitred almost up to the gates, and had returned with the report that the walls were strong and in good condition.* The danger to a small army of attempting to occupy a great city of the size and population of Pekin is almost obvious; and, moreover, the consistent policy of the English authorities had been to cause the Chinese people as little injury and suffering as possible. Should an attack on the city become unavoidable, it was decided, after the usual differences of opinion between the two commanders, that the point attacked should be the Tartar quarter, including the Palace, which occupies the northern half of the city. By this time it had become known that Parkes and Loch were living, that they were confined in the Kaou Meaou Temple, near the Tehshun Gate, and that latterly they had been fairly well treated. Communications had been received from them, and they had succeeded in baffling the designs of their captors, who wished to make their fears the means of contributing towards the attainment of the ends of Chinese diplomacy.

In execution of the plan of attack that had been agreed upon, the allied forces marched round Pekin to the north-west corner of the walls, having as their object the Summer Palace of the Emperor at Yuen Min Yuen, not quite four miles distant from the city. No enemy was encountered; the only difficulty that presented itself to the advance was from the number of brick-fields and houses, which rendered

* Every one was greatly impressed by the size and good condition of the walls of Pekin. Mr. Loch describes them as follows:—"The main wall of the city is almost sixty feet in height, the thickness at the top about fifty. The breadth at the base cannot be less than seventy to eighty feet; the height of the inner part of the wall above the city is in places from forty to fifty feet. There is a large building above the gate, which is used partly as a barrack and store. In some of the embrasures in this upper building wooden guns are mounted. The thickness of the semicircular wall is not so great as the main one, although very considerable. I doubt whether, if all our siege guns had fired at it for a week, they could have effected any practicable breach in a work of such solid construction."

marching very slow. Not only were the movements of the troops slow, but they proved to be very uncertain ; for, whether by accident or design, the French force, which should have followed the English, got separated from it, and reached the Summer Palace first. When Sir Hope Grant arrived at that place he found it in General Montauban's possession. The peculiar feature in this event was that while the French had formed the rear, and were supposed to have missed their way, they arrived the first at the common destination. Scarcely any resistance had been made by the Imperial Guards, and the French troops were encamped in the spacious park which surrendered the central palace.*

On the approach of the foreign army, Hienfung fled in terror from his palace, and sought shelter at Jehol,† the hunting residence of the Emperors beyond the Wall. His flight was most precipitate ; and the treasures of the Summer Palace were left at the mercy of the Western spoilers. The French soldiers had made the most of their start, and left comparatively little for their English comrades, who, moreover, were restrained by the bonds of a stricter discipline. But the amount of prize property that remained was still considerable, and, by agreement between the two generals, it was divided in equal shares between the armies. The capture and occupation of the Summer Palace completed the European triumph, and obliged Prince Kung to promptly acquiesce in Lord Elgin's demand for the immediate surrender of the prisoners if he wished to avoid the far greater calamity of a foreign occupation of the Tartar quarter of Peking and the appropriation of its vaster and rarer collection of treasures.

* Sir Hope Grant wrote : " In different parts of the grounds were forty separate small palaces in beautiful situations. The park was carefully kept, the foot-paths and roads clean and in excellent order, and there were various pretty pieces of ornamental water. We found that the French had encamped near the entrance of the Great Audience Hall, and it was pitiful to see the way in which everything was being robbed."

† Jehol had been the favourite residence and hunting-place of the earlier Emperors ; but in consequence of the death of Kiaking there it had fallen into disfavour, as it was esteemed a great misfortune to die away from home.

On the 6th of October Mr. Parkes wrote from his place of confinement that the French and English detained were to be returned on the 8th of the month, and that the Imperial commanders had been ordered at the same time to withdraw all their troops for a considerable distance from Peking. These promises were carried out.* Prince Kung was at last resolved to make all the concessions requisite to ensure the speedy conclusion of peace. The restoration of the captives, who had been seized on the morning of the day which had witnessed Sankolinsin's discomfiture at Chanchia-wan, removed what was thought to be the one obstacle to Lord Elgin's discussing the terms on which the respective Governments would resume diplomatic relations.

It was fortunate for China that the exact fate of the other prisoners was then unknown, and that Lord Elgin felt able, in consequence of the more friendly proceedings of Prince Kung, to overlook the earlier treatment of those now returned to him, for the narrative of Mr. Parkes and his fellow-prisoner was one that tended to heighten the feeling of indignation at the original breach of faith. To say that they were barbarously ill-used is to employ a phrase conveying a very inadequate idea of the numerous indignities and the cruel personal treatment to which they were subjected. Under these great trials neither of these intrepid Englishmen wavered in their refusal to furnish information or to make any concession compromising their country. Mr. Loch's part was in one sense the more easy, as his ignorance of the language prevented his replying, but in bodily suffering

* The prisoners returned were Mr. Parkes, Mr. Loch, and the trooper Nalsing, and of the French the Comte d'Escayrac de Lauture, author of the French official description of the expedition, and four soldiers. The fate of the rest was then unknown even to those who were released. Prince Kung supposed they had been carried off to the north with the retreating army, and assured Lord Elgin that they would of course be restored. Of the treatment they received after we last left them being hurried off in the rough carts of the country, both Mr. Loch and the French writer have given a full account in their published works. The greatest agony inflicted on them was during the drive into Peking, when they were hurried in springless carts over the roughly paved roads into the capital. The Sikh trooper behaved with the admirable fortitude which was more natural in his English companions in misfortune.

he had to pay a proportionally greater penalty. The incidents of their imprisonment afford the most creditable testimony to the superiority which the pride of race as well as "the equal mind in arduous circumstance" gives weak humanity over physical suffering. They are never likely to pass out of the public memory; and those who remember the daring and the chivalry which had inspired Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch on the day when Prince Tsai's treachery and Sankolinsin's mastery were revealed, will not be disposed to consider it exaggerated praise to say that, for an adventure so honourably conceived and so nobly carried out, where the risk was never reckoned and where the penalty was so patiently borne, the pages of history may be searched almost in vain for an event that, in the dramatic elements of courage and suffering, presents such a complete and consistent record of human gallantry and devotion as the capture and subsequent captivity of these English gentlemen and their Sikh companion.*

The further conditions as preliminary to the ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin were gradually if reluctantly complied with. On the 13th of October the north-east gate was handed over to the allied troops, but not before Sir Hope Grant had threatened to open fire on the walls. At the same time Prince Kung returned eight sowars of Fane's horse and one Frenchman, all the survivors, besides those already surrendered, of the small band which had ridden from Tungchow nearly a month before. The Chinese Prince stated in explanation that "a certain number were missing after the fight, or have died of their wounds or of sickness." But the narrative of the Sikhs was decisive as to the fate of the five Englishmen and their own comrades. They had been brutally bound with ropes which, although drawn as tight as human force could draw them, were tightened still more by cold water being poured upon the bands, and they had

* In the eyes of the Chinese Mr. Parkes was always a man of importance, at first to be more cruelly treated, then to be used more honourably. Mr. Loch was in comparison of no special interest. When the former was released and treated more favourably the latter would have been detained in his loathsome prison, but for Mr. Parkes refusing to accept any favour unless shared by Mr. Loch.

been maltreated in every form by a cruel enemy, and provided only with food of the most loathsome kind. Some of the prisoners were placed in cages. Lieutenant Anderson, a gallant young officer for whom future renown had been predicted, became delirious and died on the ninth day of his confinement. Mr. De Normann died a week later. What fate befell Captain Brabazon and his French companion the Abbé de Luc is uncertain, but the evidence on the subject inclines us to accept as accurate the statement that the Chinese commander in the fight at Palikao, enraged at his defeat, caused them to be executed on the bridge. The soldier Phipps endured for a longer time than Mr. Bowlby the taunts and ill-usage of their gaolers, but they at last shared the same fate, dying from the effects of their ill-treatment. The Chinese officials were more barbarous in their cruelty than even the worst scum among their malefactors; for the prisoners in the gaols, far from adding to the tortures of the unfortunate Europeans, did everything in their power to mitigate their sufferings, alleviate their pains, and supply their wants.*

The details of these cruel deeds raised a feeling of great horror in men's minds, and, although the desire to arrange the question of peace without delay was uppermost with Lord Elgin, still it was felt that some grave step was necessary to express the abhorrence with which England regarded this cruel and senseless outrage, and to bring home to the Chinese people and Government that Englishmen could not be murdered with impunity. Lord Elgin refused to hold any further intercourse with the Chinese Government until this great crime had been purged by some signal punishment. Sir Hope Grant and he had little difficulty in arriving at the decision that the best mode of expiation was to destroy the Summer Palace.† The French commander refused to

* The bodies of all the Englishmen, with the exception of Captain Brabazon, were restored, and of most of the Sikhs also.

† What was the Summer Palace like? may be asked. The following description from Mr. Swinhoe's work, already quoted, will give a fair idea:—"Behind the chief building came the summer park, the extent of wall surrounding the whole being about twelve miles. Pebbled paths led you through groves of magnificent trees, round lakes, into picturesque

participate in the act which carried a permanent lesson of political necessity to the heart of the Peking Government, and which did more than any other incident of the campaign to show Hienfung that the hour had gone by for trifling. On the 18th of October the threat was carried into execution. The Summer Palace was destroyed by fire, and the sum of £100,000 was demanded and obtained from the Chinese as some compensation for the families of the murdered men. The palace of Yuen Min Yuen had been the scene of some of the worst sufferings of the English prisoners. From its apartments the high mandarins and the immediate courtiers of the Emperor had gloated over and enjoyed the spectacle of their foreign prisoners' agony. The whole of Peking witnessed in return the destruction wrought on the sovereign's abode by the indignant English, and the clouds of smoke hung for days like a vast black pall over the city.

That act of severe but just vengeance consummated, the negotiations for the ratification of the treaty were resumed, and, not unexpectedly, proceeded with the greater despatch because of the more abundant testimony provided that the English were in earnest. Mr. Parkes and Mr. Loch were specially chosen to select an appropriate building within the city for the ratification of the treaty, and they rode through the streets at the head of an escort of English and Sikh cavalry. The same populace which a few weeks before had regarded their entry as the first symptom of a coming national triumph, now watched them with perhaps a closer scrutiny in anticipation of further barbarian exactions. The Hall of Ceremonies was selected as the place in which the ratifying act should be performed, while, as some punishment for the

summer-houses, over fantastic bridges. As you wandered along herds of deer would amble away from before you, tossing their antlered heads. Here a solitary building would rise fairy-like from the centre of a lake, reflecting its image on the limpid blue liquid in which it seemed to float, and there a sloping path would carry you into the heart of a mysterious cavern, artificially formed of rockery, and leading out on to a grotto in the bosom of another lake. The variety of the picturesque was endless, and charming in the extreme. The resources of the designer appear to have been unending, and no money spared to bring his work to perfection."

hostile part he had played, the palace of Prince Tsai was appropriated as the temporary official residence of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros. Both these buildings were situate in the Tartar quarter, but near the boundary wall of the Chinese city.*

The formal act of ratification was performed in this building on the 24th of October. Lord Elgin proceeded in a chair of state accompanied by his suite, and also by Sir Hope Grant with an escort of 100 officers and 500 troops, through the streets from the Anting or Eastern Gate to the Hall of Ceremonies. Prince Kung, attended by a large body of civil and military mandarins, was there in readiness to produce the Imperial edict authorizing him to attach the Emperor's seal to the treaty, and to accept the responsibility for his country of conforming with its terms and carrying out its stipulations. Some further delay was caused by the necessity of waiting until the edict should be received from the Emperor at Jehol authorizing the publication of the treaty, not the least important point in connection with its conclusion if the millions of China were to understand and perform what their rulers had promised for them. That closing act was successfully achieved, and more rapidly than had been expected. The Pekinese beheld English troops and officers in residence in their midst for the first time, and when the army was withdrawn and the Plenipotentiary, Lord Elgin, transferred to his brother, Mr. Frederick Bruce, the charge of affairs in China as Resident Minister, the ice had been broken in the relations between the officials of the two countries, and the greatest if not the last barrier of Chinese exclusiveness had been removed.†

* One of the most gratifying circumstances in connection with this war was the good understanding that prevailed between the foreign powers. General Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador, who knew the interior of Peking well, supplied the English commander with an excellent map and much information about the chief buildings. Perhaps the kindest act of all was to afford the shelter of the Russian cemetery to the remains of those who had been murdered—an act in which we recognize some stronger feeling than international courtesy.

† The treaty as ratified contained two clauses more than the original convention of Tientsin—one legalizing emigration, the other ceding the peninsula of Kowloon in the rear of Hongkong to the English.

The last of the allied troops turned their backs upon Peking on the 9th of November, and the greater portion of the expedition departed for India and Europe just before the cold weather set in. A few days later the rivers were frozen and navigation had become impossible. Small garrisons were left at Tientsin and the Taku forts for the time being until relations had been arranged on what was to be their permanent basis; and Mr. Bruce took up his residence in the former town while a proper abode was being prepared for his reception at the capital. Lord Elgin's departure from China had been preceded by several interviews of a friendly character with Prince Kung, in which for the first time the conversation between the statesmen of the two countries turned upon the subjects in which they might mutually benefit each other, and upon the advantages that would accrue to China in particular from the adoption of the mechanical contrivances and inventions of Europe. Perhaps the most incontestable token of the change in the Imperial policy was afforded by the disgrace of the Tartar general, Sankolinsin, who had been mainly instrumental in urging Hienfung to continue the struggle, and whose personal feeling towards the foreigners had always been most bitter. With him fell also the high minister, Juilin, who, himself a Manchu, had always advocated resistance to the death, and supported in the Council the strongest measures of war.*

The object which the more far-seeing of the English residents had from the first hour of difficulty stated to be necessary for satisfactory relations—direct intercourse with the Peking Government—was thus obtained after a keen and

This piece of land had been let to the English in perpetuity at a small rent. Mr. Loch gives a very graphic description of the scene of the ratification. Prince Kung was anxious and hesitating, but if he felt fear, Mr. Loch says, he concealed his apprehensions. Sir Hope Grant spoke of him as being "evidently overpowered with fear," which is not at all probable. As a matter of fact Prince Kung had a most trying task to perform, for which neither he nor any of his assistants had the least precedent. He passed through the ordeal with remarkable dignity and success for a young man of only twenty-eight years.

* The edict was thus expressed :—"Let Sang-ko-lin-sin be deprived of his nobility. Let Juilin be immediately deprived of his office; as a warning."—Mr. Wade's translation in Blue Book.

bitter struggle of thirty years. The first war, closing with the Treaty of Nankin, had contributed little more towards the solution of the question than to place a few additional facilities in the way of trade. The provisions which might perhaps have possessed greater importance were never enforced and were tacitly allowed to drop. A single disastrous war had not sufficed to bring the Pekin Government to reason or to wean it from traditions always remembered with feelings of pride.

The years following the signature of that treaty were not without their clouds and causes of anxiety. The refusal alone to open the gates of Canton was a most serious breach of treaty. It was followed, as we have seen, by many acts of hostility, and by a general line of policy quite incompatible with friendship. The appointment of Yeh was made for very much the same reasons as that of Lin had been—to humiliate the foreigner. It had been followed by an increased tension in the relations between the Canton yamen and the English authorities. The too-much-debated *Arrow* case came as the last of a long series of deeds in which all diplomatic courtesy was laid aside ; and when once the English Government resorted to force, it was compelled to continue it until satisfactory results were produced and its objects attained. Success at first seemed to come for the asking. Sir Michael Seymour's victorious operations round Canton and at the mouth of the Peiho simplified the task of diplomacy ; and Lord Elgin, despite the original disadvantage under which he laboured from the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny and the diversion of the China Expedition, was enabled by the success of the admiral to conclude a favourable treaty at Tientsin.

With the attempt twelve months later to obtain its ratification, the whole complication was suddenly re-opened. Admission to the Peiho was refused, and when an English squadron attempted to carry its way by force, it was repulsed with heavy loss. The defeat was the more important inasmuch as it was admittedly due, not to any mistake or rashness on the part of the admiral, but to the strength of the defences which the Chinese had erected in less than a year.

Another twelvemonth was employed in the fitting out and despatch of an expedition of 20,000 men in all, to bring the Court of Peking to a more reasonable frame of mind, and Lord Elgin was again sent to China to complete the work he had half accomplished. We have seen how these purposes were effected, and how the superiority of European arms and discipline was again established over another brave but ill-prepared antagonist. Although vanquished, the Chinese may be said to have come out of this war with an increased military reputation. The dissension within the Empire—for, as we have yet to see, the revival of the foreign difficulty had led to increased activity on the part of the Taepings—prevented their utilizing the one great advantage they might have possessed of superior numbers; and had the other conditions of warfare been more equal, the steadiness and stubbornness of the Chinese whenever encountered between the sea and the ramparts of Peking were such as to justify the belief that with proper arms, and under efficient leading, they would have successfully defended the approach to the capital.

The war closed with a treaty enforcing all the concessions made by its predecessor. The right to station an ambassador in Peking signified that the great barrier of all had been broken down. The old school of politicians were put completely out of court, and a young and intelligent prince, closely connected with the Emperor, assumed the personal charge of the foreign relations of the country. As one who had seen with his own eyes the misfortunes of his countrymen, he was the more disposed to adhere to what he had promised to perform. Under his direction the ratified treaty of Tientsin became a bond of union instead of an element of discord between the cabinets of London and Peking; and a termination was put, by an arrangement carried at the point of the sword, to the constant friction and recrimination which had been the prevailing characteristics of the intercourse for a whole generation. The Chinese had been subjected to a long and bitter lesson. They had at last learnt the virtue of submitting to necessity; but although they have profited to some extent both in peace and war by their experience, it requires some assurance to declare that they have even

now accepted the inevitable. There is still greater reason to doubt if they have learnt the practical lesson of profiting by their own experience. That remains the problem of the future ; but in 1860 Prince Kung came to the sensible conclusion that for that period, and until China had recovered from her internal confusion, there was nothing to be gained and much to be lost by protracted resistance to the peoples of the West. Whatever could be retained by tact and finesse were to form part of the natural rights of China ; but the privileges only to be asserted in face of Armstrong guns and rifles were to be abandoned with as good a grace as the injured feeling of a nation can ever display.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PROGRESS OF THE TAEPING REBELLION.

DURING these years of foreign war and difficulty the Taepings had not been inactive. Repulsed in their first attempts to subdue the provinces north of the Yangtsekiang, their leaders had returned to Nankin only to indulge their antipathies and to decide questions of rivalry by the sword. Had the Emperor's officers been prompt in mustering their forces in the year 1857, they would have found the Taepings a comparatively easy prey. But the Chinese have always preferred the slowest method in their proceedings, and it happened to be an occasion when no time should have been wasted. The favourable moment was permitted to pass by unutilized, and the main object with the officials was to conceal from Pekin the progress which the rebels were making in Central China. It was not until the end of the year 1860 that Prince Kung learnt from Mr. Bruce of the rapid successes of the Taepings, and that they had established their authority almost to the sea. Then the Emperor's immediate advisers realized for the first time that, having adjusted their disagreements with the foreigners, they would have to achieve the not less difficult task of asserting their authority in the most populous and productive region of the Empire. The undertaking to be seriously commenced in 1861 promised to be all the more difficult and protracted because of the delay that ensued after the first check inflicted upon the Taepings in 1857.

After the sanguinary events which occurred at Nankin in the year 1856, the E Wang or Assistant King left that city

to oppose Tseng Kwofan, who, with the levies of Hoonan, was operating in Kiangsi. The departure of this leader had obliged Tien Wang to call to the front new men, and among the most capable of these was Li-su-Ching, who, for his valour and capacity around Nankin, had obtained the title of Chung Wang, or the Faithful King. During the operations of the year 1858 the Taepings fairly held their own in the valley of the Yangtsekiang, and, thanks to the great energy of Chung Wang, they forced the Imperialists to retire to a more respectful distance from Nankin, which they had actually beleaguered. The principal leaders on the Emperor's side were Tseng Kwofan and his brother, Tseng Kwo-tsiuen, Paochiaou, Tso Tsung Tang, and Li Hung Chang.

The Imperialists endeavoured to capture one of the principal posts of the Taepings at the town of Ganking, on the north bank of the Yangtse, and about 200 miles above Nankin. The advantage of this post was that it gave the latter the command of a second passage across the great river, and that it enabled them to check the advance of fresh troops down the river. The siege of Ganking was raised by Chung Wang; but a victory at Soosung won by General Paochiaou more than compensated for it. In 1858 the Imperialists, under Tseng on the one side, and Chang Kwoliang on the other, invested the Taeping capital for a second time, despite the efforts of Chung Wang to prevent it. As the town was well supplied with provisions, and as it was known that the Imperialists had no intention of delivering an assault, the Taepings were comparatively indifferent to the fact, and waited until their opponents should be tired out, or until the arrival of fresh troops from their own comrades in the other provinces would enable them to assume the offensive.

Although the Imperial commanders were lethargic, only one result could follow their operations if allowed to proceed without interruption. Nankin would have to yield in the end to starvation. In these straits Chung Wang proved the saviour of his party. The garrison was not large enough to attempt a sortie; and the other bodies of the Taepings scattered throughout the provinces did not possess any recognized leader from whom aid might be expected, or to whom

an appeal for succour might be sent—now that E Wang had retired in disgust, and gone westwards to advance his own interests. The Imperialists had already invested the city upon three sides ; only one remained open if the news of Tien Wang's sufferings were to reach his followers before it was too late. In such a moment of peril there was general reluctance to quit the besieged town ; but unless some one did, and that promptly, the place was doomed. In this supreme moment Chung Wang offered to go himself. At first the proposal was received with a chorus of disapproval ; but at last, when he went to the door of Tien Wang's palace and beat the gong which lay there for those who claimed justice, he succeeded in overcoming the opposition to his plan, and in impressing upon his audience the real gravity of the situation. His request was granted, and, having nominated trusty men to the command during his absence, he quitted the besieged city by the southern gate. A few days later, and Tseng's last levies had constructed their fortified camp in front of it.

Chung Wang reached in twenty-four hours Woohoo, where a cousin of his commanded a small body of Taeping troops. They concocted a plan of campaign, having as its principal object the worrying of the Imperial forces, with the view of making them relax their efforts against Nankin. In this they succeeded in an almost marvellous manner, considering the smallness of their force, the strength of the Imperialists in numbers and position, and the all-importance of the capture of Nankin.

Hienfung's generals long failed to realize that it was the possession of Nankin which alone made the Taepings formidable. Without that city in their power they would cease to be anything more than a band of brigands. So long as they held it they were able to claim the rights and privileges of a separate dynasty. Yet the capture of Nankin was put off until the last act of all, in order to effect the overthrow of the scattered armies of the rebels who would probably have dispersed immediately on its fall, and who would certainly have become the mark of popular resentment. The Imperial commanders had shown great apathy all through the crisis, but in 1858 they revealed more clearly than ever their utter

inability to grasp the central fact in the position. Had they been able to do so, they would not have played the whole game into the hands of Chung Wang.

Chung Wang had escaped from Nankin towards the end of 1858. He collected some 5000 good men, and with these he at once began operations. The Imperialists were much too strong south of the river for him to attempt anything against them on that side. He therefore crossed to the northern bank and began his campaign by the capture of Hochow. He continued his advance, hoping to cut in two the more numerous army of General Tesinga who was opposed to him; but the enemy were too strong, particularly in cavalry, for him, and he was repulsed and obliged to retire. Even north of the river there did not seem much chance for the Taeping leader. The Imperialists gave him a short respite, during which he managed to drill his recruits; but on his making a second effort to reach Poukou, the small town opposite Nankin, he was defeated with the loss, as he admitted, of one thousand men. Chung Wang returned south of the river, held a hurried council at Tsinyang, recalled all the troops he could from Ganking, and, again returning to the northern bank, resumed his efforts to reach Poukou. There seemed, if possible, less chance than ever of success, for General Te had been reinforced, if only at the price of weakening the army round Nankin, and even Chang Kwo-liang had left his camp to see what was being done against Chung Wang. Things were in this state when the Taeping leader suddenly returned and resumed with all the energy of desperation his attempt to cut his way through the Imperial lines to Poukou. Whether the Imperialists were taken by surprise, or were so full of confidence from their recent success that they did not think it necessary to take precautions, they were beaten in one battle after another. The principal towns north of Nankin were occupied by the Taipings after little resistance, and in several encounters round Linchow the lieutenants of Hienfung were decidedly worsted.

But although the pressure on Nankin was relieved by these successes, the siege continued on the southern side, where the Imperial troops remained in excellent condition. The

anxieties of Tien Wang were increased by a suspicion of Chung Wang's fidelity, and that there was some reason to believe him meditating desertion rested on apparently good foundation. The supplies of the rebels were falling short, and powder in particular was needed to enable them to carry on the struggle. The year 1859 was consequently one of little movement, partly from this cause, and partly also on account of the exhaustion of the combatants. The Imperialists, convinced that time was all in their favour, proceeded in the most leisurely manner, and were quite content to sustain a rigid blockade without risking their lives in unnecessary battles. They were the more reconciled to this deliberate plan of proceeding, because the Taepings had been gradually expelled from one town after another until all that was left in their possession were the places between Nankin and Ganking. It seemed as if nothing could then prevent the Taeping cause expiring from pure inanition.

Chung Wang's campaign north of the Yangtse had gained a respite for the Taepings ; but, although the reverses of the Government troops were not few, superior numbers and resources had more than counterbalanced misfortune in the field. The environment of Nankin, weakened on the north by the capture of Poukou, was sustained with undiminished rigour on the southern side of the great river. In this extremity Chung Wang conceived a fresh plan for relieving the pressure on Nankin, if not of extricating the Heavenly ruler from his predicament. He resolved to get in the rear of the Imperial army and to operate along its base of supply. The idea was an extremely happy one, proving that Chung Wang possessed considerable natural capacity, at the same time that it showed that a desperate situation suggests remedies that would not, under ordinary circumstances, be deemed either prudent or possible.

In January, 1860, all Chung Wang's arrangements were completed. He had distributed considerable sums of money among his men in order to put them in a good humour, and he succeeded in eluding the vigilance of Chang Kwoliang, and in reaching Woohoo unobserved with the greater portion of his force. The Imperialists thought that the expedition was

intended for the relief of Ganking, then closely pressed by Tseng Kwofan. Having assembled his forces at Woofoo, the leader left the Yangtse and marched inland to Nanliu, whence, turning eastwards, he gained Ningkoue, and then Kwante, towns on the borders of the provinces of Anhwei and Kiangsu. The full importance of this movement was not revealed until the siege of Hoochow, a large town in the silk district south of the Taho lake, and only fifty miles north of the important city of Hangchow. Leaving his cousin to besiege it, Chung Wang hastened on to attack Hangchow itself, the possession of which would confer immense prestige and material advantages on the cause of the rebels. Chung Wang had not more than 10,000 men with him, but he succeeded in capturing the greater portion of Hangchow, partly by a daring assault, partly through the treachery of some of its inhabitants. This was on the 19th of March, 1860, about ten weeks after he had set out from Nankin. The Tartar city held out, and was valiantly and successfully defended, until aid arrived from Chang Kwoliang at Nankin.

As soon as that commander heard of the movements in his rear, he at once realized the plan of campaign formed for the complete cutting off of his supplies. He then detached a considerable army from his main body under the command of his brother Chang Yuliang, for the express purpose of coming to an action with Chung Wang and preventing the realization of his schemes. The force besieging Hoochow was driven back on the main body at Hangchow, and on the 24th of March Chang Yuliang had the satisfaction of relieving Hangchow and of compelling Chung Wang to relinquish his hold on the town and to beat as precipitate a retreat as he could. For the moment it seemed that this Taeping army had been given over to destruction.

We will not deny to Chung Wang the admirable fortitude that is never so striking or laudable as when Fortune wears her darkest frown, and there seems no extrication from accumulated difficulties. Deprived of the prey which he already clutched, it looked for the moment as if Chung Wang would have every reason to regard himself as favoured if he succeeded in regaining such security as the towns on the

Yangtse could still afford. The celerity of his movements provided him, as it has greater commanders reduced to similar straits, with a safe issue from his perils. Long before Chang Yuliang had stifled the feelings of self-congratulation which he felt at the relief of Hangchow, Chung Wang had marched many miles back on the road to Nankin. In the height of his apprehension Chang Kwoliang had detached his best troops to pursue Chung Wang, so that when that chief outstripped his brother in his return march, the Imperial general found himself left with only an enfeebled force to defend the extensive lines before Nankin. Those lines were attacked with extraordinary vigour by the Taepings from without as well as from within. They were carried with a loss to the Imperialists of more than five thousand men, while the baffled generals, who had counted with such unconcealed confidence on the certain capture of Nankin in the course of a few months, were compelled to make an ignominious retreat, and to admit for once that pertinacity may prove unavailing if not allied with enterprise and audacity. The siege of Nankin was thus raised, and the forces which had been so long enclosed in that town were relieved for the moment from the presence of the foe who had so bitterly and persistently assailed them ever since their first arrival at Nankin, nearly seven years before.

The conduct of Tien Wang in face of this unexpected and undeserved deliverance was not of a kind to impress his friends with a belief in his fitness to raise a sinking cause or to deserve the favour of Heaven. He issued no proclamation to his followers on the occasion of this great victory, and he gave no rewards. His jealousy of Chung Wang increased, and he forbade his deliverer to re-enter the city. All that could be obtained from him was the behest that it would be well "to adhere to the precepts of Heaven," and the statement that "the surrounding aspect indicated signs of great peace." From such a leader it was clear that no material aid could be expected, and the Taepings looked more and more to Chung Wang as the only man capable of supporting their cause. Chung Wang was not allowed to remain long in idleness. He received the command, perhaps because he

inspired the order, to go forth and capture the strong town of Soochow situated on the Grand Canal, and the nominal capital of Kiangsu.

The main body of the Imperialists had rallied at Changchow, some distance north of Soochow on the Grand Canal; and there Chang Kwoliang had at last been joined by his brother's army from Hangchow. A week after the relief of Nankin, Chung Wang resumed offensive operations, and when Chang Kwoliang attempted to check his forward march at Tayan, a battle ensued, in which, after some hours' fighting, the Imperialists were again defeated. Although their loss in men was very heavy, amounting, it was said, to as many as 10,000 killed and wounded, the most serious blow inflicted upon them was the death of Chang Kwoliang, whose energy almost atoned for his shortcomings as a commander. He was drowned in the canal during the heat of the engagement, and the spectacle of his fall so greatly discouraged his men that they at once gave way in all directions. The fate of the ex-Triad chief decided the day, and by this victory Chung Wang cleared the road to Soochow.

Two days later Chung Wang defeated Chang Yuliang at Changchow, thus to some extent compensating for the reverse he had experienced at his hands at Hangchow. Changchow surrendered on the 11th of May, but the Imperialist troops endeavoured to make a fresh stand at Wusieh, where a desperate battle was fought for twenty-four hours. The action was stubbornly contested, and for a moment it seemed as if the verdict would be in favour of the Imperialists; but Chung Wang's impetuosity again turned the day in his favour, and Wusieh became the prize of the victor. Upon its capture the Emperor's general, Hochun, who had taken a prominent part in the earlier siege of Nankin, committed suicide; and Hienfung was thus deprived of another officer who, despite many faults, had shown at least consistent zeal and courage in his service.

From these frequent actions Chang Yuliang had escaped, and with the remnant of his force he prepared to defend Soochow, a place at that time of greater size than strength. His intentions were baffled partly by the difficulty of his

task, and partly by the discouragement of his troops. An attempt to destroy the suburbs by fire and thus make the place defensible was rendered abortive by the action of the people themselves, so that no resource was left save to abandon the town as promptly as possible. Chang Yuliang and his braves returned to Hangchow, where they remained in safety, while Ho Kweitsin, the governor-general of the provinces of the Two Kiang, implored aid from those very English who were on the point of proceeding to attack the capital of the Empire. The French, then as ever impelled by the restless feeling to participate in whatever warlike operations might be going on, turned a sympathizing ear to the complaints of the Chinese Viceroy, and promised that they would send a force of 1500 French troops if 500 English would combine with them, in order to reassert the Imperial authority, although those very troops owed their presence in China to the fact that they were there to wage war upon the Emperor. The caution of Mr. Bruce forbade the enterprise, but the application of Ho Kweitsin remains an incident almost unique in the annals of war of an officer of a Government appealing to a foreign enemy engaged in actual hostilities for aid against a national rebel. Although the English representative declined to comply with the request of the Chinese official, a proclamation (May 26th, 1860) was made in the joint names of the foreign representatives to the effect that they were fully resolved to prevent Shanghai from falling a second time into the hands of an insurgent force.

When Soochow passed into the possession of Chung Wang, the small towns around it also surrendered. By this means Quinsan, Tsingpu, Taitsan, and other places accepted Taeping garrisons without a blow, and a large part of the able-bodied population joined the standard of Chung Wang. Such attempts as Chang Yuliang made to recover the ground he had lost were all repulsed with loss, and he had to content himself with the defence of Hangchow. This unfortunate campaign proved fatal to Ho Kweitsin, who was degraded, summoned to Peking, and after a short delay executed, although his advice had eventually to be adopted. The post of Viceroy of the Two Kiang was conferred upon Tseng

Kwofan, then at Kwante endeavouring to collect and re-organize some of the scattered forces. Chung Wang's success in Kiangsu encouraged the disaffected to bestir themselves in Chekiang; but although several towns were lost to the Emperor, the importance of the movement was never more than local, and the principal interest of the situation continued to centre in the attempts of the Taeping leader to acquire possession of the riches of Shanghai.

At Shanghai itself some preparations had been made to recover the neighbouring places, and the town of Tsingpu in particular had been fixed upon as the proper place to commence operations for the reassertion of Hienfung's authority. In this emergency the Shanghai officials had turned to the European residents, as their Governments had refused to be compromised; and the great Chinese merchants, forming themselves into a kind of association of patriotism, guaranteed the funds for fitting out and rewarding a small contingent force of foreigners. Two Americans, Ward and Burgevine, were easily tempted by the promise of good pay and by the possibility of distinction to raise a levy among the foreign and seafaring colony, and to place themselves at the disposal of this Shanghai committee. Of these two men, Ward was the recognized leader, and Burgevine acted as his quartermaster. The terms on which they were engaged was that in addition to high pay they were promised a large sum of money as a reward for the capture of certain positions. The place on which they were invited to make their first attempt, and as it were to prove their mettle, was Sunkiang, a large walled town nearly twenty miles south-west of Shanghai.

The first attack was made under Ward in July, 1860, when he had succeeded in collecting 100 Europeans and perhaps twice as many Manilla-men. It was repulsed, however, with some loss. Ward was a man of determination, and seeing the anticipated prize slipping away from him he resolved to make a further and more vigorous effort to capture the place. He succeeded in enlisting a further body of Manilla-men, and with these he renewed the attack. He seems to have resorted to a stratagem to effect his object, but, having gained possession of a gateway, he held it against

every attack until the main body of the Imperialists joined him. The capture of Sunkiang brought home to the Chinese mind the valuable aid which a foreign contingent might render against the rebels. It also made Ward's force popular for the moment with the more adventurous portion of the European community; and while most joined for the sake of the high pay and plunder to be obtained, some entered it with the hope of seeing service and gaining military experience. Ward had been an officer in the American merchant service. He served as mate under Gough, another American, who commanded the fleet fitted out by Taotai Wou for operations on the Yangtse, and was thus brought into contact with the rich Chinese merchants of Shanghai. The capture of Sunkiang so far encouraged the officials at Shanghai that they requested Ward to proceed forthwith to attack Tsingpu, and in return for its capture they promised him a great reward.

Ward was nothing loth to undertake another enterprise that might prove of as profitable a character as the attack on Sunkiang had been. He returned to Shanghai to complete his arrangements, and soon had assembled in his camp at Sunkiang a force of twenty-five Europeans under a Swiss captain, 280 Manilla-men under Vincente, two Englishmen as officers, an English doctor, and lastly Burgevine in control of the stores. The force was very weak in artillery, which consisted of only two 6-pounders; and although a large Imperial army and flotilla were attached to the expedition, it was generally understood that the brunt of the fighting would fall upon Ward's force. The position of the Taepings at Tsingpu was one of considerable strength, as the walls were in a good state of repair, and the small field-pieces could make little or no impression upon them. There remained only the chance of carrying the place by assault; but even against this the Taepings had taken every precaution in their power, and their efforts had also been directed by an European, an Englishman named Savage. Savage had been a pilot on the coast; but, whether the war destroyed his profession or appealed to his secret instincts, he certainly quitted it with several of his comrades, and joined the Taepings, who seemed

to those who only looked at the surface to be at last on the point of realizing the earlier objects of their enterprise.

Ward delivered his attack on Tsingpu during the night of the 2nd August, 1860; but although he reached the wall, he was driven back with very severe loss. All the Europeans except six were either killed or wounded, and Ward himself was wounded in the jaw. This first repulse, disastrous as it was, did not lead Ward to abandon the whole enterprise in despair, for he had set his heart on obtaining the large reward offered for its capture by Takee and his associates. He hastened off to Shanghai to enlist fresh volunteers, and to purchase heavier guns, on the want of which he threw the whole blame of his defeat. He succeeded in obtaining 150 recruits, chiefly Greeks and Italians, and also two 18-pounders. With this reinforcement he again proceeded, after an interval of three weeks, to attack Tsingpu. This time he hoped to carry it, not by an assault, but by a bombardment, and during seven days his guns fired continuously on the wall. It is not possible to say how much longer this cannonade might have continued, when Chung Wang, hearing that the garrison was pressed by the Imperialists, hastened from Soochow, and, taking Ward by surprise, drove him away in utter confusion. In addition to considerable loss in men, the American lost the guns and most of the military stores which he had just purchased. Chung Wang followed up his victory by capturing the positions of the Imperial commander Li Aidong, and by an attempt to recover Sunki-ang. But he failed in the latter task, and his English colleague Savage was so seriously wounded that he died some weeks later from the effects at Nankin.

Baffled in his attempt at Sunki-ang, Chung Wang, notwithstanding the previous warning that the allied powers would defend the city, resolved to attack Shanghai. The possession of Shanghai was, in a military sense, essential to him, as it was there that all the hostile measures made for the recovery of the places he had taken were being carried out. Hoping, therefore, to find the allies, whose armies he knew had proceeded to the north, unable to carry out their intentions, he and his colleague, the Kan Wang, marched on

Shanghai, burning and plundering all the villages on the road. During these operations several Christian seminaries were burnt down, although Kan Wang had been elected a member of a missionary society, and one French priest at least was murdered. The Imperial army occupied a fortified camp or stockade outside the western gate. This Chung Wang attacked and captured, the Imperialists retiring without offering much resistance. He had then to encounter a different foe. The walls of Shanghai were manned by the English and French troops forming the garrison, and when the Taepings attempted to enter the city with the fleeing Imperialists, they were received with a warm and destructive fire, which compelled them to retire. The attack was several times renewed at different points during the next four or five days; but each onset was repulsed with increasing loss to the assailants. The chief destruction caused was by the accidental conflagration which broke out in the southern and richest suburb of the town, and which only burnt itself out after several days. Chung Wang was obliged to retreat, but before doing so he sent in a message to say that he had come at the invitation of the French, that they were traitors, and that he could have taken the city but for the foreigners, as "there was no city which his men could not storm." Even the noblest of the Taepings had occasionally to descend to idle boasting.

Notwithstanding his repulse at Shanghai, Chung Wang marched past Sunkiang, which he could not take, and engaged the forces of Chang Yuliang, who, with Hangchow as his base, was still employed in some desultory operations against the places which the Taepings had seized south of that town. In these Chung Wang's promptitude again turned the scale against his old adversary, and after several disastrous skirmishes Chang Yuliang was compelled to retire upon Hangchow and wait until the departure of Chung Wang for a resumption of active operations. Chung Wang was soon recalled in all haste to Soochow, where the people were suffering intense misery. He relieved them as well as he could out of the spoil of the country he had overrun, and in their gratitude they erected to his honour an ornamental

arch, which was destroyed on the recovery of that city. But there remained much work of a different character for the Faithful King to perform. His energy and promptitude carried all before them where he was present in person, but everywhere else the prospects of the Taepings and their heavenly dynasty were darkened. Ganking was in imminent danger of capture. The Imperialists were advancing to attack Nankin for the sixth time. Tseng Kwofan was at last entrusted with the sole command, and was burning to distinguish by some striking deed his elevation to the Viceroyalty of the two Kiang. Tien Wang, panic-stricken at the dangers near his person, sent in all haste for Chung Wang, the one man who sustained his tottering throne.

Chung Wang entrusted the command of the forces in Kiangsu to a chief who was granted the title of Hoo Wang, or Protecting King, while he went himself with much reluctance to Nankin. There he held several councils of war with Tien Wang and the other leaders; but he found them all given up to a life of indulgence, and indifferent to the events around them. Tien Wang's only panacea for the dangers springing up on all sides was to say that, as "the truly appointed Lord," he had only to command peace, in order for all difficulties and troubles to cease; and as for the other Wangs, they were intent upon amassing money. Chung Wang told them with much force that they would be wise to purchase rice, as in the probable event of a long siege they would find that far the more useful article. Even when in this respect they carried his recommendations into practice, the head Wangs, Tien Wang and his brother, Kan Wang, placed high taxes on the importation of rice, and amassed great wealth at the expense of their own followers. The necessary consequence followed, that the importation of rice was discontinued, and when the Imperialists resumed the investment of the city, Nankin was not as well provisioned as it would have been had Chung Wang's advice been promptly and properly carried out.

While the leading Wangs were engaged at Nankin in tardy preparations for the day of trouble, Chung Wang made a dash into the province of Kiangsi for the purpose of

diverting Tseng Kwofan's attention. Although he succeeded in ravaging much of the region watered by the Kan river, and in obtaining the advantage in several skirmishes, this raid produced no decisive result, and in the one pitched battle the victory rested with the Tartar general Paochiaou. More serious operations were ordered for the relief of Ganking, then on the point of surrender, and for the recapture of Hankow. For these purposes four armies were placed in the field: two with instructions to operate on the northern side of the Yangtse, and two on the southern. All these armies were expected to concentrate at or near Hankow in the month of March, 1861. Their movements were not in accordance with the preconcerted plan. Chung Wang, in personal command of the principal force, was repulsed by Paochiaou, and compelled to withdraw into the province of Chekiang, where his brother had been already defeated with the loss of 10,000 men by Tso Tsung Tang. At this moment the whole course of this desultory struggle was altered by the conclusion of the foreign war. The English authorities being hardly less interested than the Chinese in the speedy establishment of peace, and the chances of any durable Taeping success being obviously hopeless, it followed that for the sake of humanity, not less than trade, the sooner an end was put to the struggle the better it would be for all parties.

At first the policy of the English towards the Taepings was based on some uncertainty except with regard to one point, viz. that Shanghai was to be considered outside the sphere of their operations. The open attack of Chung Wang had been resisted and repulsed by force; but from every point of view it was desirable that it should not be repeated. One clause of the Treaty of Tientsin provided for the opening of the Yangtse, and the Admiral, Sir James Hope, proceeded in person to carry out this stipulation. At Nankin he entered into direct communication with Tien Wang, and obtained from him a pledge not to allow any attack on Shanghai during the next twelve months. He also agreed that none of the Taeping forces should advance within a radius of thirty miles of that city. Sir James Hope's

report of the state of the Taepings at Nankin, Ganking, and Kiukiang, effectually dispelled the few remaining hopes of resuscitating their cause.*

Mainly in consequence of this arrangement Ward, who was energetically employed in raising fresh troops, was arrested in May, 1861, as a disturber of the peace. He, however, repudiated American citizenship, declaring himself to be a Chinese subject and officer; and was in consequence released after brief detention. Some of his followers had remained with Burgevine before Tsingpu, and when that officer heard that the force was to be summarily disbanded he resolved to make one attempt to capture the place that had twice defied them before his men had been carried off. In his attack on the Taeping position he was repulsed with the loss of twenty-three men killed or wounded out of

* The following opinion of the Rev. J. Holmes, an American Baptist (who was murdered by the Nienfei robbers twenty-seven miles from Yeulai on the 6th October, 1861), writing in 1860, after a visit to Nankin, deserves record. He said: "I found, to my sorrow, nothing of Christianity but its name falsely applied, applied to a system of revolting idolatry; their idea of God is distorted until it is inferior, if possible, to that entertained by other Chinese idolaters. The idea they entertain of a saviour is low and sensual; and his honours are shared by another. The Eastern King is a saviour from disease as he is a saviour from sin." The Tien Wang issued an edict for the information of Mr. Holmes, and the junior lord or son of Tien Wang, a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, issued two edicts to instruct foreigners at the same time. This "junior lord" is the temporal representative of his father, whose office is exclusively spiritual; he was proclaimed to be the adopted son of Jesus. (For these papers see Blue Book.) Mr. Holmes states that "we witnessed their worship. It occurred at the beginning of their Sabbath midnight of Friday at Ching Wang's private audience room. He was seated in the midst of his attendants; no females were present. They first sang or chanted, after which a written prayer was read and burned by an officer, upon which they rose and sang again, and then separated. The Ching Wang sent for me again before he left his seat, and asked me if I understood their worship. I replied that I had just seen it for the first time, and that I thought all departure from the rules laid down in Scripture was erroneous. He extenuated their change from these rules by stating that the Tien Wang had been to Heaven and had seen the Heavenly Father; our revelation of the Bible had been handed down for 1800 years, and that they had received a new revelation through the Tien Wang, and, upon this, they could adopt a different mode of worship."

the eighty men with whom he made the attempt. This disaster terminated the career of the foreign adventurers who served under the two Americans, as the force was at once disbanded and its originators compelled to remain inactive at Shanghai during the summer of 1861.

That period of inaction on the part of foreign adventurers was employed, on the whole, to the advantage of the Imperialists; for not only was Ganking at last captured, thus closing the Western Provinces to the rebels, but Ward and Burgevine, being compelled to desist from any further attempts to recruit Europeans, devoted their leisure to drilling the Chinese themselves, a change of proceeding destined to produce the most important results, for the men whom Ward thus disciplined formed the nucleus of the force which gained the proud title of the "Ever-Victorious Army." The name was given long before its claim to it had been justified; but the subsequent appropriateness has buried in oblivion the slender right it possessed at first to its assumption. While these preparations were being made on the resources of Shanghai for the recovery of what had been lost in Kiangsu, and while Tseng Kwofan and his lieutenants had obtained what seemed the earnest of coming triumph on the Yangtse, the year 1861 closed with two distinct reverses for the Emperor. The city of Ningpo, after several preliminary discussions between the Taeping leaders and the English officials, was occupied by the former without resistance on the 9th of December. The Imperial garrison, dubious as to the possibility of resistance, retreated without loss to a place of security.

Three weeks later the great city of Hangchow shared the same fate after an obstinate defence creditable in every way to the besieged. Chung Wang, after his retreat from Kiangsi, had marched through a portion of Chekiang, and, sitting down before Hangchow, devoted all his energies to the capture of that city. The garrison behaved very well under a valiant officer named Wang Yuling, but was too small to hold so extensive a position. The Chinese city was first captured, and on the 29th of December the Manchu quarter was carried by storm. Wang Yuling hung himself in his garden;

his officers, and most of the Tartar soldiers, blew themselves up in the powder-magazine. The Taeping victory, so far as it went, was decisive, although Hangchow was a city of little more than ruins inhabited by corpses. If the hope of triumph had long departed, the capacity of the Taepings for inflicting an enormous amount of injury had evidently not been destroyed. Chung Wang's energy alone sustained the Taeping cause, but the lovers of rapine and turbulence flocked in their thousands to his standard.

The Taepings, encouraged by these successes on the coast, renewed their attempt on Shanghai. It was said that Tien Wang had given special orders for its capture; but it seems more probable that Chung Wang undertook the task on his own responsibility, well knowing that its fall would entail the collapse of all the vigorous preparations being made for the resumption of the campaign, at the same time that it would effectually protect the most exposed flank of the Taeping armies. Notwithstanding the plain declarations of the English admiral that an attack on Shanghai would be resisted by the English forces, the Taepings hoped, from what had occurred at Ningpo, that no active opposition would be made to them could they promptly overcome the Imperialists and obtain possession of the town. The Taepings heralded their approach with a proclamation announcing that "the hour of the Manchus had come. Shanghai is a little place, and we have nothing to fear from it. We must take Shanghai to complete our dominions."

On the 14th of January, 1862, the Taepings had reached the immediate vicinity of the town and foreign settlement. The surrounding country was concealed by the smoke of the burning villages which they had ruthlessly destroyed. The foreign settlement was crowded with thousands of fugitives imploring the aid of the Europeans to save their houses and property. Their sufferings, which would at the best have been great, were aggravated by the exceptional severity of the winter. The English garrison of two native regiments and some artillery, even when supported by the volunteers, was far too weak to attempt more than the defence of the place; but this it was fortunately able to

perform. The rebels, during the first week after their reappearance, plundered and burned in all directions, threatening even to make an attack on Woosung, the port at the mouth of the river. Here they were repulsed by the French, who were always much more pronounced in their favour of the Imperial cause, and who, whether for that reason or because of their natural temperament, were never loth to have a brush with the rebels. After this repulse other disasters speedily followed. Sir John Michel arrived at Shanghai with a small reinforcement of English troops, and Ward, having succeeded in disciplining two regiments of about one thousand strong in all, sallied forth from Sunkiang for the purpose of operating on the rear of the Taeping forces. Ward's capture of Quanfuling, with several hundred rebel boats which were frozen up in the river, should have warned the Taepings that it was nearly time for them to retire. However, they did not act as prudence would have dictated, and during the whole of February their raids continued round Shanghai. The suburbs suffered from their attacks, the foreign factories and boats were not secure, and several outrages on the persons of foreigners remained unatoned for. It became impossible to tolerate any longer their enormities. The English and French commanders therefore determined to attack the rebels, to enforce the original agreement with Tien Wang, and to clear the country round Shanghai of the presence of the Taepings for the space of thirty miles.

On the 21st of February, therefore, a joint force composed of 336 English sailors and marines, 160 French seamen, and 600 men from Ward's contingent, accompanied by their respective commanders, with Admiral Hope in chief command, advanced upon the village of Kachiaou, where the Taepings had strengthened their position, and placed guns on the walls. After a sharp engagement the place was stormed, Ward's men leading the attack with Burgevine at their head. The drilled Chinese behaved with great steadiness, and although much of their conduct was due to the example of the Europeans, they were admitted to have evinced gallantry at the same time that they acquired

confidence in themselves. This success was followed by the release of a large number of villagers who had been kept in chains; and inspired the Imperial authorities with an increased belief in the eventual triumph of their cause.

The Taepings were not to be dismayed by a single defeat. They even resumed their attacks on the Europeans. On one occasion Admiral Hope himself was compelled to retire before their superior numbers, and to summon fresh troops to his assistance. They were to pay dear for this illusory success. The reinforcements consisted of 450 Europeans and 700 of Ward's force, besides seven howitzers. With these it was determined to attack Tseedong, a place of much strength surrounded by stone walls and ditches seven feet deep. The Taepings stood to their guns with great spirit, receiving the advancing troops with a very heavy fire. When, however, Ward's contingent, making a detour, appeared in the rear of the place, they hastily evacuated their positions; but they were too late. While they hesitated the English sailors had carried the walls, and, caught between the two fires, they offered a stubborn but futile resistance. More than 700 were killed and 300 were taken prisoners. The favourable opinion formed of "the Ever-Victorious Army" by the action at Kachiaou was confirmed by the more serious affair at Tseedong; and the English authorities at Shanghai took steps to assist Ward in the task of increasing his army, while Mr. Bruce at Peking brought it under the favourable notice of Prince Kung and the Chinese Government. In consequence of this encouragement from the foreign authorities, special mention was made in an edict of the valiant conduct of the contingent known as the Ever-Victorious Army.

Having taken these hostile steps against the rebels, it necessarily followed that no advantage would accrue from any further hesitation with regard to allowing Europeans to enter the Imperial service for the purpose of opposing them. Ward was officially recognized, and allowed to purchase weapons and to engage officers. An Englishman contracted to convey 9000 of the troops who had stormed Ganking from the Yangtse to Shanghai. These men were Honan

braves, who had seen considerable service in the interior of China, and it was proposed that they should garrison the towns of Kiangsu accordingly as they were taken from the rebels. The period of preparation about these matters was marked by several further raids on the part of the Taepings which led to no important event, and by an attempt to seize Chusan from Ningpo which was repulsed with loss. The arrival of General Staveley from Tientsin at the end of March with portions of two English regiments (the 31st and 67th) put a new face on affairs, and showed that the time was at hand when it would be possible to carry out the threat of clearing the country round Shanghai for the space of thirty miles.

The first place to be attacked towards the realization of this plan was the village of Wongkadza, about twelve miles west of Shanghai. Here the Taepings offered only a brief resistance, retiring to some stronger stockades four miles further west. General Staveley, considering that his men had done enough work for that day, halted them, intending to renew the attack the next morning. Unfortunately Ward was carried away by his impetuosity, and attacked this inner position with some 500 of his own men. Admiral Hope accompanied him. The Taepings met them with a tremendous fire, and after several attempts to scale the works they were repulsed with heavy loss. Admiral Hope was wounded in the leg, seven officers were wounded, and seventy men killed and wounded. The attack was repeated in force on the following day, and after some fighting the Taepings evacuated their stockades on finding that Ward's men had got in their rear, and were threatening their line of retreat.

The next place attacked was the village of Tsipoo; and notwithstanding their strong earthworks and three wide ditches, the rebels were driven out in a few hours. It was then determined to attack Kahding, Tsingpu, Nanjao, and Cholin, at which places the Taepings were known to have mustered in considerable strength. Kahding was the first attacked by General Staveley in person at the head of a very strong force. The stockades in front of it were carried with comparatively little loss, as the English commander

resorted to the sure and safe principle in dealing with an Asiatic army of turning its flank. At Kahding itself, a strong walled city, the resistance was not as great as had been expected, the Taepings beginning to be seriously discouraged by the formidable enemies whose hostility they had aroused.

The capture of Kahding was followed by preparations for the attack on Tsingpu, which were hastened rather than delayed by a desperate attempt to set fire to Shanghai. The plot was fortunately discovered in time, and the culprits captured and summarily executed to the number of 200. Early in May a strong force was assembled at Sunkiang and proceeded by boat, on account of the difficulties of locomotion, to Tsingpu. The fire of the guns, in which the expedition was exceptionally strong, proved most destructive, and two breaches being pronounced practicable, the place was carried by assault. The rebels fought well and up to the last, on discovering flight to be impossible. The Chinese troops slew every man found in the place with arms in his hands. A few days later Nanjao was captured, but in the attack the French commander, Admiral Protet, a gallant officer who had been to the front during the whole of these operations, was shot dead. The rebels, disheartened by these successive defeats, rallied at Cholin, where they prepared to make a final stand. The allied force attacked Cholin on the 20th of May, and an English detachment carried it almost at the point of the bayonet. With this achievement the operations of the English troops came for the moment to an end, for a disaster to the Imperial arms in their rear necessitated their turning their attention to a different quarter.

The Chinese troops summoned from Ganking had at last arrived to the number of five or six thousand men ; and the Futai Sieh, who was on the point of being superseded to make room for Li Hung Chang, thought to employ them before his departure on some enterprise which should redound to his credit and restore his sinking fortunes. The operation was as hazardous as it was ambitious. The resolution he came to was to attack the city and forts of Taitan, a place north-west of Shanghai, and not very distant from Chung

Wang's head-quarters at Soochow. The Imperialist force reached Taitan on the 12th of May, but less than two days later Chung Wang arrived in person at the head of 10,000 chosen troops to relieve the garrison. A battle ensued on the day following, when, notwithstanding their great superiority in numbers, the Taepings failed to obtain any success. In this extremity Chung Wang resorted to a stratagem. Two thousand of his men shaved their heads and pretended to desert to the Imperialists. When the battle was renewed at sunrise on the following morning this band threw aside their assumed character and turned upon the Imperialists. A dreadful slaughter ensued. Of the seven thousand Honan braves, and the Tartars from Shanghai, five thousand fell on the field. The consequences of this disaster were to undo most of the good accomplished by General Staveley and his force. The Imperialists were for the moment dismayed, and the Taepings correspondingly encouraged. General Staveley's communications were threatened, one detachment was cut off, and the general had to abandon his intended plan and retrace his steps to Shanghai.

Desultory operations followed, but Kahding was abandoned to Chung Wang, who naturally claimed it as a decisive victory over "the foreign devils." After this success Chung Wang hastened to blockade both Tsingpu and Sunkiung, where Ward's contingent was in garrison. Almost at the same date as the defeat at Taitan the Taepings had been expelled from Ningpo, after having offered many provocations to the English commanders. They made a desperate defence, several officers were killed in the attack, and the affair at Ningpo was described by one who had a right to express an opinion as altogether "the fiercest thing" during the course of our Chinese campaign.

Chung Wang laid regular siege to Sunkiung, where Ward was in person, and he very nearly succeeded in carrying the place by escalade. The attempt was fortunately discovered by an English sailor just in time, and repulsed with a loss to the rebels of 100 men. The Taepings continued to show great daring and activity before both Sunkiung and Tsingpu; and although the latter place was bravely defended, it became

clear that the wisest course would be to evacuate it. A body of troops was therefore sent from Shanghai to form a junction with Ward at Sunkiang, and to effect the safe retreat of the Tsingpu garrison. The earlier proceedings were satisfactorily arranged, but the last act of all was grossly mismanaged and resulted in a catastrophe. Ward caused the place to be set on fire, when the Taepings, realizing what was being done, hastened into the town, and assailed the retiring garrison. A scene of great confusion followed; many lives were lost, and the commandant who had held it so courageously was taken prisoner. Chung Wang could therefore appeal to some facts to support his contention that he had got the better of both the Europeans and the Imperialists in the province of Kiangsu.

In the valley of the Yangtsekiang the cause of Tien Wang had not fared equally well. There one disaster had followed another. Not merely were the Imperialists successful in most of the open encounters, but they obtained, by a stratagem or act of treachery, possession of Ying Wang and some of the chief officials. An ex-rebel who had gone over to the Imperialists induced him to trust himself within the walls of Chuchow, where he and his followers were at once arrested and executed by Shingpao, the same officer who had commanded in the battle at the Palikao bridge, and who, it was confidently believed, had caused Captain Brabazon and the Abbé de Luc to be decapitated. The Taepings had also lost the position known as the Western Pillar, which is between Woohoo and Taeping. An army of 40,000 men under Tseng's brother encamped on the south-west side of the city. Tien Wang was smitten with panic by these dangers at his very door, and he sent off express messengers, three in one day, to Chung Wang to return to Nankin without a moment's waste of time. Chung Wang was highly displeased at being thus called away from the scene of his successes, but he had no choice save to obey. He left the command at Soochow to Mow Wang, and hastened back himself to Nankin.

By this time Ward's force had been raised to 5000 men, and another contingent known as the Franco-Chinese had

been organized in Chekiang. Tso Tsung Tang had also resumed action in that province. He had recaptured the town of Yenchow, and had succeeded in drawing up a force of 40,000 men with which to oppose the chief Taeping leader in that part, the She Wang, or Attendant King. His operations were extremely deliberate, but he was steadily bringing up the fresh levies of Fuhkien and Chekiang for the purpose of driving the Taepings into a corner at Hangchow Bay. Chung Wang found himself reduced to inaction at Nankin from want of good troops, without which he did not dare attack the strong positions of the Imperialists. Tien Wang, as a sign of his displeasure and disappointment, deprived him of his title, and ordered him to proceed to the province of Anhui.

Meantime Ward and his force were showing increased activity. One attempt to recover Tsingpu was indeed repulsed with loss, but the second attack succeeded. Skirmishes were of daily occurrence, and when Ward proceeded to Ningpo to superintend the operations for the recovery of Tzeki, which had been lost, the fortune of war had again veered round to the side of the Government. Tzeki was retaken, but Ward was wounded in the attack, and died the following morning, September 22, 1862. Ward was only thirty-seven, and although not a skilful soldier, his energy and promptitude had made him a very efficient leader of an irregular force. He deserves to be specially remembered as the original organizer of the body to be known in history as "the Ever-Victorious Army." It was something significant of the difficulties of the commander of this force that Colonel Forrester, the second officer and the defender of Tsingpu who had been taken prisoner, and then ransomed, should decline it, which afforded Burgevine the opportunity of coming to the front.

The recapture of Kahding, specially ordered by the Home Government, was the first operation in which the disciplined Chinese served under their new commander, although the attack on Kahding was conducted by General Staveley in person, and there were more than 2000 British troops present. The place offered only slight resistance, and was recaptured with

little loss and handed over to an Imperial garrison. After this the native force was augmented by a corps which had been specially trained by the English officers; and Captain Holland, of the Marine Infantry, was placed at Burgevine's disposal to act as his chief of the staff. The subsequent operations of the disciplined native force were for a time to be conducted under the supervision of Burgevine, whose base still remained at Sunkiang; while the new Futai, Li Hung Chang, with his lieutenant, General Ching, an ex-rebel who had come over to the Imperialists at Ganking, operated against the rebels from Shanghai. Mow Wang was worsted in more than one encounter, and his son was killed in battle by Ward's old lieutenant, Vincente. Unfortunately the progress of the campaign was greatly retarded by the feud which existed, and which soon broke out into acts, between Burgevine and Li, the Futai.

More than one circumstance contributed to embitter the quarrel. The Futai took all the credit of the successes over Mow Wang to his force, and ignored Burgevine's. General Ching was personally jealous of the Contingent, and hoped to secure a great military reputation from the overthrow of the rebels; and the chief obstacle in the way of the realization of his own wishes was "the Ever-Victorious Army." On the other hand, Burgevine was a man of high temper and strong passions, who was disposed to treat his Chinese colleagues with lofty superciliousness, and who met the wiles of the Futai with peremptory demands to recognize the claims of himself and his band. Nor was this all. Burgevine had designs of his own. Although the project had not taken definite form in his mind—for an unsubdued enemy was still in possession of the greater part of the province—the inclination was strong within him to play the part of military dictator with the Chinese; or, failing that, to found an independent authority on some convenient spot of Celestial territory. The Futai anticipated perhaps more than divined his wishes. In Burgevine he saw, very shortly after their coming into contact, not merely a man whom he disliked and distrusted, but one who, if allowed to pursue his plans unchecked, would in the end form a greater danger

to the Imperial authority than even the Taepings. It is not possible to deny Li's shrewdness in reading the character of the man with whom he had to deal.

Although Burgevine had succeeded to Ward's command, he had not acquired the intimacy and confidence of the great Chinese merchant Takee and his colleagues at Shanghai, which had been the main cause of his predecessor's influence and position. In Ward they felt implicit faith; Burgevine was comparatively unknown, and where known only regarded with suspicion. The patriotism of the Shanghai merchants consisted in protecting their own possessions. Having succeeded in this, they began to consider whether it was necessary to expend any longer the large sums voluntarily raised for the support of the contingent. Whatever doubt they may have felt was sensibly strengthened by the representations of the officials, who declared that Li and Ching were quite able to hold the Taepings in check, and that Shanghai was perfectly secure. This argument had the excellent recommendation that it coincided with their wishes, and in a few weeks Burgevine at Sunkiang found that the liberal supplies accorded to his predecessor were beginning to fall away. As the immediate consequence of this step, the force was reduced to inaction with all its attendant evils, and the remaining months of the year 1862 passed without any resumption of military operations on their part.

Having thus succeeded in crippling the efficiency of the contingent, the Chinese officials determined to proceed still further for the confusion of Burgevine. At first, in order to test his obedience, it was proposed that he and his men should be sent round by sea to Nankin to take part in the siege of that city, about to be resumed. The ships were actually prepared for their despatch, and the Taotai Wou, who had first fitted out a fleet against the rebels, was in readiness to accompany Burgevine, when Li and his colleague, as suspicious of Burgevine's compliance as they would have been indignant at his refusal, changed their plans and countermanded the expedition. Instead of carrying out this project, therefore, they laid a number of formal complaints before General Staveley as to Burgevine's conduct, and requested

the English Government to remove him from his command, and to appoint an English officer in his place. The charges against Burgevine did not at this time amount to more than a certain laxness in regard to the expenditure of the force, a disregard for the wishes and prejudices of the Chinese Government, and the want of tact, or of the desire to conciliate, in his personal relations with the Futai. There was an incompatibility between the Chinese and the foreign commanders in the field ; that was all. Had Burgevine been an English officer there would have been an end of the difficulty at once, by his requesting to be relieved from an irksome position in which his actions were misunderstood and misrepresented.

But Burgevine, although a man of some birth and education, regarded the position from the standpoint of the adventurer who believes that his own interests form a supreme law and are the highest good. As commander of the Ever-Victorious Army he was a personage to be considered even by foreign Governments. He would not voluntarily surrender the position which alone preserved him from obscurity. Having come to this decision, it was clear that even the partial execution of his plans must draw him into many errors of judgment which could not but embitter the conflict, at the same time that it compromised the good name of Europeans.

The reply of the English commander was to the effect that personally he could not interfere, but that he would refer the matter to London as well as to Mr. Bruce at Peking. In consequence of the delay thus caused the project of removing the force to Nankin was revived, and, the steamers having been chartered, Burgevine was requested to bring down his force from Sunkiang and to embark it at Shanghai. This he expressed his willingness to do on payment of his men, who were two months in arrear, and on the settlement of all outstanding claims. Burgevine was supported by his troops. Whatever his dislike to the proposed move, theirs was immeasurably greater. They refused to move without the payment of all arrears ; and on the 2nd of January, 1863, they even went so far as to openly mutiny. Two days later

Burgevine went to Shanghai, and had an interview with Takee. The meeting was stormy. Burgevine used personal violence towards the Shanghai merchant, whose attitude was at first overbearing, and he returned to his exasperated troops with the money, which he had carried off by force. The Futai Li, on hearing of the assault on Takee, hastened to General Staveley to complain of Burgevine's gross insubordination in striking a mandarin, which by the law of China was punishable with death. Burgevine was dismissed the Chinese service, and the notice of this decree was forwarded by the English General, with a recommendation to him to give up his command without disturbance. This Burgevine did, for the advice of the English General was equivalent to a command, and on the 6th of January, 1863, Burgevine was back at Shanghai. Captain Holland was then placed in temporary command, while the answer of the Home Government was awaited to General Staveley's proposition to entrust the force to the command of a young captain of engineers named Charles Gordon.

The fortunes of the Ever-Victorious Army were not destined to be more favourable or less chequered under the leading of Captain Holland than they had been under his predecessors. Chung Wang, whose campaign in Anhui had produced such small results that he had even recommended Tien Wang to abandon Nankin and to seek his fortune elsewhere, had returned to Soochow, and in Kiangsu the cause of the Taepings again revived through his energy, although it languished elsewhere. In February a detachment of Holland's force attacked Fushan, but met with a check, when the news of a serious defeat at Taitsan, where the former Futai Sieh had been defeated, compelled its speedy retreat to Sunkiang. Li had had some reason to believe that Taitsan would surrender on the approach of the Imperialists, and he accordingly sent a large army, including 2500 of the contingent, to attack it. The affair was badly managed. The assaulting party was stopped by a wide ditch; neither boats nor ladders arrived. The Taepings fired furiously on the exposed party, several officers were killed, and the men broke into confusion. The heavy guns stuck

in the soft ground and had to be abandoned ; and despite the good conduct of the contingent, the Taepings achieved a decisive success (February 13).

Chung Wang was able to feel that his old luck had not deserted him, and the Taepings of Kiangsu recovered all their former confidence in themselves and their leader. This disaster was a rude blow for Li Hung Chang ; and it was resolved that nothing should be attempted until the English officer, at last appointed, had assumed the active command. The campaign in Kiangsu had up to this point only contributed to increase the military reputation and experience of Chung Wang, whose energy more than counterbalanced the superior resources of the Imperialists and their European allies. A second attempt under Major Tapp to relieve Fushan had failed with loss. Several encounters had taken place round Ningpo, in which many officers were killed. A force had indeed been created claiming the brave boast of assured and endless victory ; but after more than two years' campaigning it had done little to justify its title. Perhaps intuitively it awaited the advent of its true leader. Although something had been accomplished since the conclusion of peace at Peking towards restoring the Emperor's authority, there was no sign that the end of this protracted and sanguinary struggle was near. The energy of Chung Wang might have even justified a belief in its indefinite prolongation.

CHAPTER XV.

CHINESE GORDON'S CAMPAIGNS.

WHEN Captain Gordon assumed the command, on the 24th of March, 1863, the fortunes of the Imperialists had again sunk to a low point. The return of Chung Wang had been followed by a disaster to the forces of the Government, and the Taepings were further encouraged by it to believe in the superiority which they seldom failed to display under the leading of the Faithful King. It would have been unreasonable to suppose that the appointment of a young English engineer officer to the command of a force, which was considered more likely to disobey him than to accept him as its leader, would suffice to restore the doubtful fortune of a war that had already continued for two years under very similar conditions. Yet clearly the whole result depended on whether Gordon could succeed better than Ward, or Burgevine, or Holland, in vanquishing the more desperate and well-armed rebels, who were in actual possession of all the strong places in the province of Kiangsu, and whose detachments stretched from Hangchow to Nankin. There was also another danger. The disciplined Chinese contingent, now numbering five regiments with their foreign officers of all nationalities, adventurers unrestrained by any consideration of obedience to their own Governments, furnished the means of great mischief, should any leader present himself to exhort them to fight for their own hand and to carve out a dominion for themselves. The possibility was far from chimerical ; it was fully realized and appreciated by the English authorities. A great responsibility, therefore, devolved upon Captain Gordon. He

had not merely to beat a victorious enemy, and to restore the confidence and discipline of his defeated troops ; but he had also to advance the objects of the English Government, and to redeem the rights of a long-outraged people. Unlike his predecessors, he had no personal aims for himself, he did not wish to displace or weaken the authority of the Chinese officials, and his paramount thought was how to rescue the unfortunate inhabitants of Kiangsu from the calamities which had desolated their hearths, and driven whole towns and districts to the verge of destruction and despair.

On the 24th of March Gordon, now given the brevet rank of major, left Shanghai, reaching Sunkiing on the following day. There was some fear of an immediate outbreak after his arrival ; but the men had no leader, and Major Gordon established himself at head-quarters without opposition. An order issued on the following day to the effect that nothing would be done to injure their position served to quiet the officers and their men ; and the resumption of active operations fortunately diverted the current of their thoughts. The danger of keeping such a body of men inactive was obvious ; and the perilous condition of the garrison at Chanzu, which Major Tapp had failed to relieve a month before by his attack on Fushan, rendered a prompt movement on the part of the force absolutely necessary. Three days after his first appearance at Sunkiing, Major Gordon was back in Shanghai purchasing extra ammunition in preparation for his march northwards. On the last day of March the expedition, consisting of one regiment and some artillery, sailed in two steamers for Fushan, where they found the Imperial troops strongly encamped near the shore. Major Tapp had already joined them at the head of another portion of the contingent.

The rebels were in possession of two stockades some miles inland ; but although they were in great numbers, their position did not strike the English officer as being strong. The advanced posts of the Imperialists, consisting of Tapp's men, were within half a mile of these stockades. The old town of Fushan lay unoccupied on the left hand. Major Gordon at once seized it for the purpose of using the walls as a battery. A heavy gun was placed on the rampart, and

four smaller ones in front, all of which began to fire on the rebel stockades on the 4th of March. The Taepings were not accustomed to such a vigorous fire, and soon retired. Their stockades were then carried, and on their attempting to recover them they were repulsed with loss. In consequence of this defeat the rebels withdrew in an unexpected and precipitate manner from before Chanzu, which was thus relieved without further bloodshed. The place had been most gallantly held by an ex-rebel chief, named Sute, and a Chinese mandarin Chu, aided by two Frenchmen. The relief of Chanzu was important, not merely as a military achievement, but also as affording practical proof of the safety with which rebels might abandon a hopeless cause and rally to the side of the Government. Major Gordon's command had, from every point of view, begun well.

Major Gordon returned to Sunkiang, where he employed himself in energetically restoring the discipline of his force, and in preparing for his next operation in the field, which Li Hung Chang wished should be the capture of Quinsan, a town half-way between Soochow and Taitsan, and the surrender of which would involve, as Li believed, the immediate fall of the last-named place. These preliminary measures occupied a fortnight, but the arrangements had barely been made for the advance on Taitsan, when Burgevine suddenly returned from Peking and reappeared at Shanghai, accompanied by a Chinese official alleged to be instructed by Prince Kung and the Tsungli Yamen to reinstate him in the command of the Ever-Victorious Army. This circumstance was, to say the least, embarrassing, as he brought with him a formal statement on the part of both Sir Frederick Bruce and Mr. Burlingame, the representative of the United States, that they had examined into the charges against him, found them to be untenable, and considered that he had been very harshly treated, and that he had a correspondingly strong claim on the consideration of the Chinese Government. His journey to Peking had not been in vain.

On the 24th of April the force left Sunkiang for Quinsan, the infantry proceeding by land, the artillery by water with the steamer *Hyson*. On that very day Major Gordon had

received a long communication from Li Hung Chang informing him of the proceedings in connection with Burgevine, but stating his final decision not to restore him to the command of the Ward force, a decision which reflected the greatest credit on Li's firmness and perspicuity. He also gave Major Gordon all the credit he deserved for what he had already done, stating that "the people and place were charmed with him," and that he had petitioned the Board at Peking to confer upon him the rank of Tsungping or Brigadier-General. This despatch of the Futai was intended to undo and repair the mischief that would have been caused by the hasty and ill-considered resolve of the Ministers at Peking, if carried into execution. General Brown, who had succeeded General Staveley in the command at Shanghai, fortunately took a correct view of the situation, and refused to recognize Burgevine unless the Futai reappointed him. Li was most careful to repudiate at the very earliest moment all intention of doing so, a decision which he had signified to Major Gordon in his letter of the 24th of April. The Tsungli Yamen had shown extraordinary favour towards foreigners, he said; but Li had only to consider the efficiency of the army and the welfare of the State. These demanded the retention of Gordon and the exclusion of Burgevine.

The force which had left Sunkiang with the intention of attacking Quinsan was compelled to suddenly alter its march by the news of an act of treachery at Taitsan which entailed the loss of 1500 Imperialists. The commandant had feigned a desire to surrender the place, and the Chinese, deceived by his representations, had allowed themselves to be entrapped into a false position, when the rebels, coming down in overwhelming strength, had slaughtered them to the number named. It became necessary to retrieve this disaster without delay, more especially as all hope of taking Quinsan had for the moment to be abandoned.

Major Gordon at once altered the direction of his march, and joining *en route* General Ching, who had, on the news, broken up his camp before Quinsan, hastened as rapidly as possible to Taitsan, where he arrived on the 29th of April. Bad weather obliged him to defer the attack until the 1st

of May, when two stockades on the west side were carried, and their defenders compelled to flee, not into the town as they would have wished, but away from it towards Chanzu. On the following day, the attack was resumed on the north side, while the armed boats proceeded to assault the place from the creek. The firing continued from nine in the morning until five in the evening, when a breach seemed to be practicable, and two regiments were ordered to the assault. The rebels showed great courage and fortitude, swarming in the breach and pouring a heavy and well-directed fire upon the troops. The attack was momentarily checked; but while the stormers remained under such cover as they could find, the shells of two howitzers were playing over their heads and causing frightful havoc among the Taepings in the breach. But for these guns, Major Gordon did not think that the place would have been carried at all; but after some minutes of this firing at close quarters, the rebels began to show signs of wavering. A party of troops gained the wall, a fresh regiment advanced towards the breach, and the disappearance of the snake flags showed that the Taeping leaders had given up the fight. Taitsan was thus captured, and the three previous disasters before it retrieved.

On the 4th of May the victorious force appeared before Quinsan, a place of considerable strength and possessing a formidable artillery directed by an European. The town was evidently too strong to be carried by an immediate attack, and Major Gordon's movements were further hampered by the conduct of his own men, who, upon their arrival at Quinsan, hurried off in detachments to Sunkiang for the purpose of disposing of their spoil. Ammunition had also fallen short, and the commander was consequently obliged to return to refit and to rally his men. At Sunkiang worse confusion followed, for the men, or rather the officers, broke out into mutiny on the occasion of Major Gordon appointing an English officer with the rank of lieutenant-colonel to the control of the commissariat, which had been completely neglected. Those who had served with Ward and Burgevine objected to their being passed over, and openly refused to obey orders. Fortunately the stores and ammunition were collected,

and Major Gordon announced that he would march in the following morning, whether with or without the mutineers mattered nothing to him. Those who did not answer to their names at the end of the first half-march would be dismissed, and he spoke with the authority of one in complete accord with the Chinese authorities themselves. The native soldiers obeyed him as a Chinese official, and the foreign officers feared to disobey him as they would have liked on account of his commanding the source whence they were paid. The mutineers fell in, and a force of nearly 3000 men, well-equipped and anxious for the fray, returned to Quinsan, where General Ching had, in the meanwhile, kept the rebels in close watch from a strong position defended by several stockades, and supported by the *Hyson*.

Immediately after his arrival, Major Gordon moved out his force to attack the stockades which the rebels had constructed on their right wing. These were strongly built; but as soon as the defenders perceived that the assailants had gained their flank they precipitately withdrew into Quinsan itself. General Ching wished the attack to be made on the Eastern Gate, opposite to which he had raised his own entrenchments, and by which he had announced his intention of forcing his way; but a brief inspection showed Major Gordon that that was the strongest point of the town, and that a direct attack upon it could only succeed, if at all, by a very considerable sacrifice of men. Like a prudent commander, Major Gordon determined to reconnoitre; and, after much grumbling on the part of General Ching, he decided that the most hopeful plan was to carry some stockades situated seven miles west of the town, and thence assail Quinsan on the Soochow side, which was weaker than the others. These stockades were at a village called Chumze. On the 30th of May the force detailed for this work proceeded to carry it out. The *Hyson* and fifty Imperial gun-boats conveyed the land force, which consisted of one regiment, some guns, and a large body of Imperialists. The rebels at Chumze offered hardly the least resistance, whether it was that they were dismayed at

the sudden appearance of the enemy, or, as was stated at the time, because they considered themselves ill-treated by their comrades in Quinsan. The *Hyson* vigorously pursued those who fled towards Soochow, and completed the effect of this success by the capture of a very strong and well-built fort covering a bridge at Ta Edin. An Imperialist garrison was installed there, and the *Hyson* continued the pursuit to within a mile of Soochow itself.

While the late defenders of Chumze were thus driven in hopeless and irretrievable confusion along the narrow road to Soochow, those in Quinsan itself had been terribly alarmed at the cutting off of their communications. They saw themselves on the point of being surrounded, and they yielded to the uncontrollable impulse of panic. During the night, after having suffered severely from the *Hyson's* fire, the garrison evacuated the place, which might easily have held out; and General Ching had the personal satisfaction, on learning from some deserters of the flight of the garrison, of leading his men over the eastern walls which he had wished to assault. The importance of Quinsan was realized on its capture. Major Gordon pronounced it to be the key of Soochow, and at once resolved to establish his head-quarters there, partly because of its natural advantages, but also and not less on account of its enabling him to gradually destroy the evil associations which the men of his force had contracted at Sunkiang.

The change was not acceptable, however, to the force itself; and the artillery in particular refused to obey orders, and threatened to shoot their officers. Discipline was, however, promptly reasserted by the energy of the commander, who thus described the scene:—"The non-commissioned officers, as usual, all paraded, and were sent for by Major Gordon, who asked them the reason why the men did not fall in, and who wrote the proclamation. They, of course, did not know, and on Major Gordon telling them he would be obliged to shoot one in every five, they evinced their objection to this proceeding by a groan. The most prominent in this was a corporal, who was dragged out, and a couple of infantry who were standing by were ordered to

load and directed to shoot the mutineer, which one did without the slightest hesitation." After this "the Ever-Victorious Army" became gradually reconciled to its new position at Quinsan. Major Gordon had difficulties with his Chinese colleague also; for General Ching wanted to take all the credit of the victory to himself, and, resentful at Gordon's not having attacked the East Gate, objected to his retaining the town, and said he ought to return to Sunkiang. However, his objections proved as unavailing as his secret disparagement of the English officer, who remained in Quinsan and who was fortunately relieved of the presence of many of the original members of the Ward force by their voluntarily returning to Sunkiang. He had no difficulty in supplying their places, and many of his recruits were the ex-Taeping soldiers who had been captured with Quinsan. General Ching proceeded in high dudgeon to Chumze and Ta Edin, where he placed his troops in quarters, while his large fleet of gun-boats ensured the safety of his communications and commanded the narrow paths or causeways on either side of the creek.

After the capture of Quinsan there was a cessation of active operations for nearly two months. It was the height of summer, and the new troops had to be drilled. The difficulty with Ching was arranged through the mediation of Dr. Macartney, who had just left the English army to become Li's right-hand man, and who was sent by that official from Shanghai for the express purpose. Dr. Halliday Macartney had been an assistant surgeon in the 99th, and went through the Peking campaign in that capacity. At this time he was employed in a variety of capacities by the Futai. He "drilled troops, supervised the manufacture of shells, gave advice, brightened the Futai's intellect about foreigners, and made peace, in which last accomplishment his forte lay." How accurate that description was has been shown by Sir Halliday Macartney during his diplomatic career of more than twenty years.

Two other circumstances occurred to embarrass the young commander. There were rumours of some meditated movement on the part of Burgevine, and there was a further

manifestation of insubordination in the force. The artillery had been cowed by Major Gordon's vigour, but its efficiency remained more doubtful than could be satisfactory to the general responsible for its condition, and one also relying upon it as the most potent arm of his force. He resolved to remove the old commander, and to appoint an English officer, Major Tapp, in his place. On carrying his determination into effect the officers sent in "a round robin," refusing to accept a new officer. This was on the 25th of July, and the expedition which had been decided upon against Wokong had consequently to set out the following morning without a single artillery officer. In face of the inflexible resolve of the leader, however, the officers repented, and appeared in a body at the camp begging to be taken back, and expressing their willingness to accept "Major Tapp or any one else" as their colonel.

With these troops, part of whom had only just returned to a proper sense of discipline, Gordon proceeded to attack Kahpoo, a place on the Grand Canal south of Soochow, where the rebels held two strongly-built stone forts. The force had been strengthened by the addition of another steamer, the *Firefly*, a sister-vessel to the *Hyson*. Major Gordon arrived before Kahpoo on the 27th of July; and the garrison, evidently taken by surprise, made scarcely the least resistance. The capture of Kahpoo placed Gordon's force between Soochow and Wokong, the next object of attack.

At Wokong the rebels were equally unprepared. The garrison at Kahpoo, thinking only of its own safety, had fled to Soochow, leaving their comrades at Wokong unwarned and to their fate. So heedless were the Taepings at this place of all danger from the north, that they had even neglected to occupy a strong stone fort situated on a creek of the Tahoe lake, and about 1000 yards north of the walls of Wokong. The Taepings attempted too late to repair their error, and the loss of this fort cost them that of the other stockades which they had constructed at different points. Several of these were without any garrison, either because their numbers were too few, or because they wished to husband their resources for the defence of Wokong itself. Their inaction

entailed the defection of many of their adherents in the surrounding country, who went over to the Imperialists on Major Gordon's promise of their lives. A success obtained by General Ching and the Imperialists at Tungli entailed further discomfiture to the Taepings. Wokong itself was too weak to offer any effectual resistance ; and the garrison on the eve of the assault ordered for the 29th of July sent out a request for quarter, which was granted, and the place surrendered without further fighting. A brother of Chung Wang had been in command there, but he had escaped by the Tahoe lake during the night before the attack. He had only received the title of Yang Wang a few days ; but instead of preparing to signalize his promotion by some act of vigour, he had procured a theatrical company from Hangchow to amuse his hours of leisure. This portion of the campaign closed with the repulse of an attack on Kahpoo by some of the Soochow garrison led by Mow Wang in person, and with the preparations for the return of Major Gordon's force to its headquarters at Quinsan.

Meanwhile an event of far greater importance had happened than even the capture of these towns, although they formed the necessary preliminary to the investment of Soochow. Burgevine had come to the decision to join the Taepings. On his return from Peking with the recommendations of Mr. Burlingame and Sir Frederick Bruce in his pocket, and escorted by a delegate of the Tsungli Yamen, he had anticipated with more or less confidence his being promptly reinstated in the command of the Ever-Victorious Army, which, as he was careful to protest, he had never resigned. The firmness of Li Hung Chang baffled his project and disappointed his hopes. He had expected that the Governor of Kiangsu would at once defer to the wishes of the Ministers at Peking, and would carry into execution Prince Kung's very friendly expressions. Li did nothing of the sort. He plainly declined to entrust Burgevine with any command, and the event amply justified the Futai's decision.

Disappointed in his main hope, Burgevine remained on at Shanghai, employing his time in watching the varying phases of a campaign in which he longed to take part, and of which

he believed that it was only his due to have the direction, but still hesitating as to what decision it behoved him to take. His contempt for all Chinese officials became hatred of the bitterest kind of the Futai, by whom he had been not merely thwarted but over-reached, and predisposed him to regard with no unfavourable eye the idea of joining his fortunes to those of the rebel Taepings now that no opportunity presented itself for forming a third and independent party of his own. To him in this frame of mind came some of the dismissed officers and men of the Ward force, appealing to his vanity by declaring that his soldiers remembered him with affection, and that he had only to hoist his flag for most of his old followers to rally round him. There was little to marvel at if he also was not free from some feeling of jealousy at the success and growing fame of Major Gordon, for whom he simulated a warm friendship. The combination of motives proved altogether irresistible as soon as he found that several hundred European adventurers were ready to accompany him into the ranks of the Taepings, and to endeavour to do for them what they had failed to perform for the Imperialists, and what the opposition of the Futai and the discipline of Major Gordon prevented their attempting a second time.

On the 15th of July Dr. Macartney wrote to Major Gordon stating that he had positive information that Burgevine was enlisting men for some enterprise, that he had already collected about 300 Europeans, and that he had even gone so far as to chose a special flag, a white diamond on a red ground, and containing a black star in the centre of the diamond. On the 21st of the same month Burgevine wrote to Major Gordon saying that there would be many rumours about him, but that he was not to believe any of them, and that he would come and see him shortly. This letter was written as a blind, and, unfortunately, Major Gordon attached greater value to Burgevine's word than he did to the precise information of Dr. Macartney. He was too much disposed to think that, as the officer who had to a certain extent superseded Burgevine in the command, he was bound to take the most favourable view of all his actions, and to trust

implicitly in his good faith. Although Beechy, Burgevine's agent, was arrested, the real conspirator himself remained at large, simply because Major Gordon, trusting to his word, had made himself personally responsible to the Chinese authorities for his good faith.

Burgevine's plans had been deeply laid. He had been long in correspondence with Mow Wang. His terms had been accepted, and he had finally made up his mind more than a fortnight before he wrote to Major Gordon declaring that he was coming to see him at Quinsan. On the 2nd of August Dr. Macartney left Shanghai in charge of a new steamer, the *Kajow*, and he reached Sunkiang in safety with his vessel; but during his absence to communicate with the town the *Kajow* was seized by "a party of thirty-two rowdies," who eventually proved to be Burgevine and his men. In this open manner did Burgevine first proclaim his adhesion to the rebel cause, and had he only possessed the natural capacity he might have inflicted an immense amount of injury on the Imperialists, reopened and extended all the old injuries, and prolonged the struggle for an indefinite period. Fortunately his capacity was not equal to his opportunities.

At this time Major Gordon came to the decision to resign, and he had hastened back to Shanghai in order to place his withdrawal from the force in the hands of the Futai. He arrived there on the very day that Burgevine seized the *Kajow* steamer at Sunkiang, and on hearing the news he at once withdrew his resignation, which had been made partly from irritation at the irregular payment of his men, and also on account of the cruelty of General Ching. Not merely did he withdraw his resignation, but he hastened back to Quinsan, into which he rode on the night of the very same day that had witnessed his departure. The immediate and most pressing danger was from the possible defection of the force to its old leader, when, with the large stores of artillery and ammunition at Quinsan in their possession, not even Shanghai with its very weak foreign garrison could be considered safe from attack. As a measure of precaution Major Gordon sent some of his heavy guns and stores back to Taitan,

where the English commander, General Brown, consented to guard them, while Gordon himself hastened off to Kahpoo, now threatened both by the Soochow force and by the foreign adventurers acting under Burgevine.

He arrived at a most critical moment. The garrison was hard pressed. General Ching had gone back to Shanghai, and only the presence of the *Hyson* prevented the rebels, who were well armed and possessed an efficient artillery, from carrying the fort by a rush. The arrival of Major Gordon with 150 men on board his third steamer, the *Cricket*, restored the confidence of the defenders, but there was no doubt that Burgevine had lost a most favourable opportunity. Instead of hastening with his prize from Sunkiang to take part in the operations against Kahpoo and Wokong, he made for the Taho lake, where he felt himself secure, and by which he proceeded to join his new ally, Mow Wang, at Soochow. Meantime that chief in person, assisted by a portion of the Europeans, had got a 12-pounder howitzer into position opposite the stockades at Kahpoo, which placed the rebels on a greater equality with Gordon's force, as even the steamers had to be careful of the shell fire. The fighting now became severe. The rebels fought with greater confidence, and it was evident to the young commander that each battle would be more and more stubbornly contested. But of the ultimate success of the Imperialists he never felt doubtful for a moment; and, after a week's continual engagement, he had the satisfaction of perceiving the whole Taeping force burn most of the villages in their possession and retire into Soochow. About the same time the present Sir Halliday Macartney took the towns of Fongching and Tseedong.

General Ching, who was a man of almost extraordinary energy and restlessness, resolved to signalize his return to the field by some striking act while Major Gordon was completing his preparations at Quinsan for a fresh effort. His headquarters were at the strong fort of Ta Edin, on the creek leading from Quinsan to Soochow, and, having the *Hyson* with him, he determined to make a dash to some point nearer the great rebel stronghold. On the 30th of August he had seized the position of Waiquaidong, where, in three days, he threw up

stockades, admirably constructed, and which could not have been carried save by a great effort on the part of the whole of the Soochow garrison. Towards the end of September, Major Gordon, fearing lest the rebels, who had now the supposed advantage of Burgevine's presence and advice, might make some attempt to cut off General Ching's lengthy communications, moved forward to Waiquaidong to support him; but, when he arrived, he found that the impatient mandarin, encouraged either by the news of his approach or at the inaction of the Taepings in Soochow, had made a still further advance of two miles, so that he was only 1000 yards distant from the rebel stockades in front of the East Gate. Major Gordon had at this time been reinforced by the Franco-Chinese Corps, which had been well disciplined, under the command of Captain Bonnefoy, while the necessity of leaving any strong garrison at Quinsan had been obviated by the loan of 200 Belooches from General Brown's force.

The rebel position having been carefully reconnoitred, both on the east and on the south, Major Gordon determined that the first step necessary for its proper beleaguering was to seize and fortify the village of Patachiaou, about one mile south of the city wall. The village, although strongly stockaded, was evacuated by the garrison after a feeble resistance, and an attempt to recover it a few hours later by Mow Wang in person resulted in a rude repulse chiefly on account of the effective fire of the *Hyson*. Burgevine, instead of fighting the battles of the failing cause he had adopted, was travelling about the country: at one moment in the capital interviewing Tien Wang and his ministers, at another going about in disguise even in the streets of Shanghai. But during the weeks when General Ching might have been taken at a disadvantage, and when it was quite possible to recover some of the places which had been lost, he was absent from the scene of military operations. After the capture of Patachiaou most of the troops and the steamers that had taken it were sent back to Waiquaidong, but Major Gordon remained there with a select body of his men and three howitzers.

The rebels had not resigned themselves to the loss of

Patachiaou, and on the 1st of October they made a regular attempt to recover it. They brought the *Kajow* into action, and, as it had found a daring commander in a man named Jones, its assistance proved very considerable. They had also a 32-pounder gun on board a junk, and this enabled them to overcome the fire of Gordon's howitzers and also of the *Hyson*, which arrived from Waiquaidong during the engagement. But notwithstanding the superiority of their artillery the rebels hesitated to come to close quarters, and when Major Gordon and Captain Bonnefoy led a sortie against them at the end of the day they retired precipitately. This action was followed by a suspension of arms and by the commencement of a correspondence and even of conversations between the Europeans who were brought by such a strange combination of circumstances into hostile camps on Chinese soil.

On the 3rd of October Burgevine wrote Major Gordon in terms of confidence on the success of the Taepings. Three days later Burgevine met Major Gordon at the front of the stockades, and expressed his wish to give in his surrender on the assurance that no proceedings would be taken against him or those who served under his flag. He attributed this sudden change in his plans to the state of his health ; but there was never the least doubt that the true reasons of this altered view were dissatisfaction with his treatment by the Taeping leaders and a conviction of the impossibility of success. Inside Soochow, and at Nankin, it was possible to see with clearer eyes than at Shanghai that the Taeping cause was one that could not be resuscitated. But although Burgevine soon and very clearly saw the hopelessness of the Taeping movement, he had by no means made up his mind to go over to the Imperialists. With a considerable number of European followers at his beck and call, and with a profound and ineradicable contempt for the whole Chinese official world, he was loth to lose or surrender the position which gave him a certain importance. He vacillated between a number of suggestions, and the last he came to was the most remarkable, at the same time that it revealed more clearly than any other the vain and meretricious character

of the man. In his second interview with Major Gordon he proposed that that officer should join him, and, combining the whole force of the Europeans and the disciplined Chinese, seize Soochow, and establish an independent authority of their own. It was the old filibustering idea, revived under the most unfavourable circumstances, of fighting for their own hand, dragging the European name in the dirt, and founding an independent authority of some vague, undefinable, and transitory character. Major Gordon listened to the unfolding of this scheme of miserable treachery, and only his strong sense of the utter impossibility, and indeed the ridiculousness of the project, prevented his contempt and indignation finding forcible expression. Burgevine, the traitor to the Imperial cause, the man whose health would not allow him to do his duty to his new masters in Soochow, thus revealed his plan for defying all parties, and for deciding the fate of the Dragon Throne. The only reply he received was the cold one that it would be better and wiser to confine his attention to the question of whether he intended to yield or not, instead of discussing idle schemes of "vaulting ambition."

Meantime, Chung Wang had come down from Nankin to superintend the defence of Soochow; and in face of a more capable opponent he still did not despair of success, or at the least of making a good fight of it. He formed the plan of assuming the offensive against Chanzu whilst General Ching was employed in erecting his stockades step by step nearer to the eastern wall at Soochow. In order to prevent the realization of this project, Major Gordon made several demonstrations on the western side of Soochow, which had the effect of inducing Chung Wang to defer his departure. At this juncture serious news arrived from the south. A large rebel force, assembled from Chekiang and the silk districts south of the Taho lake, had moved up the Grand Canal and held the garrison of Wokong in close leaguer. On the 10th of October the Imperialists stationed there made a sortie, but were driven back with the loss of several hundred men killed and wounded. Their provisions were almost exhausted, and it was evident that, unless relieved, they could not hold out many days longer. On the 12th of

October Major Gordon therefore hastened to their succour. The rebels held a position south of Wokong, and, as they felt sure of a safe retreat, they fought with great determination. The battle lasted three hours; the guns had to be brought up to within fifty yards of the stockade, and the whole affair is described as one of the hardest-fought actions of the war. On the return of the contingent to Patachiaou, about thirty Europeans deserted the rebels, but Burgevine and one or two others were not with them.

Chung Wang had seized the opportunity of Gordon's departure for the relief of Wokong to carry out his scheme against Chanzu. Taking the *Kajow* with him, and a considerable number of the foreign adventurers, he reached Monding, where the Imperialists were strongly entrenched at the junction of the main creek from Chanzu with the canal. He attacked them, and a severely-contested struggle ensued, in which at first the Taepings carried everything before them. But the fortune of the day soon veered round. The *Kajow* was sunk by a lucky shot, great havoc was wrought by the explosion of a powder-boat, and the Imperialists remained masters of a hard-fought field. The defection of the Europeans placed Burgevine in serious peril, and only Major Gordon's urgent representations and acts of courtesy to the Mow Wang saved his life. The Taeping leader, struck by the gallantry and fair-dealing of the English officer, set Burgevine free; and on the very day that he wrote his second letter from Soochow he was permitted to leave that place—an act of generosity most creditable to Mow Wang. Burgevine came out of the whole complication with a reputation in every way diminished and sadly tarnished. He had not even the most common and brutal courage which would have impelled him to stay in Soochow and take the chances of the party to which he had elected to attach himself. Whatever his natural talents might have been, his vanity and weakness obscured them all. With the inclination to create an infinity of mischief, it must be considered fortunate that his ability was so small, for his opportunities were abundant. Gordon had shown him nothing but kindness, and Mr. Seward, Consul for the United States at

Shanghai, wrote officially and thanked Major Gordon for his great consideration to "misguided General Burgevine and his men." Burgevine was drowned in a Chinese river in June, 1865.

The conclusion of the Burgevine incident removed a weight from Major Gordon's mind. Established on the east and south of Soochow, he determined to secure a similar position on its western side, when he would be able to intercept the communications still held by the garrison across the Taho lake. In order to attain this object it was necessary, in the first place, to carry the stockades at Wuliungchow, a village two miles west of Patachiaou. The place was captured at the first attack and successfully held, notwithstanding a fierce attempt to recover it under the personal direction of Chung Wang, who returned for the express purpose. This success was followed by others. Another large body of rebels had come up from the south and assailed the garrison of Wokong. On the 26th of October one of Gordon's lieutenants, Major Kirkham, inflicted a severe defeat upon them, and vigorously pursued them for several miles. During this fight alone the rebels lost—in killed, wounded, and prisoners—nearly 3000 men.

The next operation undertaken was the capture of the village of Leeku, three miles north of Soochow, as the preliminary to investing the city on the north. Here Major Gordon resorted to his usual flanking tactics, and with conspicuous success. The rebels fought well; one officer was killed at Gordon's side, and the men in the stockade were cut down with the exception of about forty, who were made prisoners. Soochow was then assailed on the northern as well as on the other sides, but Chung Wang's army still served to keep open communications by means of the Grand Canal. That army had its principal quarters at Wusieh, where it was kept in check by a large Imperialist force under Santajin, Li's brother, who had advanced from Kongyin on the Yangtse. Major Gordon's main difficulty now arose from the insufficiency of his force to hold so wide an extent of country; and in order to procure a reinforcement from Santajin he agreed to assist that commander against his able

opponent Chung Wang. With a view to accomplishing this, the Taeping position at Wanti, two miles north of Leeku, was attacked and carried with comparatively little loss from the rebels, although many of the assailants perished by the fire of their own comrades, owing to the European officers attacking without orders on two sides at the same moment.

At this stage of the campaign there were 13,500 men round Soochow, and of these, 8500 were fully occupied in the defence of the stockades, leaving the very small number of 5000 men available for active measures in the field. On the other hand, Santajin had not fewer than 20,000, and possibly as many as 30,000 men under his orders. But the Taepings still enjoyed the numerical superiority. They had 40,000 men in Soochow, 20,000 at Wusieh, and Chung Wang occupied a camp, halfway between these places, with 18,000 followers. The presence of Chung Wang was also estimated to be worth a corps of 5000 soldiers. Had Gordon been free to act, his plan of campaign would have been simple and decisive. He would have effected a junction of his forces with Santajin, he would have overwhelmed Chung Wang's 18,000 with his combined army of double that strength, and he would have appeared at the head of his victorious troops before the bewildered garrison of Wusieh. It would probably have terminated the campaign at a stroke. Even the decisive defeat of Chung Wang alone might have entailed the collapse of the cause now tottering to its fall. But Major Gordon had to consider not merely the military quality of his allies, but also their jealousies and differences. General Ching hated Santajin on private grounds as well as on public. He desired a monopoly of the profit and honour of the campaign. His own reputation would be made by the capture of Soochow. It would be diminished and cast into the shade were another Imperial commander to defeat Chung Wang and close the line of the Grand Canal. Were Gordon to detach himself from General Ching he could not feel sure what that jealous and impulsive commander would do. He would certainly not preserve the vigilant defensive before Soochow necessary to ensure the safety of the army operating to the north. The commander of the Ever-Victorious Army had consequently

to abandon the tempting idea of crushing Chung Wang and of capturing the towns in the rear of Nankin, and to have recourse to safer but slower methods.

The loss of the steamer *Firefly*, which was carried off by a party of European and Chinese desperadoes from outside Li's camp at Shanghai, and the difficulty of operating in a country intersected in every direction by creeks and canals, compelled several changes of plan; but on the 19th of November Major Gordon had collected the whole of his available force to attack Fusaiquan, a place on the Grand Canal six miles north of Soochow. Here the rebels had barred the canal on three different points, while on the banks they occupied eight earthworks, which were fortunately in a very incomplete state. A desperate resistance was expected from the rebels at this advantageous spot, but they preferred their safety to their duty, and retreated to Wusieh with hardly the least loss. Not a man of the attacking force was hit, and only three of the rebels fell. The incapacity and cowardice of the Wang in command was conspicuous, and, as the victor said, if ever a Taeping leader deserved to lose his head, he did, for abandoning so strong and formidable a position. In consequence of this reverse Chung Wang withdrew his forces from his camp in face of Santajin, and concentrated his men at Monding and Wusieh for the defence of the Grand Canal.

The investment of Soochow being now as complete as the number of troops under the Imperial standard would allow of, Major Gordon returned to General Ching's stockades in front of that place, with the view of resuming the attack on the eastern gate. General Ching and Captain Bonnefoy had met with a slight repulse there on the 14th of October. The stockade in front of the east gate was known by the name of Low Mun, and had been strengthened to the best knowledge of the Taeping engineers. Their position was exceedingly formidable, consisting of a line of breastwork defended at intervals with circular stockades. Major Gordon decided upon making a night attack, and he arranged his plans from the information provided by the European and other deserters who had been inside. The Taipings were not without their spies and sympathizers also, and the

intended attack was revealed to them. The attack was made at two in the morning of the 27th of November, but the rebels had mustered in force and received Major Gordon's men with tremendous volleys. Even then the disciplined troops would not give way, and encouraged by the example of their leader, who seemed to be at the front and at every point at the same moment, fairly held their own on the edge of the enemy's position. Unfortunately the troops in support behaved badly, and got confused from the heavy fire of the Taepings, which never slackened. Some of them absolutely retired, and others were landed at the wrong places. Major Gordon had to hasten to the rear to restore order, and during his absence the advanced guard were expelled from their position by a forward movement led by Mow Wang in person. The attack had failed, and there was nothing to do save to draw off the troops with as little further loss as possible. This was Major Gordon's first defeat, but it was so evidently due to the accidents inseparable from a night attempt, and to the fact that the surprise had been revealed, that it produced a less discouraging effect on officers and men than might have been deemed probable. Up to this day Major Gordon had obtained thirteen distinct victories besides the advantage in many minor skirmishes.

Undismayed by this reverse, Major Gordon collected all his troops and artillery from the other stockades, and resolved to attack the Low Mun position with his whole force. He also collected all his heavy guns and mortars and cannonaded the rebel stockade for some time; but on an advance being ordered the assailants were compelled to retire by the fire which the Taepings brought to bear on them from every available point. Chung Wang had hastened down from Wusieh to take part in the defence of what was rightly regarded as the key of the position at Soochow, and both he and Mow Wang superintended in person the defence of the Low Mun stockade. After a further cannonade the advance was again sounded, but this second attack would also have failed had not the officers and men boldly plunged into the moat or creek and swum across. The whole of the stockades and a stone fort were then carried, and the Imperial forces firmly

established at a point only 900 yards from the inner wall of Soochow. Six officers and fifty men were killed, and three officers, five Europeans, and 128 men were wounded in this successful attack.

The capture of the Low Mun stockades meant practically the fall of Soochow. Chung Wang then left it to its fate, and all the other Wangs except Mow Wang were in favour of coming to terms with the Imperialists. Even before this defeat Lar Wang had entered into communications with General Ching for coming over, and as he had the majority of the troops at Soochow under his orders, Mow Wang was practically powerless, although resolute to defend the place to the last. Several interviews took place between the Wangs and General Ching and Li Hung Chang. Major Gordon also saw the former, and had one interview with Lar Wang in person. The English officer proposed as the most feasible plan that Lar Wang should surrender one of the gates. During all this period Major Gordon had impressed on both of his Chinese colleagues the imperative necessity there was, for reasons of policy and prudence, to deal leniently and honourably by the rebel chiefs. All seemed to be going well. General Ching took an oath of brotherhood with Lar Wang, Li Hung Chang agreed with everything that fell from Gordon's lips. The only one exempted from this tacit understanding was Mow Wang, always in favour of fighting it out and defending the town; and his name was not mentioned for the simple reason that he had nothing to do with the negotiations. For Mow Wang Major Gordon had formed the esteem due to a gallant enemy, and he resolved to spare no effort to save his life.

His benevolent intentions were thwarted by the events that had occurred within Soochow. Mow Wang had been murdered by the other Wangs, who feared that he might detect their plans and prevent their being carried out. The death of Mow Wang removed the only leader who was heartily opposed to the surrender of Soochow, and on the day after this chief's murder the Imperialists received possession of one of the gates. The inside of the city had been the scene of the most dreadful confusion. Mow Wang's men had

sought to avenge their leader's death, and on the other hand the followers of Lar Wang had shaved their heads in token of their adhesion to the Imperialist cause. Some of the more prudent of the Wangs, not knowing what turn events might take amid the prevailing discord, secured their safety by a timely flight. Major Gordon kept his force well in hand, and refused to allow any of the men to enter the city, where they would certainly have exercised the privileges of a mercenary force in respect of pillage. Instead of this, Major Gordon endeavoured to obtain for them two months' pay from the Futai, which that official stated his inability to procure. Major Gordon thereupon resigned in disgust, and on succeeding in obtaining one month's pay for his men, he sent them back to Quinsan without a disturbance, although their indignation against Li Hung Chang personally was nearly kindled to a dangerous flame.

The departure of the Ever-Victorious Army for its headquarters was regarded by the Chinese officials with great satisfaction and for several reasons. In the flush of the success at Soochow both that force and its commander seemed in the way of the Futai, and to diminish the extent of his triumph. Neither Li nor Ching also had the least wish for any of the ex-rebel chiefs, men of ability and accustomed to command, to be taken into the service of the Government. Of men of that kind there were already enough. General Ching himself was a sufficiently formidable rival to the Futai, without any assistance and encouragement from Lar Wang and the others. Li had no wish to save them from the fate of rebels; and although he had promised and General Ching had sworn to their personal safety, he was bent on getting rid of them in one way or another. He feared Major Gordon, but he also thought that the time had arrived when he could dispense with him and the foreign-drilled legion in the same way as he had got rid of Sherard Osborn and his fleet. The departure of the Quinsan force left him free to follow his own inclination.

The Wangs were invited to an entertainment at the Futai's boat, and Major Gordon saw them both in the city and subsequently when on their way to Li Hung Chang. The

exact circumstances of their fate were never known; but after searching the city and being detained in one of the Wang's houses during the night, and in the midst of many hundred armed Taepings, who would certainly have slain him had they known of their chiefs' murders, Major Gordon's lieutenant, Prince von Wittgenstein, discovered nine headless bodies on the opposite side of the creek, and not far distant from the Futai's quarters. It then became evident that Lar Wang and his fellow Wangs had been brutally murdered. It is impossible to apportion the blame for this treacherous act between Li Hung Chang and General Ching. The latter was morally the more guilty, but it seems as if Li Hung Chang were the real instigator of the crime.

The additional information recorded as to what took place during and immediately after the Soochow tragedy in the recently published "Life of Gordon" may here be summarized. It is not necessary to repeat the strictly personal passages between General Gordon and Sir Halliday Macartney on the subject of the latter's suggested succession to the command of the Ever-Victorious Army, or of the *amende* offered by the former to the latter for an injurious statement in an official report. The fresh matter, so far as the history of the main incident goes, is to the effect that General Ching assured Gordon that Lar Wang had broken the terms of the Convention at the very moment when he was already murdered, that Macartney went at Gordon's request and found that a tragedy had occurred, that Li Hung Chang took refuge in Macartney's camp and requested him to act as intermediary between himself and Gordon, and that in consequence Macartney hastened to Quinsan and had his dramatic interview with Gordon. The question of the responsibility for the murder or execution of the Wangs is set at rest for all historical purposes by the candid statement of Li Hung Chang, who said, "I accept myself the full and sole responsibility for what has been done. But also tell Gordon that this is China, not Europe. I wished to save the lives of the Wangs, and at first thought that I could do so, but they came with their heads unshaved, they used defiant language, and proposed a deviation from

the Convention, and I saw that it would not be safe to show mercy to these rebels. Therefore what was done was inevitable." The original supposition put forward in this history is therefore fully confirmed, and the only justification advanced for the step is that it was taken in China, not in Europe.

Major Gordon was disposed to take the office of their avenger into his own hands, but the opportunity of doing so fortunately did not present itself. He hastened back to Quinsan, where he refused to act any longer with such false and dishonourable colleagues. The matter was reported to Peking. Both the mandarins sought to clear themselves by accusing the other; and a special decree came from Peking conferring on the English officer a very high order and the sum of 10,000 taels. Major Gordon returned the money, and expressed his regret at being unable to accept any token of honour from the Emperor in consequence of the Soochow affair. In this decisive way did Gordon express not merely his abhorrence of the deed, but the utter impossibility of an English officer co-operating with a Government and officials capable of perpetrating an act not to be justified on the ground of either morality or expediency.

A variety of reasons, all equally creditable to Major Gordon's judgment and single-mindedness, induced him after two months' retirement to abandon his inaction and to sink his difference with the Futai. He saw very clearly that the sluggishness of the Imperial commanders would result in the prolongation of the struggle with all its attendant evils, whereas, if he took the field, he would be able to bring it to a conclusion within two months. Moreover, the Quinsan force, never very amenable to discipline, shook off all restraint when in quarters, and promised to become as dangerous to the Government in whose pay it was as to the enemy against whom it was engaged to fight. Major Gordon, in view of these facts, came to the prompt decision that it was his duty, as well as the course most calculated to do good, to retake the field and strive as energetically as possible to expel the rebels from the small part of Kiangsu still remaining in their possession. On the 18th of February, 1864, he accordingly left Quinsan at the head

of his men, who showed great satisfaction at the return to active campaigning.

Wusieh had been evacuated on the fall of Soochow, and Chung Wang's force retired to Changchow, while that chief himself returned to Nankin. A few weeks later General Ching had seized Pingwang, thus obtaining the command of another entrance into the Taho lake. Santajin established his force in a camp not far distant from Changchow, and engaged the rebels in almost daily skirmishes, during one of which the *Firefly* steamer was recaptured, and an Englishman named Smith mortally wounded. This was the position of affairs when Major Gordon took the field towards the end of February, and he at once resolved to carry the war into a new country by crossing the Taho lake and attacking the town of Yesing on its western shores. By seizing this and the adjoining towns he hoped to cut the rebellion in two, and to be able to attack Changchow in the rear. The operations at Yesing occupied two days; but at last the rebel stockades were carried with tremendous loss, not only to the defenders, but also to a relieving force sent from Liyang. Five thousand prisoners were also taken. Liyang itself was the next place to be attacked; but the intricacy of the country, which was intersected by creeks and canals, added to the fact that the whole region had been desolated by famine and that the rebels had broken all the bridges, rendered this undertaking one of great difficulty and some risk. However, Major Gordon's fortitude vanquished all obstacles, and when he appeared before Liyang he found that the rebel leaders in possession of the town had come to the decision to surrender. At this place Major Gordon came into communication with the general Paochiaou, who was covering the siege operations against Nankin which Tseng Kwofan was pressing with ever-increasing vigour. The surrender of Liyang proved the more important, as the fortifications were found to be admirably constructed, and seeing that it contained a garrison of 15,000 men and a plentiful supply of provisions.

From Liyang Major Gordon marched on Kintang, a town due north of Liyang and about halfway between Changchow

and Nankin. When the troops appeared before it there were few signs of any vigorous defence; but, as Major Gordon surmised, the silence was ominous. The necessity of succeeding had been rendered all the greater by several repulses to the forces of Santajin and by the menacing position taken up by the Changchow garrison, which had made a forward movement against Wusieh on the one side and Fushan on the other. The capture of Kintang, by placing Gordon's force within striking distance of Changchow and its communications, would have compelled the rebels to suspend these operations and recall their forces. Unfortunately the attack on Kintang revealed unexpected difficulties. The garrison showed extraordinary determination; and, although the wall was breached by the heavy fire, two attempts to assault were repulsed with heavy loss, the more serious inasmuch as Major Gordon was himself wounded below the knee and compelled to retire to his boat. Two officers were killed and eleven wounded, while thirty-five men killed and eighty wounded raised the list of casualties to a formidable total. This was the second defeat Gordon had experienced.

In consequence of this reverse, which dashed the cup of success from Gordon's lips when he seemed on the point of bringing the campaign to a close in the most brilliant manner, the force had to retreat to Liyang, whence the commander hastened back with 1000 men to Wusieh. He reached Wusieh on the 25th of March, four days after the repulse at Kintang, and he there learnt that Fushan had been taken and that Chanzu was being closely attacked. The Imperialists had fared better in the south. General Ching had captured Kashingfoo, a strong place in Chekiang, and on the very same day as the repulse at Kintang Tso Tsung Tang had recovered Hangchow. Major Gordon, although still incapacitated by his wound from taking his usual foremost place in the battle, directed all operations from his boat. He succeeded, after numerous skirmishes, in compelling the Taepings to quit their position before Chanzu; but they drew up in force at the village of Waisso, where they offered him battle. Most unfortunately Major Gordon had to entrust the conduct of the attack to his lieutenants, Colonels Howard and Rhodes,

while he superintended the advance of the gun-boats up the creek. Finding the banks were too high to admit of these being usefully employed, and failing to establish communications with the infantry, he discreetly returned to his camp, where he found everything in the most dreadful confusion, and that a terrible disaster had occurred. The infantry, in fact, had been outmanœuvred and routed with tremendous loss. Seven officers and 265 men had been killed, and one officer and sixty-two men wounded.

Such an overwhelming disaster would have crushed any ordinary commander, particularly when coming so soon after such a rude defeat as that of Kintang. It only roused Major Gordon to increased activity. He at once took energetic measures to retrieve this disaster. He sent his wounded to Quinsan, collected fresh troops, and, having allowed his own wound to recover by a week's rest, resumed in person the attack on Waisso. On the 10th of April Major Gordon pitched his camp within a mile of Waisso, and paid his men as the preliminary to the resumption of the offensive. The attack commenced on the following morning, and promised to prove of an arduous nature; but by a skilful flank movement Major Gordon carried two stockades in person, and rendered the whole place no longer tenable. The rebels evacuated their position and retreated, closely pursued by the Imperialists. The villagers who had suffered from their exactions rose upon them, and very few rebels escaped. The pursuit was continued for a week, and the lately victorious army of Waisso was practically annihilated. Two days after Waisso, General Ching died at Soochow of the effects of a wound received in the south. Gordon said of him, "He was a very brave and energetic leader, very apt in acquiring information, and the best general the Imperialists had."

The capture of Changchow was to be the next and crowning success of the campaign. For this enterprise the whole of the Ever-Victorious Army was concentrated, including the ex-rebel contingent of Liyang. On the 23rd of April Major Gordon carried the stockades near the west gate. In their capture the Liyang men, although led only by Chinese, showed conspicuous gallantry, thus justifying

Major Gordon's belief that the Chinese would fight as well under their own countrymen as when led by foreigners. Batteries were then constructed for the bombardment of the town itself. Before these were completed the Imperialists assaulted, but were repulsed with loss. On the following day (April 27th) the batteries opened fire, and two pontoon bridges were thrown across, when Major Gordon led his men to the assault. The first attack was repulsed, and a second one, made in conjunction with the Imperialists, fared not less badly. The pontoons were lost, and the force suffered a greater loss than at any time during the war, with the exception of Waisso. The Taepings also lost heavily; but their valour could not alter the inevitable result. Changchow had consequently to be approached systematically by trenches, in the construction of which the Chinese showed themselves very adept. The loss of the pontoons compelled the formation of a cask-bridge; and during the extensive preparations for renewing the attack, several hundred of the garrison came over, reporting that it was only the Cantonese who wished to fight to the bitter end. On the 11th of May, the fourth anniversary of its capture by Chung Wang, Li requested Major Gordon to act in concert with him for carrying the place by storm. The attack was made in the middle of the day, to the intense surprise of the garrison, who made only a feeble resistance, and the town was at last carried with little loss. The commandant, Hoo Wang, was made prisoner and executed. This proved to be the last action of the Ever-Victorious Army, which then returned to Quinsan, and was quietly disbanded by its commander before the 1st of June.

To sum up the closing incidents of the Taeping war. Tayan was evacuated two days after the fall of Changchow, leaving Nankin alone in their hands. Inside that city there were the greatest misery and suffering. Tien Wang had refused to take any of the steps pressed on him by Chung Wang, and when he heard the people were suffering from want, all he said was, "Let them eat the sweet dew." Tseng Kwofan drew up his lines on all sides of the city, and gradually drove the despairing rebels behind the walls.

Chung Wang sent out the old women and children; and let it be recorded to the credit of Tseng Kwotsiuen that he did not drive them back, but charitably provided for their wants and despatched them to a place of shelter. In June Major Gordon visited Tseng's camp, and found his works covering twenty-four to thirty miles, and constructed in the most elaborate fashion. The Imperialists numbered 80,000 men, but were badly armed. Although their pay was very much in arrear, they were well fed, and had great confidence in their leader, Tseng Kwofan. On the 30th of June, Tien Wang, despairing of success, committed suicide by swallowing golden leaf. Thus died the Hungtsiuen who had erected the standard of revolt in Kwangsi thirteen years before. His son was proclaimed Tien Wang on his death becoming known, but his reign was brief.

The last act of all had now arrived. On the 19th of July the Imperialists had run a gallery under the wall of Nankin, and charged it with 40,000 pounds of powder. The explosion destroyed fifty yards of the walls, and the Imperialists attacking on all sides poured in through the breach. Chung Wang made a desperate resistance in the interior, holding his own and the Tien Wang's palace to the last. He made a further stand with a thousand men at the southern gate, but his band was overwhelmed, and he and the young Tien Wang fled into the surrounding country. In this supreme moment of danger Chung Wang thought more of the safety of his young chief than of himself, and he gave him an exceptionally good pony to escape on, while he himself took a very inferior animal. As the consequence Tien Wang escaped, while Chung Wang was captured in the hills a few days later. Chung Wang, who had certainly been the hero of the Taeping movement, was beheaded on the 7th of August, and the young Tien Wang was eventually captured, and executed also, by Shen Paochen. For this decisive victory, which extinguished the Taeping rebellion, Tseng Kwofan was made a Hou, or Marquis, and his brother Tseng Kwotsiuen an Earl. General Gordon thus described Tseng Kwofan, the elder of these brothers: "Tseng is the most powerful man in China out of Peking. He is fifty-four years

of age, short, rather fat, with a very Chinese face, and with black beard and moustache. He dressed in the poorest clothes, and keeps no state. He is generous, fair, and honest, and may be said to be patriotic. He is greatly liked by all Chinese."

The suppression of the Taeping rebellion was a relief to the Empire, and a mercy to the wretched and long-suffering people of Central China. It ensured the permanent fame of Major Gordon and the Ever-Victorious Army. The more critically this campaign is considered, the more remarkable does Chinese Gordon's success appear. Had he been an unscrupulous adventurer bent on personal aggrandisement, whether in the cause of the Peking ruler or of the Nankin rebel, his achievements would have been the less surprising, as he would have had the members of his force heartily with him, and as he could have easily recruited it from the rowdy European population of Shanghai. But his victories were obtained in the cause of order and for the sake of a suffering people. Each of them was a blow levelled at the realization of the scheme that had passed through the brains of Burgevine and the other idlers of the treaty-ports. He fought not for himself, nor for any love of empty fame or reputation. He only saw that the opportunity was afforded him of doing a great and sterling service to humanity and to his own Government. He also realized the innate self-respect and many other virtues of the Chinese people. He perceived that their improvement must and would come from within, and not from without. His courage, his energy, his uprightness, all impressed the Chinese with a sense of the grandeur of his character, as they had never been impressed before by any other European, and as probably they never will be again. Even after his defeats at Waisso and Changchow their faith in him never wavered for an instant. Those defeats were accidents, which they never doubted would be promptly retrieved. Li Hung Chang had at first regarded him with suspicion. He saw in him a possible rival, a more capable executor of the policy which Burgevine had contemplated. Time was needed to reveal to him the consistent simplicity of a character which even to his own countrymen

was almost unintelligible. With much of the temper and energy of Cromwell, Gordon has given the brightest example, in the annals of either his own country or of China, of what, to use the words of one of his lieutenants, the Christian soldier ought to be.*

* The following is the Imperial decree issued on his receiving the Yellow Jacket—an order, said Li Hung Chang, instituted by Kanghi for victorious generals on the occasion of the suppression of Wou Sankwei's revolt :—"On the representation of the assistance rendered by Gordon, Temporary Tsungping of Kiangsu, in the recapture of Changchow, we decreed him the rank of Titu (Field Marshal), Standards of Honour, and a Decoration as especial marks of distinction, and directed that Li should memorialize again when he had arranged the affairs of the Force. We have now received a memorial from Li that he has done this in a most admirable manner and requesting some further mark of our favour. It appears that last spring Gordon, conjointly with Imperial Forces, recaptured Fushan and relieved Chanzu, that he subsequently recaptured the Chow city of Taitsung, the district cities of Quinsan and Wukiang, and the provincial city of Soochow; that this year he has recaptured Thsing and Piaoyang, driven back the rebels who had broken out from Yanchow, and recaptured the Fu city of Changchow, for which services we have at various times decreed him honours. He has now arranged the affairs of the Ever-Victorious Force in an admirable manner. His services are of long standing, and the benefits arising from them are abiding; he has throughout behaved as a gallant soldier, and shown himself to have duly appreciated the importance of friendly relations between Chinese and foreigners, and we therefore decree that in addition to his present honours he be honoured with the Yellow Jacket and peacock's feathers, and that four Titu's full-dress uniforms be presented him as a mark of the affection and honour with which he is regarded. Respect this." In a letter written home at the time the recipient of these honours said characteristically: "Some of the buttons on the mandarin hats are very valuable. I am sorry for it, as they cannot afford it over well. It is, at any rate, very civil of them." During the campaign Gordon carried only a cane, called by the Chinese his "wand of victory."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DEATH OF HIENFUNG AND THE ACCESSION OF
TUNGCHE.

THE Emperor Hienfung did not long survive the establishment of formal intercourse with the foreign Governments. While his brother, Prince Kung, was engaged in the delicate task of arranging the affairs of the Tsungli Yamen, and the still more difficult operation of showing that China had abandoned all intention of lagging behind the rest of the world, the Emperor himself continued to remain at Jehol, whither he had fled in the first moment of alarm on the approach of the foreign armies to Yuen Min Yuen. He refused to so much as return to Peking, and to witness the presence of those Europeans who detracted, as he considered, from his dignity. Had it been possible, there is no question that he would have sought a remedy for the evil by commanding the removal of the capital; but the transfer of the Imperial residence to any city in the south was not only at that particular moment impossible on account of the rebellion, but always to be deprecated on dynastic grounds as tending to destroy the individual character of the Tartar regime. For a moment there seemed an inclination to entertain the idea that Jehol itself might be transformed into a capital, but this hope, if it was ever seriously cherished, had to be abandoned as chimerical. Hienfung's absence affected the prosperity of the Pekinese; it could not deprive their city of its natural position as the northern metropolis.

The following facts should be recollected in connection with the first diplomatic relations of China with foreign

Powers. The Tsungli Yamen, or board of foreign affairs, was formed in January, 1861. On the 22nd of March in the same year Mr. Bruce left Tientsin to take up his residence at Peking with Mr. Thomas Wade as Secretary of Legation. The quarters of the English ministry had been fixed at the palace of the Duke of Leang, a scion of the Imperial family (Leang-kung-foo). This building is let "in perpetuity" to the English authorities for 1500 taels a year. Soon after their instalment a staff of six student interpreters was brought out from England.

Hienfung showed his personal dislike to the new arrangement in more ways than by absenting himself from the capital. He collected round his person the most bigoted men of his court and family. He preferred those who had learnt nothing from recent events, and who, without even the courage of resistance, wished to claim undiminished privilege and superiority. Prominent among his closest friends was Tsai, Prince of I, who had taken so discreditable a part in the incidents that had culminated at Tungchow and Chanchia-wan. With him were associated several members of the Imperial family, men of passion and prejudice. They undoubtedly meditated the recovery, at the earliest possible moment, of what they considered to be their right. No respect of treaties would restrain them from reasserting, as soon as they believed they had the power, claims which the Emperor had by treaty surrendered. The hopeful anticipation of the arrival of that time formed the one source of solace at Jehol, and the still youthful ruler easily allowed himself to forget, in the midst of his sycophants, the brother who was making such laudable efforts to maintain the dignity of the Empire in the eyes of the foreigners, and at the same time to restore domestic peace to his distracted country. The protracted residence of the Emperor at Jehol was a circumstance that could not have been permanently tolerated. It was deprecated as much by the numerous members of the Imperial family as by the citizens of Peking. These enjoyed a regular allowance from the Palace. The continued absence of the Emperor interfered with its receipt, and reduced them to great want. It meant practically an abnegation of authority.

The conduct of official intercourse went on in the most amicable manner between Mr. Bruce and the other foreign representatives on the one hand, and Prince Kung, assisted by his able coadjutor the Manchu Wansiang, on the other. The utmost that Hienfung himself would do was to listen to all the information he could procure about the English and their country, but the study was so far calculated to increase his fear and distrust, for he rose from it with the one conviction impressed on his mind that "the English were always at war, or preparing to go to war with some one." While the relations at the capital were becoming more and more cordial, the Chinese ruler himself was disposed to brood over his injuries and to allow his suspicions to become intensified. In this he was encouraged by men like Prince Tsai, who could only hope for prominence by alienating the Emperor from the cause of progress as represented by Prince Kung. Their success was by no means inconsiderable, but the ill-health of Hienfung interfered with and ultimately thwarted their plans.

The English Minister had not been installed in his residence more than a fortnight when there came rumours of the serious illness of the Emperor. It was given out in a curious document that his doctors had declared his case to be hopeless, and that, even if he promptly abandoned some pernicious habits which he had contracted, he could not hope to live beyond a period of six months. All the available evidence went to show that, having moreover such little inducement to do so, he did not change his mode of life, but the greatest reticence was observed with regard to all his movements and his state of health. The summer months passed away without any decisive intelligence as to what was happening at Jehol, although rumours as to the gravity of Hienfung's complaint became so plentiful that a statement was even circulated and believed that his death had actually taken place. A comet appeared in the sky and was visible for several weeks, strengthening the belief of the superstitious in a coming change, and inclining men to believe more readily the statement that the great Emperor was about to go the long journey.

"When beggars die there are no comets seen,
The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes."

In August Prince Kung hastened to Jehol, the object of his journey, and indeed the journey itself, being kept the closest secret. The members of the Tsungli Yamen were observed to be preoccupied, and even the genial Wansiang could not conceal that they were passing through a crisis. Not merely was Hienfung dying, but it had become known that he had left the governing authority during the minority of his son, a child of less than six years of age, to a Board of Regency composed of eight of the least intelligent and most arrogant and self-seeking members of the Imperial family, with Prince Tsai at their head. The Emperor died on the 22nd of August. A few hours later the Imperial Decree notifying the last wishes of the ruler as to the mode of government was promulgated. The Board of Regency assumed the nominal control of affairs, and Hienfung's son was proclaimed Emperor under the style of Chiseang ("the auspicious omen"). In all of these arrangements neither Prince Kung nor his brothers, nor the responsible ministers at the capital, had had the smallest part. It was an intrigue among certain members of the Imperial clan to possess themselves of the ruling power, and for a time it seemed as if their intrigue would be only too successful.

Nothing happened during the months of September and October to disturb their confidence, and at Peking the routine of government continued to be performed by Prince Kung. That statesman and his colleagues employed the interval in arranging their own plan of action, and in making sure of the fidelity of a certain number of troops. Throughout these preparations Prince Kung was ably and energetically supported by his brother, Prince Chun, by his colleague, Wansiang, and by his aged father-in-law, the minister Kweiliang. When at the end of October it became known that the young Emperor was on the point of returning to Peking, it was clear that the hour of conflict had arrived. At Jehol the Board of Regency could do little harm; but once its pretensions and legality were admitted at the capital, all the ministers would have to take their orders from it, and to resign the functions which they had retained. The issue clearly put was whether Prince Kung or Prince Tsai was to be supreme.

On the 1st of November the young Emperor entered his capital in state. He was driven through the streets in a carriage, with Tsi Thsi, the Empress Dowager, or the principal widow of Hienfung, and the Empress Tsi An, another of Hienfung's widows, occupying seats in the same carriage; but no European actually saw the cortège, because Prince Kung had asked Mr. Bruce and the other ministers as a favour to keep their suites at home until the procession reached the palace. A large number of soldiers, still dressed in their white mourning, accompanied their Sovereign from Jehol; but Shengpao's garrison was infinitely more numerous and thoroughly loyal to the cause of Prince Kung and order. The majority of the Regents had arrived with the reigning prince; those who had not yet come were on the road escorting the dead body of Hienfung towards its resting-place. If a blow was to be struck at all, it was necessary to do it quickly. The Regents had not merely placed themselves in the power of their opponents, but they had actually brought with them the young Emperor, without whose person Prince Kung could have accomplished little.

Prince Kung had spared no effort to secure, and had fortunately succeeded in obtaining, the assistance and co-operation of the Empress Dowager, Hienfung's principal widow. Her assent and that of her abler associate, the still living Empress Tsi An, had been obtained to the proposed plot before their arrival in Peking, and it now only remained to carry it out. On the day following the entry into the capital Prince Kung hastened to the Palace, and, producing before the astonished Regents an Imperial Edict ordering their dismissal, he asked them whether they obeyed the decree of their Sovereign, or whether he must call in his soldiers to compel them. Prince Tsai and his companions had no choice save to signify their acquiescence; but on leaving the chamber in which this scene took place they hastened towards the Emperor's apartment in order to remonstrate against their dismissal, or to obtain from him some counter-edict reinstating them in their position. They were prevented from carrying out their purpose, but this proof of contumacy ensured their fate. They were at once arrested, and a second

decree was issued ordering their degradation from their official and hereditary rank. To Prince Kung and his allies was entrusted the charge of trying and punishing the offenders.

The edict in which the assumption of governing power by the Empress was announced is so important and characteristic that it merits prominent reproduction :—

“ The Princes, Nobles, and Officers of the Empire are hereby to learn that the disquiet of the sea-coast last year and the alarm of the capital were caused wholly by the vicious policy of the Princes and Ministers engaged in the matter. Tsai-yuen and his colleagues [Mu-yin] were in the next place (or more especially) unable to devote their attention to pacific counsels; and, being without other device for the extinction of their responsibility, could propose nothing but that the English Envoys should be decoyed into their power and made prisoners, hence a breach of faith towards the foreign nations. Yet more, when Yuen-min-yuen and Hai-tien were spoiled and His late Majesty, our Emperor, in consequence, had taken a journey to Je-hol, the mind of the Sacred One was sore troubled that he was reduced to such extremity; and when in due time the Prince and Ministers of the office, charged with the general administration of foreign affairs, had well arranged all foreign questions that required settlement, and its usual tranquillity was restored to the capital, within and without the walls, His Majesty again and again called on the Princes and Ministers [Tsai-yuen and his colleagues] to frame a decree announcing His return. Tsai-yuen, Twan-hwa, and Su-shuen, however, the one abetting the other in deceit, with all their strength kept from Him these facts, to which the opinion of all men bore testimony, ever alleging that foreign nations, both in sentiment and demeanour, were always shifting (*lit.* turning over and over). His late Majesty anxious and worn, [rested] neither by day nor by night. The cold, too, beyond the frontier was severe, and so the indisposition of the Sacred Person increased, until upon the 17th day of the 7th moon (22nd August), He ascended upon the Dragon to be a guest on high. Clapping the ground We cried to heaven; within, We felt as though a fire were burning. Looking back We bethought us that the iniquity of Tsai-yuen and the others in their concealment of the truth, deserved not the bitter wrath of Ourselves alone, but the bitter wrath of all the officers and people of the Empire; and it was Our wish when first We ascended the throne to punish their guilt with severity. Still, remembering that they were Ministers appointed by His late Majesty in His last moments, We forebore awhile in

expectation of their redeeming the past. Not so, however. On the 11th of the 8th moon (15th September), We called Tsai-yuen and the other members [of the Council] of eight to Our presence. The Censor Tung-yuan-chun, in a memorial respectfully setting forth his limited views, had prayed that the Empress Dowager should act as Regent for some years, and that when We should ourselves become competent to its administration, the government should be surrendered (or given back) to Us; also, that one or two of the Princes of the highest order should be chosen, and appointed to act as counsellors; also, that one or two of the high Officers of the Empire should be chosen and appointed to be Our preceptors—which three propositions were greatly to Our liking. There is no precedent, it is true, in the time of Our Dynasty, for the regency of an Empress Dowager; but could We have adhered tenaciously to standing rules, when, of the trusts committed to Us by His Majesty the departed Emperor, the most important was this, that We should think of nothing but the policy of the State, and welfare (or existence) of the people. This (the course suggested) is what is meant by the words, 'in business the first thing is the adoption of such changes as the occasion may require.' We accordingly gave Our special commands, in person, to Tsai-yuen and his colleagues to issue a Decree approving [the Censor's] prayer. When they came to make their reply, however, they so totally forgot their obligations as Our servants, as clamorously to raise objections [this in the first place]. In the second, when drawing up the Decree to be issued for Us, while professing in the light to obey, they in secret disobeyed Us, taking on themselves to make alterations [in the paper] which they then published as the declaration of Our will. What in very truth was their motive? when on every occasion, too, Tsai-yuen and his colleagues have been pretending that [this or that was impracticable, because] they dared not assume the supreme (or independent) authority; what was this act but an unmistakable (a true footprint of) assumption of the supreme authority?

"Though Our own youth and the imperfect acquaintance of the Empress Dowager with the business of the State might have put it in their power to practise imposition and concealment, so far as we were concerned, they could not, could they, impose upon the whole Empire as well? and were We now longer to forbear towards those who have proved so ungrateful for the great favour of His late Majesty, what answer, as with reverence we look upward, should We make to His spirit, now in heaven, or how should We satisfy the general feeling of the Empire?

"We command, then, that Tsai-yuen, Twan-hwa, and Su-shuen

be removed from their posts, and that King-shau, Mu-yin, Kwang-Yuen, Tu-Han, and Tsian-Yu-ying withdraw from the great Council ; and We commission the Prince of Kung, in concert with the members of the Grand Secretariat, the Six Boards, the Nine High Courts, the Han-lin-Yuen, the Shen-sz'-Fu and the Censors, to consider impartially and to report to Us, the degree of punishment to which they are severally liable by law for their crimes.

“With reference to the forms under which Her Majesty the Empress Dowager is to administer the Government, We Command that [the same high Officers] do confer together and report to Us.

“A Decree extraordinary.”

The bravest if not the ablest of the late Board of Regency, Sushuen, remained at large. He had been charged with the high and honourable duty of escorting the remains of Hienfung to the capital. It was most important that he should be seized before he became aware of the fate that had befallen his colleagues. Prince Chun, the father of the now reigning Emperor Kwangsu, volunteered to capture the last, and in a sense the most formidable, of the intriguers himself, and on the very day that these events happened at Peking he rode out of the capital at the head of a body of Tartar cavalry. On the following night Prince Chun reached the spot where Sushuen was encamped, and, breaking into the house, arrested him whilst in bed. Sushuen did not restrain his indignation, and betrayed the ulterior plans he and his associates had entertained, by declaring that Prince Chun had been only just in time to prevent a similar fate befalling himself. He was at once placed on his trial with the other prisoners, and on the 10th of November the order was given in the Emperor's name for their execution. Sushuen was executed on the public ground set apart for that purpose ; but to the others, as a special favour for their connection with the Imperial family, was sent the silken cord with which they were to put an end to their existence.

Another important step which had to be taken was the alteration of the style given to the young Emperor's reign. It was felt to be impolitic that the deposed ministers should retain any connection whatever in history with the young ruler. Were Hienfung's son to be handed down to posterity

as Chiseang there would be no possibility of excluding their names and their brief and feverish ambition from the national annals. After due deliberation, therefore, the name of Tungche was substituted for that of Chiseang, and, meaning as it does "the union of law and order," it will be allowed that the name was not selected without proper regard for the circumstances of the occasion. Prince Kung was rewarded with many high offices and sounding titles in addition to the post of Chief Minister under the Two Empresses. He was made president of the Imperial Clan Court in the room of Tsai, Prince of I, and the title of Iching Wang, or Prince Minister, was conferred upon him. His staunch friends and supporters Wansiang, Paukwen, and Kweiliang were appointed to the Supreme Council. Prince Chun, to whose skill and bravery in arresting Sushuen Prince Kung felt very much indebted, was also rewarded. With these incidents closed what might have proved a grave and perilous complication for the Chinese Government. Had Prince Kung prematurely revealed his plans there is every reason to suppose that he would have alarmed and forewarned his rivals, and that they, with the person of the Emperor in their possession, would have obtained the advantage, if their own incapacity might have prevented their long retaining it. His patience during the two months of doubt and anxiety while the Emperor remained at Jehol was matched by the vigour and promptitude that he displayed on the eventful 2nd of November. That his success was beneficial to his country will not be disputed by any one, and Prince Kung's name must be permanently remembered both for having commenced, and for having ensured the continuance of, diplomatic relations with England and the other foreign Powers.

The increased intercourse with Europeans not merely led to greater diplomatic confidence and to the extension of trade, but it also induced many foreigners to offer their services and assistance to the Peking Government during the embarrassment arising from internal dissension. At first these persons were, as has been seen, encouraged and employed more in consequence of local opinion in the treaty-ports than as a matter of State policy. But already the suggestion had

been brought forward in more than one form for the employment of foreigners, with the view of increasing the resources of the Government by calling in the assistance of the very agency which had reduced them. A precedent had been established for this at an earlier period—before, in fact, the commencement of hostilities—by the appointment of Mr. Horatio N. Lay to direct and assist the local authorities in the collection of customs in the Shanghai district. Mr. Lay's experience had proved most useful in drawing up the tariff of the Treaty of Tientsin, and his assistance had been suitably acknowledged. In 1862, when the advantages to be derived from the military experience of foreigners had been practically recognized by the appointment of Europeans to command a portion of the army of China, it was thought desirable for many reasons that something should also be done to increase the naval resources of the Empire, and Mr. Lay, at Sir Robert Hart's suggestion, was entrusted with a commission for purchasing and collecting in Europe a fleet of gun-boats of small draught, which could be usefully employed for all the purposes of the Pekin Government on the rivers and shallow estuaries of the country. Mr. Lay said, "This force was intended for the protection of the treaty-ports, for the suppression of piracy then rife, and for the relief of this country from the burden of 'policing' the Chinese waters;" but its first use in the eyes of Prince Kung was to be employed against the rebels and their European allies.

Captain Sherard Osborn, a distinguished naval officer, was associated with Mr. Lay in the undertaking. An Order of Council was issued on the 30th of August, 1862, empowering both of these officers to act in the matter as delegates of the Chinese. Captain Osborn and Mr. Lay came to England to collect the vessels of this fleet, and the former afterwards returned with them to China in the capacity of their Commodore.

Difficulties arose on the threshold of the undertaking. Mr. Lay wrote in August, 1862, to say that he had chosen as the national ensign of the Chinese navy "a green flag, bearing a yellow diagonal cross," and he wrote again to

request that an official notification should appear in the *Gazette*. Mr. Lay was informed that no notice could appear in the *London Gazette* except after the approval of the Peking authorities; and Prince Kung wrote on the 22nd of October to say that the Chinese ensign would be of "yellow ground, and on it will be designed a dragon with his head toward the upper part of the flag." Mr. Lay preceded the vessels—seven gun-boats and one store-ship—and arrived at Peking in May, 1863. At the capital he found two opinions prevailing, which did not promise to contribute to the harmony of the new arrangement. In the first place he found Sir Frederick Bruce resolved not to take any active part in the affair at all, without instructions to do so from his Government.

But if the attitude of Sir Frederick Bruce was embarrassing, that of the Chinese themselves was far more discouraging. Their fears had been already aroused as to the possibly independent attitude these foreign commanders might assume when affairs had settled down. The views of Prince Kung and Mr. Lay were distinctly opposed on the point of the position of the new ships as part of the external defences of China. The former considered that the fleet purchased in Europe out of Chinese treasure should form an integral portion of the warlike resources of the Empire, and be as subservient to the orders of the local authorities as if it were one of the old fleets of war-junks. Mr. Lay could not bring himself to take the same view. The fleet was to be virtually independent. Captain Sherard Osborn would, by his personal arrangement with Mr. Lay, act only upon "orders of the Emperor which may be conveyed direct to Lay," and, moreover, he refused to act on any orders conveyed through any different channel. To the unprejudiced observer it would seem that the proper persons to decide by whom the orders should be given were the Chinese themselves, and not their foreign officers and servants. When it is realized how much the originators of this scheme took the whole arrangement out of the hands of Prince Kung and his colleagues, there will not be much surprise at the scheme coming to the abortive and unfortunate end that it did.

Prince Kung had been most anxious for the speedy

arrival of the flotilla; and the doubtful fortune of the campaign in Kiangsu, where the gun-boats would have been invaluable, rendered him extremely desirous that they should commence active operations immediately on arrival. But he found, in the first place, that Mr. Lay was not prepared to accept the appointment of a Chinese official as joint-commander, and in the second place that he would not receive orders from any of the provincial authorities. Such a decision was manifestly attended with the greatest inconvenience to China; for only the provincial authorities knew what the interests of the state demanded, and where the fleet might co-operate with advantage in the attacks on the Taepings. Unless Captain Sherard Osborn were to act on the orders of Tseng Kwofan, and particularly of Li Hung Chang, it was difficult to see what possible use he or his flotilla could be to China. The founders of the new Chinese navy claimed practically all the privileges of an ally, and declined the duties devolving on them as directing a department of the Chinese administration. Of course it was more convenient and more dignified for the foreign officers to draw their instructions and their salaries direct from the fountain head; but if the flotilla was not to be of any practical use to China, it might just as well never have been created.

The fleet arrived in safety, but remained in inaction. The whole summer and autumn of 1863, with its critical state of affairs round Soochow, passed away without anything being done to show what a powerful auxiliary the new ships might be. The ultimate success of those operations without the smallest co-operation on the part of Captain Osborn or his flotilla virtually sealed its fate. In October, Wansiang, in the name of the Foreign Office, declared that the Chinese could not recognize or ratify the private arrangement between Mr. Lay and his naval officer, and that it was essential for Captain Osborn to submit to receive his instructions from the provincial authorities. In the following month Mr. Lay was summarily dismissed from the Chinese service, and it was determined, after some delay and various counter suggestions, to send back the ships to Europe, there to be disposed of. The miscarriage of the whole affair was, as Sir

Frederick Bruce said, probably due to Mr. Lay's taking upon himself the responsibility not merely of Inspector-General of Customs, but also of supreme adviser on all matters connected with foreign questions. His views were of the largest scope and most benevolent character so far as the progress of China was concerned. But then it was all to be attained under his own direction. The Chinese themselves were to take quite a subordinate position in their realization, and were to be treated, in short, as if they did not know how to manage their own affairs. Mr. Lay's dreams were suddenly dispelled, and his philanthropic schemes fell to the ground. Neither Prince Kung nor his colleagues had any intention to pave the way for their own effacement.

After Mr. Lay's departure the Maritime Customs were placed under the control of Mr. (now Sir) Robert Hart, who had acted during Mr. Lay's absence in Europe. This appointment was accompanied by the transfer of the official residence from Peking to Shanghai, which was attended with much practical advantage. Already the customs revenue had risen to two millions, and trade was steadily expanding as the rebels were gradually driven back, and as the Yangtsekiang and the coasts became safer for navigation. Numerous schemes were suggested for the opening-up of China by railways and the telegraph; but they all very soon ended in nothing, for the simple reason that the Chinese did not want them. They were more sincere and energetic in their adoption of military improvements. English officers drilled Chinese troops in their permanent camp at Fungwang, and Sir Halliday Macartney constructed and organized a great arsenal at Soochow, which was afterwards removed to Nankin, as a town more conveniently situated. In 1866 the arsenal at the latter place was in full working order. Arrangements were also made to supply from America the places of the gun-boats which had returned to Europe, but the dilatoriness of the Chinese postponed the commencement of a fleet for ten years.

The anxieties of Prince Kung on the subject of the dynasty, and with regard to the undue pretensions and expectations of the foreign officials who looked on the

Chinese merely as the instruments of their self-aggrandisement, were further increased during this period by the depredations of the Nienfei rebels in the province of Shantung. During these operations Sankolinsin died, leaving Tseng Kwofan in undisputed possession of the first place among Chinese officials. Sankolinsin, when retreating after a reverse, was treacherously murdered by some villagers whose hospitality he had claimed. The career of the great Mongol prince, who had unsuccessfully opposed the allied forces during the Peking campaign, terminated ignominiously; but his constant activity, when he was to a certain extent in disgrace, showed that he was unremitting in his fidelity to the Tartar ruler. The Nienfei rebellion continued to alarm and agitate the provinces on the northern bank of the Yellow river, and the task of suppressing them was rendered more difficult by the mutinous state of the soldiery. However, the Nienfei never became formidable in the sense of being a national danger; and although they continued for several years longer to be a source of trouble and disturbance, they owed their own safety as much to the celerity of their movements as to their military power.

The events of this introductory period may be appropriately concluded with the strange stroke of misfortune that befell Prince Kung in the spring of 1865, and seemed to show that he had indulged some views of personal ambition. The affair had probably a secret history, but if so, the truth is hardly likely to be ever known. The known facts were as follows: On the 2nd of April, 1865, there appeared an edict degrading the Prince in the name of the two Regent-Empresses, for Tsi An, the abler woman, had been associated with Tsi Thsi, the Empress of higher grade. The charge made against him was of having grown arrogant, and of assuming privileges to which he had no right. He was at first "diligent and circumspect," but he has now become disposed "to overrate his own importance." In consequence, he was deprived of all his appointments and dismissed from the scene of public affairs.

There was not much likelihood that a man, who had taken so decisive a share in arranging the accession of the ruling

prince, and in the appointment of the Regents during his minority, would tamely acquiesce in being set on one side by the decree of two women. All his friends on the Imperial Council petitioned the Throne, representing in the plainest terms the great inconvenience that would be entailed by the withdrawal of Prince Kung from the control of public affairs. It was significantly observed in one of these memorials that "if the Imperial household be the first to begin misunderstandings" there was no telling where the excitement would not extend. These representations could scarcely fail to produce their due effect. Five weeks after his fall Prince Kung was reinstated on the 8th of May in all his offices, with the exception of that of President of the Council. This episode, which might have produced grave complications, closed with a return to almost the precise state of things previously existing. There was one important difference. The two Empresses had asserted their predominance. Prince Kung had hoped to be supreme, and to rule uncontrolled. From this time forth he was content to be their minister and adviser on terms similar to those that would have applied to any other official.

The year 1865, which witnessed this very interesting event in the history of the Chinese Government, beheld before its close the departure of Sir Frederick Bruce from Peking, and the appointment of Sir Rutherford Alcock to fill the post of Resident Minister at Peking. Sir Frederick Bruce left an example to his successors of how the dignity of the British Crown, in dealing with another great, if somewhat anomalous, Government was to be sustained. Sir Rutherford Alcock, who had represented his country in Japan during the trying years after the bombardment of Shimonoseki, then found the opportunity to put in practice some of the honourable sentiments to which he had given expression twenty years before at Shanghai. When Sir Rutherford left Yeddo for Peking, the post of Minister in Japan was conferred on Sir Harry Parkes, who had been acting as Consul at Shanghai since the conclusion of the war. The relations between the countries were gradually settling down on a satisfactory basis, and the appointment of a Supreme Court for China and Japan at

Shanghai, with Sir Edmund Hornby as Chief Judge, promised to enforce obedience to the law among even the unsettled adventurers of different nationalities left by the conclusion of the Taeping rebellion and the cessation of piracy without a profitable pursuit. The Chinese were thus able to turn their attention from questions of foreign intercourse to the suppression with increasing vigour of the other insurrections which had been agitating the Empire.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE TWO MAHOMEDAN REBELLIONS.

WE have already described or noticed a sufficient number of human calamities, arising from disastrous foreign wars and a sanguinary civil rebellion, to have taxed the strength and imperilled the existence of the most powerful of Empires. But while the events which have been set forth and recorded were happening in the heart of China, along her coasts and at the capital, other misfortunes yet had befallen the executive, in the more remote quarters of the realm it is true, but still none the less resulting in the loss and ruin of provinces, and in the subversion of the Emperor's authority. Two great uprisings of the people occurred in opposite directions, both commencing while the Taeping rebellion was in full force, and continuing to disturb the country for many years after its suppression. The one had for its scene the great south-western province of Yunnan; the other the two provinces of the north-west, Shensi and Kansuh. They resembled each other in one point, and that was that they were instigated and sustained by the Mahomedan population alone. The Panthays and the Tungani were, as it may please the fancy, either indigenous tribes or foreign immigrants, who had adopted or imported the tenets of Islam. Their sympathies with the Peking Government may never have been great, but they were impelled in both cases to revolt more by local tyranny than by any distinct desire to cast off the authority of the Chinese; but, of course, the obvious embarrassment of the central executive encouraged, by simplifying, the task of rebellion. The Panthay rising calls for description in the

first place, because it began at an earlier period than the other, and also because the details have been preserved with greater fidelity.

Mahomedanism is believed to have been introduced into Yunnan in or about the year 1275, and it made most progress among the so-called aboriginal tribes, the Lolos and the Mantzu. The officials were mostly Chinese or Tartars, and, left practically free from control, they more often abused their power than sought to employ it for the benefit of the people they governed. In the very first year of Hienfung's reign (1851) a petition reached the capital from a Mahomedan land proprietor in Yunnan named Ma Wenchu, accusing the Emperor's officials of the gravest crimes, and praying that "a just and honest man" might be sent to redress the wrongs of an injured and long-suffering people. The petition was carefully read and favourably considered at the capital; but although a gracious answer was accorded, the Emperor was at the time powerless to apply a remedy.

Four years passed away without any open manifestation being given of the deep discontent smouldering below the surface. But in 1855 the Chinese and the Mahomedan labourers quarrelled in one of the principal mines of the province, which is covered with ancient mines of gold, iron, and copper. It seems that the greater success of the Mahomedans in the uncertain pursuit of mining had roused the displeasure of their Chinese colleagues. Disputes ensued, in which the Mussulmans added success in combat to success in mining; and the official appointed to superintend the mines, instead of remaining with a view to the restoration of order, sought his personal safety by precipitate flight to the town of Yunnan. During his absence the Chinese population raised a levy *en masse*, attacked the Mahomedans who had gained a momentary triumph, and compelled them by sheer weight of numbers to beat a hasty retreat to their own homes in a different part of the province. This success was the signal for a general outcry against the Mahomedans, who had long been the objects of the secret ill-will of the other inhabitants. Massacres

took place in several parts of Yunnan, and the followers of the Prophet had to flee for their lives.

Among those who were slain during these popular disorders was a young chief named Ma Sucheng ; and when the news of his murder reached his native village his younger brother, Ma Sien, who had just received a small military command, declared his intention to avenge him, and fled to join the Mahomedan fugitives in the mountains. In this secure retreat they rallied their forces, and, driven to desperation by the promptings of want, they left their fastnesses with the view of regaining what they had lost. In this they succeeded better than they could have hoped for. The Chinese population experienced in their turn the bitterness of defeat ; and the mandarins had the less difficulty in concluding a temporary understanding between the exhausted combatants. Tranquillity was restored, and the miners resumed their occupations. But the peace was deceptive, and in a little time the struggle was renewed with increased fury.

In this emergency the idea occurred to the minds of some of the officials that an easy and efficacious remedy of the difficulty in which they found themselves placed would be by the massacre of the whole Mussulman population. In this plot the foremost part was taken by Hwang Chung, an official who bitterly hated the Mahomedans. He succeeded in obtaining the acquiescence of all his colleagues with the exception of the Viceroy of the province, who exposed the iniquity of the design, but who, destitute of all support, was powerless to prevent its execution. At the least he resolved to save his honour and reputation by committing suicide. His death simplified the execution of the project which his refusal might possibly have prevented. The 19th of May, 1856, was the date fixed for the celebration of this Chinese St. Bartholomew.

But the secret had not been well kept. The Mahomedans, whether warned or suspicious, distrusted the authorities and their neighbours, and stood vigilantly on their guard. At this time they looked chiefly to a high priest named Ma Tesing for guidance and instruction. But although on the

alert, they were after all to some extent taken by surprise, and many of them were massacred after a more or less unavailing resistance. But if many of the Mussulmans were slain, the survivors were inspired with a desperation which the mandarins had never contemplated. From one end of Yunnan to the other the Mahomedans, in face of great personal peril, rose by a common and spontaneous impulse, and the Chinese population suffered in turn for their brutalities, and were compelled to take a hasty refuge in the towns. At Talifoo, where the Mahomedans formed a considerable portion of the population, the most desperate fighting occurred, and after three days' carnage the Mussulmans, under Tu Wensiu, were left in possession of the city. Their success inspired them with the hope of retaining the freedom they had won, and impressed with the conviction that nothing in their power to offer would atone for their acts of rebellion in the eyes of the Government, they had no choice save to exert themselves for the retention of their independence. They proceeded to fortify Talifoo, and to enlist in their service as many of the mountain tribes as would be tempted by the offer of good pay and the prospects of considerable booty. The rebels did not remain without leaders, whom they willingly recognized and obeyed; for the kwanshihs or chiefs, who had accepted titles of authority from the Chinese, cast off their allegiance and placed themselves at the head of the popular movement. The priest Ma Tesing, who had travelled much, including the pilgrimage to Mecca, was raised to the highest post of all as Dictator, but Tu Wensiu admitted no higher authority than his own within the walls of Talifoo.

While Ma Tesing exercised the supremacy due to his age and attainments, the young chief Ma Sien led the rebels in the field. His energy was most conspicuous, and in the year 1858 he thought he was sufficiently strong to make an attack upon the city of Yunnan itself. His hopes were baffled by the resolute defence of an officer named Lin Tzuchin, who had shown great courage as a partisan leader against the insurgents before he was entrusted with the defence of the provincial capital. According to some accounts Lin was one of the fierce intractable Miaotze race. Ma Sien

was compelled to beat a retreat, and to devote himself to the organization of the many thousand Ijen or Lolos recruits who signified their attachment to his cause. For the successful defence of Yunnan Lin was made a Titu, and gradually collected into his own hands such authority as still remained to the Emperor's lieutenants. On both sides preparations were made for the renewal of the struggle, but before the year 1858 ended Ma Sien met with a second repulse at the town of Linan.

The year 1859 was not marked by any event of signal importance, although the balance of success inclined on the whole to the Mussulmans. But in the following year the Mahomedans drew up a large force, computed to exceed 50,000 men, round Yunnanfoo, to which they proceeded to vigorously lay siege. The Imperialists were taken at a disadvantage, and the large number of people who had fled for shelter into the town rendered the small stores of provisions less sufficient than ever for a protracted defence. Yunnanfoo was on the point of surrender when an event occurred which not merely relieved it from its predicament, but altered the whole complexion of the struggle. The garrison had made up its mind to yield. Even the brave Lin had accepted the inevitable and begun to negotiate with the two rebel leaders Ma Sien and the priest Ma Tesing. Those chiefs, with victory in their grasp, manifested an unexpected and surprising moderation. Instead of demanding from Lin a complete and unconditional surrender, they began to discuss with him what terms could be agreed upon for the cessation of the war and for the restoration of tranquillity to the province. At first it was thought that these propositions concealed some intended treachery, but their sincerity was placed beyond dispute by the suicide of the mandarin Hwang Chung, who had first instigated the people to massacre their Mahomedan brethren.

The terms of peace were promptly arranged, and a request was forwarded to Peking for the ratification of a convention concluded under the pressure of necessity with some of the rebel leaders. The better to conceal the fact that this arrangement had been made with the principal leader of the

disaffected, Ma Sien changed his name to Ma Julung, and received the rank of general in the Chinese service ; while the high priest accepted as his share the not inconsiderable pension of two hundred taels a month. It is impossible to divine the true reasons which actuated these instigators of rebellion in their decision to go over to the side of the Government. They probably thought that they had done sufficient to secure all the practical advantages, and that any persistence in hostilities would only result in the increased misery and impoverishment of the province. They conceived no doubt that their kinsmen and followers would obtain justice and security ; and, as for themselves, no moment would be more opportune for securing the largest possible personal advantage with the minimum of risk. But they were also influenced by other considerations. Powerful as they were, there were other Mahomedan leaders seeking to acquire the supreme position among their co-religionists ; and foremost among these was Tu Wensiu, who had reduced the whole of Western Yunnan to his sway, and reigned at Talifoo. The Mahomedan cause, important as it was, did not afford scope for the ambitions of two such men as Ma Julung and Tu Wensiu. The former availed himself of the favourable opportunity to settle this difficulty in a practical and, as he shrewdly anticipated, the most profitable manner for himself personally, by giving in his adhesion to the Government, and by employing his talents for the settlement of his personal rivalry with his former associate, at the same time that they were given to support the tottering supremacy of the Peking ruler.

This important defection did not bring in its train any certainty of tranquillity. Incited by the example of their leaders, every petty officer and chief thought himself deserving of the highest honours, and resolved to fight for his own hand. Ma Julung left Yunnanfoo for the purpose of seizing a neighbouring town which had revolted, and during his absence one of his lieutenants seized the capital, murdered the Viceroy, and threatened to plunder the inhabitants. Ma Julung was summoned to return in hot haste, and as a temporary expedient the priest Ma Tesing was elected Viceroy. When Ma

Julung returned with his army he had to lay siege to Yunnan-foo, and although he promptly effected an entrance into the city, it took five days' hard fighting in the streets before the force in occupation was expelled. The insurgent officer was captured, exposed to the public gaze for one month in an iron cage, and then executed in a cruel manner. Ma Tesing was deposed from the elevated position which he had held for so short a time, and a new Chinese Viceroy arrived from Kweichow.

The year 1863 opened with the first active operations against Tu Wensiu, who, during these years of disorder in central Yunnan, had been governing the western districts with some prudence. It would have been better if they had not been undertaken, for they only resulted in the defeat of the detachments sent by Ma Julung to engage the despot of Talifoo. Force having failed, they had recourse to diplomacy, and Ma Tesing was sent to sound Tu Wensiu as to whether he would not imitate their example and make his peace with the authorities. These overtures were rejected with disdain, and Tu Wensiu proclaimed his intention of holding out to the last, and refused to recognize the wisdom or the necessity of coming to terms with the Government.

The embarrassment of Ma Julung and the Yunnan officials, already sufficiently acute, was at this conjuncture further aggravated by an outbreak in their rear among the Miaotze and some other mountain tribes in the province of Kweichow. To the difficulty of coping with a strongly-placed enemy in front was thus added that of maintaining communications through a hostile and difficult region. A third independent party had also come into existence in Yunnan, where an ex-Chinese official named Liang Shihmei had set up his own authority at Linan, mainly, it was said, through jealousy of the Mahomedans taken into the service of the Government, and over whom he had gained some successes in the early stages of the war. The greatest difficulty of all was to reconcile the pretensions of the different commanders, for the Chinese officials and the Futai Tsen Yuing in particular regarded Ma Julung with no friendly eye.

With the year 1867, both sides having collected their

strength, more active operations were commenced, and Ma Julung proceeded in person, at the head of the best troops he could collect, to engage Tu Wensiu. It was at this time that the Imperialists adopted the red flag as their standard in contradistinction to the white flag of the insurgents. A desultory campaign ensued, but although Ma Julung evinced both courage and capacity, the result was on the whole unfavourable to him; and he had to retreat to the capital, where events of some importance had occurred during his absence in the field. The Viceroy, who had been staunchly attached to Ma Julung, died suddenly and under such circumstances as to suggest a suspicion of foul play; and Tsen Yuying had by virtue of his rank of Futai assumed the temporary discharge of his duties. The retreat of Ma Julung left the insurgents free to follow up their successes; and in the course of 1868 the authority of the Emperor had disappeared from every part of the province except the prefectural city of Yunnanfoo. This bad fortune led the Mussulmans who had followed the advice and fortunes of Ma Julung to consider whether it would not be wise to rejoin their co-religionists, and to at once finish the contest by the destruction of the Government. Had Ma Julung wavered in his fidelity for a moment they would all have joined the standard of Tu Wensiu, and the rule of the Sultan of Talifoo would have been established from one end of Yunnan to the other.

Tu Wensiu, having established the security of his communications with Burmah, whence he obtained supplies of arms and munitions of war, devoted his efforts to the capture of Yunnanfoo, which he completely invested. An amusing incident in the development of this struggle was that the besiegers supplied the besieged with salt, thus acquiring the money necessary to purchase their military equipment at Bhamo or Mandalay. The garrison was reduced to the lowest straits before Tsen Yuying resolved to come to the aid of his distressed colleague. The loss of the prefectural town would not merely entail serious consequences to the Imperialist cause, but he felt it would personally compromise him as the Futai at Peking. In the early part of 1869, therefore, he threw

himself into the town with three thousand men, and the forces of Tu Wensiu found themselves obliged to withdraw from the eastern side of the city. A long period of inaction followed, but during this time the most important events happened with regard to the ultimate result. Ma Julung employed all his artifice and arguments to show the rebel chiefs the utter hopelessness of their succeeding against the whole power of the Chinese Empire, which, from the suppression of the Taeping rebellion, would soon be able to be employed against them. They felt the force of his representations, and they were also oppressed by a sense of the slow progress they had made towards the capture of Yunnanfoo. Some months after Tsen Yuying's arrival, those of the rebels who were encamped to the north of the city hoisted the red flag and gave in their adhesion to the Government. Then Ma Julung resumed active operations against the other rebels, and obtained several small successes. A wound received during one of the skirmishes put an end to his activity, and the campaign resumed its desultory character. But Ma Julung's illness had other unfortunate consequences; for during it Tsen Yuying broke faith with those of the rebel leaders who had come over, and put them all to a cruel death. The natural consequence of this foolish and ferocious act was that the Mahomedans again reverted to their desperate resolve to stand firmly by the side of Tu Wensiu.

The war again passed into a more active phase. Ma Julung had recovered from his wounds. A new Viceroy, and a man of some energy, was sent from Peking. Lin Yuchow had attracted the notice of Tseng Kwofan among those of his native province who had responded to his appeal to defend Hoonan against the Taepings sixteen years before; and shortly before the death of the last Viceroy of Yunnan, he had been made Governor of Kweichow. To the same patron at Peking he now owed his elevation to the Viceroyalty. It is said that he had lost the energy which once characterized him; but he brought with him several thousand Hoonan braves, whose courage and military experience made them invaluable auxiliaries to the embarrassed authorities in Yunnan. A still more important circumstance as contributing

towards the establishment of peace was the order sent from Peking that the treasuries of six provinces should send to Yunnanfoo every month the total sum of 70,000 taels, until tranquillity had been restored. Although the whole of this amount was never received, still the officials in the south-west were thus provided with an invaluable source of revenue in which they were more deficient than in any other of the elements of war.

The details of the campaign that followed would fail to be instructive, and the mention of names that are not merely uncouth, but unpronounceable would only repel the reader. The result is the principal, or, indeed, the single fact worthy of our consideration. In the course of the year 1870 most of the towns in the south and the north of Yunnan were recovered, and communications were re-opened with Szchuen. As soon as the inhabitants perceived that the Government had regained its strength, they hastened to express their joy at the change by repudiating the white flag which Tu Wensiu had compelled them to adopt. The Imperialists, even to the last, increased the difficulty of their work of pacification by exhibiting a relentless cruelty. At Kunyang, after an eight months' siege, the chiefs on surrendering were invited to a banquet, and then executed to the number of three hundred. At the capture of Chengchiang, some months later, faith was deliberately broken by Tsen Yuying, and the town was sacked. The spoilers quarrelled among themselves, and their combats added to the confusion and slaughter. If the inhabitants thought to secure their safety by a speedy surrender, the Mussulmans were rendered more desperate in their resolve to resist. The chances of a Mahomedan success were steadily diminishing when Yang Yuko, a mandarin of some military capacity, who had begun his career in the most approved manner as a rebel, succeeded in capturing the whole of the salt-producing district which had been the main source of their strength.

In the year 1872 all the preliminary arrangements had been made for attacking Talifoo itself. A supply of rifles had been received from Canton or Shanghai, and a few pieces of artillery had also arrived. With these improved weapons

the troops of Ma Julung and Tsen Yuying enjoyed a distinct advantage over the rebels of Talifoo. The horrors of war were at this point increased by those of pestilence, for the plague broke out at Puerh on the southern frontier, and before it disappeared devastated the whole of the province, completing the effect of the civil war, and ruining the few districts which had escaped from its ravages. The direct command of the siege operations at Talifoo was entrusted to Yang Yuko, who had obtained a reputation for invincibility; but when Tsen Yuying had completed his own operations by the death of Liang Shihmei, and the recovery of Linan and other places, he also proceeded to the camp before the Mahomedan capital for the purpose of taking part in the crowning operation of the war. General Yang was one of the most remarkable men in China. He was almost a hunchback, but so active that the people called him "the monkey." In the war, unlike most Chinese generals, who sit in their chairs in the rear, he was always on horseback, under fire, at the head of his men.

Tu Wensiu and the garrison of Talifoo, although driven to desperation, could not discover any issue from their difficulties. They were reduced to the last stage of destitution, and starvation stared them in the face. In this extremity Tu Wensiu, although there was every reason to believe that the Imperialists would not fulfil their pledges, and that surrender simply meant yielding to a cruel death, resolved to open negotiations with Yang Yuko for giving up the town. The Emperor's generals signified their desire for the speedy termination of the siege, at the same time expressing acquiescence in the general proposition of the town and garrison being admitted to terms. Although the Futai and Yang Yuko had promptly come to the mutual understanding to celebrate the fall of Talifoo by a wholesale massacre, they expressed their intention to spare the other rebels on the surrender of Tu Wensiu for execution, and on the payment of an indemnity. The terms were accepted, although the more experienced of the rebels warned their comrades that they would not be complied with. On the 15th of January, 1873, Tu Wensiu, the original of the mythical Sultan Suliman, the fame of

whose power reached England, and who had been an object of the solicitude of the Indian Government, accepted the decision of his craven followers as expressing the will of Heaven, and gave himself up for execution.

He attired himself in his best and choicest garments, and seated himself in the yellow palanquin which he had adopted as one of the few marks of royal state that his opportunities allowed him to secure. Accompanied by the men who had negotiated the surrender, he drove through the streets, receiving for the last time the homage of his people, and out beyond the gates to Yang Yuko's camp. Those who saw the cortège marvelled at the calm indifference of the fallen despot. He seemed to have as little fear of his fate as consciousness of his surroundings. The truth soon became evident. He had baffled his enemies by taking slow poison. Before he reached the presence of the Futai, who had wished to gloat over the possession of his prisoner, the opium had done its work, and Tu Wensiu was no more. It seemed but an inadequate triumph to sever the head from the dead body, and to send it preserved in honey as the proof of victory to Peking.

Four days after Tu Wensiu's death, the Imperialists were in complete possession of the town, and a week later they had taken all their measures for the execution of the fell plan upon which they had decided. A great feast was given for the celebration of the convention, and the most important of the Mahomedan commanders, including those who had negotiated the truce, were present. At a given signal they were attacked and murdered by soldiers concealed in the gallery for the purpose, while six cannon shots announced to the soldiery that the hour had arrived for them to break loose on the defenceless townspeople. The scenes that followed are stated to have surpassed description. Thousands were massacred. The unfortunate people who had received the Chinese soldiery with hospitality were butchered on their own hearths; and the work of slaughter, renewed at intervals in Tali and the surrounding villages, was only discontinued from fatigue. It was computed that 30,000 men alone perished after the fall of the old Panthay capital.

With the capture of Talifoo the great Mahomedan rebellion

in the south-west closed, after a desultory and most deplorable warfare during nearly eighteen years. The resources of the Government when once enlisted in the task had availed to restore peace and to crush the rebellious. The war was conducted with exceptional ferocity on both sides, and witnessed more than the usual amount of falseness and breach of faith common to Oriental struggles. Nobody benefited by the contest, and the prosperity of Yunnan, which at one time had been far from inconsiderable, sank to the lowest possible point. A new class of officials came to the front during this period of disorder, and fidelity was a sufficient passport to a certain rank. Ma Julung, the Marshal Ma of European travellers, gained a still higher station; and, notwithstanding the jealousy of his colleagues, acquired practical supremacy in the province. The high priest, Ma Tesing, who may be considered as the prime instigator of the movement, was executed or poisoned in 1874 at the instigation of some of the Chinese officials. Yang Yuko, the most successful of all the generals, only enjoyed a brief tenure of power. It was said that he was dissatisfied with his position as commander-in-chief, and aspired to a higher rank. He also was summoned to Peking, but never got further than Shanghai, where he died, or was removed. But although quiet gradually descended upon this part of China, it was long before prosperity followed in its train. The young Emperor Tungche had, however, the satisfaction of witnessing the close of the Panthay* rebellion, as he had seen that of the Taeping eight years before.

About six years after the first mutterings of discontent

* "The word Panthay has received such complete recognition as the national name of the Mahomedan revolutionaries in Yunnan, that I fear it will be almost useless to assert that the term is utterly unknown in the country which was temporarily under the domination of Sultan Suliman. . . . The name Suliman is equally unknown."—Mr. Colborne Baber. As Colonel Yule has very clearly and sensibly pointed out, nobody supposed that the style Suliman was more than that used by the Hajjis anxious to spread his fame among Mahomedans west of Yunnan. The word Panthay was the name given by the Burmese to the Mahomedans of Yunnan. Although not a national name, it has a justifiable title to being perpetuated.

among the Mahomedans in the south-west, disturbances occurred in the north-west provinces of Shensi and Kansuh, where there had been many thousand followers of Islam since an early period of Chinese history. At most times they were obedient subjects and sedulous cultivators of the soil; but they were always liable to sudden ebullitions of fanaticism or of seditious turbulence, as, indeed, form the essence of their aggressive religion, and it was said that during the later years of his reign Keen Lung had meditated ordering a wholesale execution of the male population above the age of fifteen. The threat, if ever made, was never carried out, but it sufficed to show the extent to which danger was apprehended from the Tungan (a word signifying converts) population. The true origin of the great outbreak in 1862 in Shensi seems to have been a quarrel between the Chinese and Mahomedan militia as to their share of the spoil derived from the defeat and overthrow of a brigand leader named Lantachuen, who had been driven out of Szchuen and compelled to seek shelter elsewhere. Although the authority of the executive was triumphantly asserted over a rebel, the cause of order suffered from the incursion of Lantachuen by supplying the occasion of a grave conflict among the inhabitants themselves. After some bloodshed, two Imperial Commissioners named Mape-ling and Chang Pe were sent from Peking to restore order. The principal Mahomedan leader formed a plot to murder the Commissioners, and on their arrival he rushed into their presence and slew Chang Pe with his own hand. His co-religionists deplored the rash act, and voluntarily seized and surrendered him for the purpose of undergoing a cruel death. But although he was torn to pieces, that fact did not satisfy the outraged dignity of the Emperor. A command was issued in Tungche's name to the effect that all those who persisted in following the creed of Islam should perish by the sword.

From Shensi the outbreak spread into the adjoining province of Kansuh; and the local garrisons were vanquished in a pitched battle at Tara Ussu, beyond the regular frontier. The insurgents did not succeed, however, in taking any of the larger towns of Shensi, and after threatening with capture

the once famous city of Singan, they were gradually expelled from that province, although their numbers made it clear that the complete pacification of the north-west would not be accomplished until the executive had been freed from some of its other troubles. The Mahomedan rebellion within the limits of China proper would not, however, have possessed more than local importance, but for the fact that it encouraged a similar outbreak in the country further west, and that it resulted in the severance of the Central Asian provinces from China for a period of many years.

The uprising of the Mahomedans in the frontier provinces appealed to the secret fears as well as to the longings of the Tungan settlers and soldiers in all the towns and military stations which marked the dreary route from Souchow to Kashgar. The sense of a common peril, more perhaps than the desire to attain the same object, led to revolts at Hami, Barkul, Urumtsi, and Turfan, towns which formed a group of industrious communities halfway between the prosperous districts of Kansuh on the one side and Kashgar on the other. The Tungani held the privileges which are never denied to those who maintain the fabric of a government in distant territories, but they may have felt that there could be no security for them after an edict had been issued forbidding the practice of their religion. The Tungani at the towns named, and at others in the same region, both on the southern and on the northern side of the Tian Shan range, revolted under the leading of their priests, and imitated the example of their co-religionists within the settled borders of China by murdering all who did not accept their tenets, or who seemed to possess the will and the power to dispute their supremacy. After a brief interval, which we may attribute to the greatness of the distance, to the vigilance of the Chinese garrison, or to the apathy of the population, the movement spread to the next three towns west of Turfan, Karashar, Kucha, and Aksu, where it came into contact with, and was stopped by, another insurrectionary movement under Mahomedan indeed but totally distinct auspices. West of Aksu the Tungan rebellion never extended south of the Tian Shan range.

The defection of the Tungani, who had formed a large

proportion, if not the majority, of the Chinese garrisons, paralyzed the strength of the Celestials in Central Asia. Both in the districts dependent on Ili, and in those ruled from Kashgar and Yarkand, the Chinese were beset by many great and permanent difficulties. They were with united strength a minority, and now that they were divided among themselves almost a hopeless minority. The peoples they governed were fanatical, false, and fickle. The ruler of Khokand and the refugees living on his bounty were always alert to take the most advantage of the least slip or act of weakness on the part of the governing classes. Their machinations had been hitherto baffled, but never before had so favourable an opportunity presented itself for attaining their wishes, as when it became known that the whole Mahomedan population was up in arms against the Emperor, and that communications were severed between Kashgar and Peking.

We have described the attempts made at earlier periods on the part of the members of the old ruling family in Kashgar to regain their own by expelling the Chinese. In 1857 Wali Khan, one of the sons of Jehangir, had succeeded in gaining temporary possession of the city of Kashgar, and seemed for a moment to be likely to capture Yarkand also. He fell by his vices. The people soon detested the presence of the man to whom they had accorded a too hasty welcome. After a rule of four months, he fled the country, vanquished in the field by the Chinese garrison, and followed by the execrations of the population he had come to deliver. The invasion of Wali Khan further embittered the relations between the Chinese and their subjects; and a succession of governors bore heavily on the Mahomedans. Popular dissatisfaction and the apprehension in the minds of the governing officials that their lives might be forfeited at any moment to a popular outbreak added to the dangers of the situation in Kashgar itself, when the news arrived of the Tungan revolt and of the many other complications which hampered the action of the Peking ruler.

It is not our purpose to narrate here the details of the rebellion in Kashgar. Neither space nor its direct influence

on the history of China would sanction such close exactitude. But it may be said that in the year 1863 the Chinese officials had become so alarmed at their isolated position that they resolved to adopt the desperate expedient of massacring all the Mahomedans or Tungani in their own garrisons. The amban and his officers were divided in council and dilatory in execution. The Tungani heard of the plot while the governor was summoning the nerve to carry it out. They resolved to anticipate him. The Mahomedans at Yarkand, the largest and most important garrison in the country, rose in August, 1863, and massacred all the Buddhist Chinese. Seven thousand men are computed to have fallen. A small band fled to the citadel, which they held for a short time; but at length, overwhelmed by numbers, they preferred death to dishonour, and destroyed themselves by exploding the fort with the magazine.

The Tungani thus lost Kashgaria for the Chinese, as the other garrisons and towns promptly followed the example of Yarkand; but they could not keep it for themselves. The spectacle of this internal dissension proved irresistible for the adventurers of Khokand, and Buzurg, the last surviving son of Jehangir, resolved to make another bid for power and for the recovery of the position for which his father and kinsmen had striven in vain. The wish might possibly have been no more attained than theirs had he not secured the support of the most capable soldier in Khokand, Mahomed Yakoob, the defender of Ak Musjid. It was not until the early part of the year 1865 that this Khoja pretender, with his small body of Khokandian officers, and a considerable number of Kirghiz allies, appeared upon the scene. Then, however, their success was rapid. The Tungan revolt in Altyshahr resolved itself into a movement for the restoration of the Khoja dynasty. In a short time Buzurg was established as ruler, while his energetic lieutenant was employed in the task of crushing the few remaining Chinese garrisons, and also in cowing his Tungan allies, who already regarded their new ruler with a doubtful eye. By the month of September in the same year that witnessed the passage of the invading force through the Terek defile, the triumph of the Khoja's

arms was assured. A few weeks later Mahomed Yakoob deposed his master, and caused himself to be proclaimed ruler in his stead. The voice of the people ratified the success of the man; and in 1866 Mahomed Yakoob or Yakoob Beg received at the hands of the Ameer of Bokhara the proud title of Athalik Ghazi, by which he was long known.

The Mahomedan rising spread still further within the limits of Chinese authority in Central Asia. While the events which have been briefly sketched were happening in the region south of the great Tian Shan range, others of not less importance had taken place in Ili or Kuldja, which, under Chinese rule, had enjoyed uninterrupted peace for a century. It was this fact which marked the essential difference between the Tungan rebellion and all the disturbances that had preceded it. The revolution in the metropolitan province of Ili was complicated by the presence of different races just as it had been in Kashgaria by the pretensions of the Khoja family. A large portion of the population consisted of those Tarantchis who were the descendants of the Kashgarians deported on more than one occasion by the Chinese from their own homes to the banks of the Ili; and they had inherited a legacy of ill-will against their rulers which only required the opportunity to display itself. The Tungan—or Dungan, as the Russians spell it—element was also very strong, and colonies of the Sobo and Solon tribes further added to the variety of the nationalities dwelling in this province. The Chinese population proper consisted also to a very large extent of convicts, or at the least of exiles banished from their own country to this remote quarter. The land of Ili, promising and flourishing oasis as it was in the barren regions of Asia, appeared in the eyes of the contented Chinamen as only endurable for the outcast.

It had been said with some truth that the Chinese ruled in this quarter of their dominions on the old principle of commanding by the division of the subjected; and it had been predicted that they would fall upon an evil day if ever any two of the dependent populations combined against them. There is little difficulty in showing that the misfortunes of the Chinese were due to their own faults. They neglected the plainest

military precautions, and the mandarins thought only of enriching themselves. But the principal cause of the destruction of the fabric of their power was the cessation of the supplies which they were used to receive from Peking. The government of these dependencies was only possible by the annual gift of a small portion of the Imperial treasure. When the funds placed at the disposal of the Ili authorities were diverted to other uses, it was no longer possible to maintain the old efficiency of the service. Discontent was provided with a stronger argument at the same time that the executive found itself embarrassed in grappling with it.

The news of the Mahomedan outbreak in China warned the Tungani in Ili that their opportunity had come. But although there were disturbances as early as January, 1863, these were suppressed, and the vigilance of the authorities sufficed to keep things quiet for another year. Their subsequent incapacity, or hesitation to strike a prompt blow, enabled the Mahomedans to husband their resources and to complete their plans. A temporary alliance was concluded between the Tungani and the Tarantchis, and they hastened to attack the Chinese troops and officials. The year 1865 was marked by the progress of a sanguinary struggle, during which the Chinese lost their principal towns, and some of their garrisons were ruthlessly slaughtered after surrender. The usual scenes of civil war followed. Populous cities were reduced to ruins and desolation. The surface of the country underwent a change. The population of the whole province fell off during the struggle to less than what the capital alone had contained in 1862. The ravages of disease and famine completed the destruction of what war had spared.

When the Chinese were completely vanquished and their garrisons exterminated, the victors, as might have been expected, quarrelled among themselves. The Tungani and the Tarantchis met in mortal encounter, and the former were vanquished, and their chief, Mayaghur Akhun, slain. When they renewed the contest, some months later, they were, after another sanguinary struggle, again overthrown. The Tarantchis then ruled the state by themselves, but the example they set of native rule was, to say the least, not encouraging. One

chief after another was deposed and murdered. The same year witnessed no fewer than five leaders in the supreme place of power; and when Abul Oghlan assumed the title of Sultan the cup of their iniquities was already full. In the year 1871, an end was at last put to their enormities by the occupation of the province by a Russian force, and the installation of a Russian governor. Although it is probable that they were only induced to take this step by the fear that if they did not do so Yakoob Beg would, the fact remains that the Russian Government performed a laudable and beneficent act in the cause of order by interfering for the restoration of tranquillity in the Ili valley.

The Mahomedan outbreaks in South-Western and North-Western China resulted, therefore, in the gradual suppression of the Panthay rebellion, which was completed in the twelfth year of Tungche's reign, while the Tungan rising, so far as the Central Asia territories were concerned, remained unquelled for a longer period. The latter led to the establishment of an independent Tungan confederacy beyond Kansuh, and also of the kingdom of Kashgaria ruled by Yakoob Beg. The revolt in Ili, after several alterations of fortune, resulted in the brief independence of the Tarantchis, who were in turn displaced by the Russians under a pledge of restoring the province to the Chinese whenever they should return. Judged by the extent of territory involved, the Mahomedan rebellion might be said to be not less important than the Taeping; but the comparison on that ground alone would be really delusive, as the numerical inferiority of the Mahomedans rendered it always a question only of time for the central power to be restored, and for the majesty of the Emperor to be triumphantly reasserted.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REIGN OF TUNGCHE.

THE young Emperor Tungche, born 27th April, 1856, grew up amidst continual difficulties, although the successes of his principal lieutenants afforded good reason to believe that it was only a question of time before they would be finally removed. To the successes already described must be added the suppression of the Nienfei rebellion in the province of Shantung. It would have been unreasonable to suppose that the relations between the foreign merchants and residents and the Chinese would become, after the suspicion and dangers of generations, as cordial as those fortunately established in the diplomatic world at Peking. The commercial and missionary bodies, into which the foreign community was naturally divided, had objects of trade or of religion to advance, which rendered them apt to take an unfavourable view of the progress made by the Chinese Government in the paths of civilization, and to be ever sceptical even of its good faith. Every one wished and expected the Chinese to throw themselves as impetuously as their neighbours the Japanese had done into the work of imitating the excellences, real or assumed, of Europe; and not the smallest consideration was paid to the prejudices of a proud people, or to the necessities of a Government charged with a task of peculiar and increasing difficulty. The main object with the foreign diplomatic representatives became not more to obtain justice for their countrymen than to restrain their eagerness, and to confine their pretensions to the rights conceded by the treaties.

A clear distinction had to be drawn between undue

coercion of the Government on the one hand, and the effectual compulsion of the people to evince respect towards foreigners and to comply with the obligations of the treaty on the other. Instances repeatedly occurred in reference to the latter matter when it would have been foolish to have shown weakness, especially as there was not the least room to suppose that the Government possessed at that time the power and the capacity to secure reparation for, or to prevent the repetition of, attacks on foreigners. Under this category came the riot at Yangchow in the year 1868, when some missionaries had their houses burnt down, and were otherwise maltreated. A similar outrage was perpetrated in Formosa; but the fullest redress was always tendered as soon as the Executive realized that the European representatives attached importance to the occurrence, and were in earnest in their demand for compensation.

The recurrence of these local dangers and disputes served to bring more clearly than ever before the minds of the Chinese Ministers the advisability of taking some step on their own part towards an understanding with European Governments and peoples. The proposal to depute a Chinese ambassador to the West could hardly be said to be new, seeing that it had been projected after the Treaty of Nankin, and that the minister Keying had manifested some desire to be the first mandarin to serve in the novel capacity. But when the Tsungli Yamen took up the question some years later, after the second peace and war, it was decided that in this as in other matters it would be expedient to avail themselves in the first place of foreign mediation. The favourable opportunity of doing so presented itself when Mr. Burlinghame retired from his post as Minister of the United States at Peking. In the winter of 1867-68, Mr. Burlinghame accepted an appointment as accredited representative of the Chinese Government to eleven of the principal countries of the world, and two Chinese mandarins and a certain number of Chinese students were appointed to accompany him on his tour.

The importance of the Burlinghame Mission was certainly exaggerated at the time, and the speculations to which it gave rise as to the part China was about to take in the movement

of the world, were no doubt based on erroneous data ; but still it would be a mistake to say that it failed to produce none of the beneficial effect which had been expected. It was something for the outer world to learn, in those days when the Chinese presented to the mind of foreigners ideas only of weakness and falseness, that they had better characteristics, and that some day they might wield no inconsiderable power. Mr. Burlinghame was sanguine, and the expectations of his audiences, both in America and in Europe, overleapt all difficulties, and spanned at a step the growth of many years ; but only the most shallow-minded observers will deny that Mr. Burlinghame's widest stretches of fancy were supported by an amount of truth which events are making clearer every year. Of course those who only looked on the surface, who saw the difficulties under which China staggered, and the dogged pride with which she refused the remedy forced upon her by foreigners, who had at least as much their own interests as hers in view, declared that Mr. Burlinghame's statements were "enthusiastic fictions." The Chinese themselves did not attach as much importance as they might have done to his efforts, and Mr. Burlinghame's mission will be remembered more as an educational process for foreign opinion than as signifying any decided change in Chinese policy. His death at St. Petersburg, in March, 1870, put a sudden and unexpected close to his tour, but it cannot be said that he could have done more towards the elucidation of Chinese questions than he had already accomplished, while his bold and optimistic statements, after arousing public attention, had already begun to produce the inevitable reaction.

Sir Rutherford Alcock's residence at Peking, without being marked by any decisive matter similar to the incidents which had occurred during the critical years of the war, and the subsequent negotiations, witnessed many minor disturbances and differences which required his constant and unrelaxed attention. The outrages at Yangchow and in Formosa were followed by others at Swatow and Foochow. In all these cases redress was exacted in the promptest and most effectual manner by the nearest gun-boat. It was only when the populace broke out into anti-foreign fervour at a distance

from the sea-coast that the means of redress were non-existent. Such was the case in Szchuen, where Père Rigaud and a large number of native Christians perished at the hands of a mob, without any possibility of obtaining immediate reparation. Sir Rutherford Alcock's principal work accomplished during this period was the revision of the Treaty of Tientsin. The new terms failed of course to satisfy everybody, but there is no reason to suppose that anything more favourable could have been procured at the time, or that any more vigorous action would have received the support of the British Government.

At Sir Rutherford's parting interview with Prince Kung, he said to the latter: "After all these discussions, now that we have entered into a convention regulating many points, I hope that, though I am going away, you will find other matters will settle themselves satisfactorily, and that there will be a gradual improvement in our relations, and in the progress of our commerce." Prince Kung replied very cordially: "Yes, we have had a great many discussions, but we know that you have always endeavoured to do justice, and if you could only relieve us of missionaries and opium there need be no more trouble in China." During Sir Rutherford's residence the Duke of Edinburgh visited Peking.

In 1869 Sir Rutherford Alcock retired, and was succeeded in the difficult post of English representative in China by Mr. Thomas Wade, who had occupied a place inferior to none in the consideration of his Government as principal secretary and interpreter to our ministers and diplomatists during the whole of the trying period since the Treaty of Nankin. In the very first year of his exercise of the supreme direction of our diplomacy, an event occurred which eclipsed all the aggressive acts that had preceded it, and cast them into the shade. It may perhaps be surmised that this was the Tientsin massacre—an event which threatened to reopen the whole of the China question, and which brought France and China to the verge of war.

It was in June, 1870, on the eve of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, that the foreign settlements were startled by the report of a great popular outbreak against foreigners

in the important town of Tientsin. At that city there was a large and energetic colony of Roman Catholic priests, and their success in the task of conversion, small as it might be held, was still sufficient to excite the ire and fears of the literary and official classes. The origin of mob violence is ever difficult to discover, for a trifle suffices to set it in motion. But at Tientsin specific charges of the most horrible and, it need not be said, the most baseless character were spread about as to the cruelties and evil practices of those devoted to the service of religion. These rumours were diligently circulated, and it need not cause wonder if, when the mere cry of Fanquai sufficed to raise a disturbance, these allegations resulted in completely unhinging the public mind. The agitation against the missionaries had not been the production of a day, and it acquired increased force with continued impunity. It was well known beforehand that an attack on the missionaries would take place unless the authorities adopted very efficient measures of protection. The foreign residents and the consulates were warned of the coming outburst, and a very heavy responsibility will always rest on those who might, by the display of greater vigour, have prevented the unfortunate occurrences that ensued. At the same time, allowing for the prejudices of the Chinese, it must be allowed that not only must the efforts of all foreign missionaries be attended with the gravest peril, but that the acts of the French priests and nuns at Tientsin were, if not indiscreet, at least peculiarly calculated to arouse the anger and offend the superstitious predilections of the Chinese.

Dr. Wells Williams writes very soundly on this point in his "Middle Kingdom." He quotes the following important passage from the official despatch of the United States Minister, describing the originating causes of the outrage: "At many of the principal places in China open to foreign residence, the Sisters of Charity have established institutions, each of which appears to combine in itself a foundling hospital and orphan asylum. Finding that the Chinese were averse to placing children in their charge, the managers of these institutions offered a certain sum per head for all the

children placed under their control given to them, it being understood that a child once in their asylum no parent, relative, or guardian could claim or exercise any control over it. It has for some time been asserted by the Chinese, and believed by most of the non-Catholic foreigners residing here, that the system of paying bounties induced the kidnapping of children for these institutions for the sake of the reward. It is also asserted that the priests or sisters, or both, have been in the habit of holding out inducements to have children brought to them in the last stages of illness for the purpose of being baptized *in articulo mortis*. In this way many children have been taken to these establishments in the last stages of disease, baptized there, and soon after taken away dead. All these acts, together with the secrecy and seclusion which appear to be a part and parcel of the regulations which govern institutions of this character everywhere, have created suspicions in the minds of the Chinese, and these suspicions have engendered an intense hatred against the sisters." The most unfortunate part of the incident was that "the day prior to the outbreak the district magistrate (chihien) called upon the French Consul, and stated that unless permission be given for a thorough examination of the sisters' establishment it was difficult to foretell the result. The Consul, construing the language into a threat, replied that the magistrate being inferior in rank to the Consul, no negotiation could take place between them for the purpose indicated or any other." Some of the foreign residents even went so far as to say that if the Consul had promptly acted in combination with the Chinese officials there would have been no massacre.

Had the officials in the town acted with promptitude and instituted an official inquiry with the view of demonstrating the falseness of the charges, it is probable that at the very last moment the outbreak might have been averted. Such a course had proved availing on equally critical occasions in some of the towns along the Yangtse; and the responsibility of not taking it rested in equal proportions between the Chinese officials and the French Consul. At that time Chung How, the Superintendent of Trade for the three

Northern Ports, was the principal official in Tientsin; but although some representations, not as forcible, however, as the occasion demanded, were made to him by M. Fontanier, the French Consul, on the 18th of June, three days before the massacre, no reply was given and no precautions were taken. On the 21st a large crowd assembled outside the Mission House. They very soon assumed an attitude of hostility, and it was clear that at any moment the attack might begin. M. Fontanier hastened off in person to Chung How, but his threats seem to have been as unavailing as his previous arguments. On his return he found the attack on the point of commencing. He made use of threats, and he fired a shot from his revolver, whether in self-defence or in the heat of indignation at some official treachery will never be known. The mob turned upon him, and he was murdered. The Chinese then hastened to complete the work they had begun. Chung How, like Surajah Dowlah, was not to be disturbed, and the attack on the Mission House and Consulate proceeded, while the officials responsible for order remained inactive. Twenty-one foreigners, including the French Consul, his secretary M. Simon, a member of the French legation at Peking and his wife, a French storekeeper and his wife, three priests, ten Sisters of Charity, and a Russian merchant and his wife, were brutally murdered under circumstances of the greatest barbarity, while the number of native converts who fell at the same time can never be ascertained.

This event naturally produced a general feeling of horror and alarm. For the moment it was feared that the rioters would proceed to attack the rest of the foreign settlement. The mandarins still refrained from all intervention, and as there happened to be no gun-boat at Tientsin, the foreign residents were for the moment placed in an extremely dangerous predicament. They, of course, took all the measures they could to defend themselves, but it was said at the time that if the mob had only attacked at once they would probably have overcome such resistance as the Europeans could then have offered. They did not do so, however, chiefly because they distrusted or failed to realize

their strength ; and the massacre of Tientsin did not assume the larger proportions that were at one moment feared.

The Tientsin massacre was followed by a wave of anti-foreign feeling over the whole country ; but although an official brought out a work entitled "Death-blow to Corrupt Doctrine" upon the subject, which obtained more than a passing notoriety, and notwithstanding that some members of the Imperial Family, and notably, as it was stated, Prince Chun, regarded the movement with favour, the arguments of Prince Kung and the more moderate ministers carried the day, and it was resolved to make every concession in the power of the Government in order to effect the pacific settlement of the dispute then created with France. The occurrence was one which made foreign opinion unanimously opposed to the Chinese. Let it be recorded in favour of Prince Kung's humanity, that on the very first receipt of the news he repudiated all sympathy with the acts of barbarity which had disgraced his fellow-countrymen. The outbreak of the war between France and Germany, while it contributed to a peaceful settlement of the question, rendered the process of diplomacy slow and dubious. The Tsungli Yamen, as soon as it realized that nothing short of the despatch of a mission of apology to Europe would salve the injured honour of France and convince her that the responsible ministers of the Emperor Tungche repudiated all connivance in the matter, determined that none other than Chung How himself should go to Paris to assure the French that the officials deplored the popular ebullition and had taken no part in it. The untoward result for France of the great war in Europe embarrassed her action in China. Chung How's assurances were accepted, the proffered compensation was received ; but the Chinese were informed that, in recognition of France's moderation, and in return for the reception of their envoy by M. Thiers, the right of audience should be conceded to the French Minister resident at Peking. The settlement of one difficulty served only to bring forward another, and to reveal a long vista of obstacles that had still to be overcome before the relations of China and the West were placed on a basis of enduring harmony.

The Audience Question naturally aroused the greatest interest at Peking, where it agitated the official mind not merely because it signified another concession to force, but also because it promised to produce a disturbing effect on the minds of the people. The young Emperor was growing up, and might be expected to take a direct share in the administration at an early date. It was not an idle apprehension that filled the minds of his ministers lest he might lay the blame on them for having cast upon him the obligation of receiving ministers of foreign states in a manner such as they had never before been allowed to appear in the presence of the occupant of the Dragon Throne. The youth of the sovereign served to postpone the question for a short space of time, but it was no longer doubtful that the assumption of personal authority by the young Emperor Tungche would be accompanied by the reintroduction, and probably by the settlement, of the Audience Question. It was typical of the progress Chinese statesmen were making that none of them seemed to consider the possibility of distinctly refusing this privilege. Its concession was only postponed until after the celebration of the young Emperor's marriage.

It had been known for some time previous that the young ruler had fixed his affections on Ahluta, a Manchu lady of good family, and that the Empresses had decided that she was worthy of the high rank to which she was to be raised. The marriage ceremony was deferred on more than one plea until after the Emperor had reached his sixteenth birthday, but in October, 1872, there was thought to be no longer any excuse for postponement, and it was celebrated with great splendour on the 16th of that month. The arrangements were made in strict accordance with the precedent of the Emperor Kanghi's marriage in 1674, that ruler having also married when in occupation of the throne and before he had attained his majority. It was stated that the ceremonial was imposing, that the incidental expenses were enormous, and that the people were very favourably impressed by the demeanour of their young sovereign. But the event did not produce any immediate effect on the administration. An Act of general

oblivion for civil offences was published, and the Court edicts declared that there was rejoicing throughout the land.

Four months after the celebration of his marriage, the formal act of conferring upon Tungche the personal control of his dominions was performed. In a special decree issued from the Board of Rites, the Emperor said that he had received "the commands of their Majesties the Two Emperesses to assume the superintendence of business." This edict was directed to the Foreign Ministers, who in return presented a collective request to be received in audience. Prince Kung was requested "to take his Imperial Majesty's orders with reference to their reception." The question being thus brought to a crucial point in which it would be impossible to shelve it until finally settled one way or the other, it was not unnatural that the Chinese Ministers should make the most vigorous resistance they could to those details which seemed to and did encroach upon the prerogative of the Emperor as he had been accustomed to exercise it. For, in the first place, they were no longer free agents, and Tungche had himself to be considered in any arrangement for the reception of foreign envoys. The discussion of the question assumed a controversial character, in which stress was laid on the one side upon the necessity of the kotow even in a modified form, while on the other it was pointed out that the least concession was as objectionable as the greatest, and that China would benefit by the complete settlement of the question. It says a great deal for the fairness and moderation of Prince Kung and the ministers with him, that, although they knew that the Foreign Governments were not prepared to make the Audience Question one of war, or even of the suspension of diplomatic relations, they determined to settle the matter in the way most distasteful to themselves and most agreeable to foreigners. On the 29th of June, 1873, Tungche therefore received in audience the ministers of the principal Powers at Peking, and thus gave completeness to the many rights and concessions obtained from his father and grandfather by the treaties of Tientsin and Nankin. The privilege thus secured caused lively gratification in the minds of all foreign residents, to whom it signified the great

surrender of the inherent right to superiority claimed by the Chinese Emperors. The long minority of Tungche's successor kept the practical importance of this right in the background, but the privilege of personal audience with the Chinese Emperor is one of the most cherished by the Foreign Powers, and is fully asserted by them all once a year.

The sudden death of Tseng Kwofan in the summer of 1872 removed unquestionably the foremost public man in China. After the fall of Nankin, he had occupied the highest posts in the Empire, both at that city and in the metropolis. He was not merely powerful from his own position, but from his having placed his friends and dependents in many of the principal offices throughout the Empire. It was said that more than half the Viceroy and Governors of China were his nominees. At first prejudiced against foreigners, he had gradually brought himself to recognize that there was merit in their system, and that some advantage might be gathered from adopting their knowledge. But the change came at too late a period to admit of his conferring any distinct benefit on his country from the more liberal policy he felt disposed to pursue with regard to the training of Chinese youths in the science and learning of the West. It was said that he was a typical Chinaman, and that had he been personally ambitious he might even have succeeded in displacing the Tartar *régime*. Be that as it may, the thought never assumed any practical shape in his mind, and to the end of his days Tseng Kwofan was satisfied to remain the steadfast supporter and adherent of the Manchus. In this also, as in other ways, he was closely imitated by his former lieutenant, Li Hung Chang, who succeeded to some of his dignities and much of his power.

On the close of the Taeping campaigns, Tso Tsung Tang had been raised from the Viceroyalty of Chekiang and Fuhkien to that of Shensi and Kansuh. The promotion was of the more doubtful value, seeing that both those provinces were in the actual possession of the rebels; but Tso threw himself into the task with energy, and within two years of his arrival he was able to report that he had cleared the province of Shensi of all insurgents. He then devoted his

attention to the pacification of Kansuh; and after many desultory engagements proceeded to lay siege to the town of Souchow, on the extreme west of that province, where the Mahomedans had massed their strength. At the end of the year 1872 the Imperial army was drawn up in front of this place, but Tso did not consider himself strong enough to deliver an attack, and confined his operations to preventing the introduction of supplies and fresh troops into the town. Even in this he was only partially successful, as a considerable body of men made their way in, in January, 1873. In the following month he succeeded in capturing, by a night attack, a temple outside the walls, upon which the Mahomedans placed considerable value. The siege continued during the whole of the summer, and it was not until the month of October that the garrison was reduced to such extremities as to consider the expediency of surrender. When they yielded at last, it was said that the only supplies left in the place were some "seventy horses." The chiefs were hacked to pieces, and about four thousand men perished by the sword. The women, children, and old men were spared, and the spoil of the place was handed over to the soldiery. It was Tso's distinctive merit that, far from being carried away by these successes, he neglected no military precaution, and devoted his main efforts to the reorganization of the province. In that operation he may be left employed for the brief remainder of Tungche's reign. In 1874 it may be mentioned, however, that the campaign against Kashgaria had been fully decided upon. The *Pekin Gazette* contains many references to warlike preparations. A thousand Manchu cavalry were sent specially to Souchow; sheep-skins, horses, and ammunition in large quantities were also despatched to the far west, and lastly, General Kinshun, the Manchu general, was entrusted with the command of the army in the field.

The year 1874 witnessed more than one event in the foreign relations of China that claims notice. There never had been much good-will between China and her neighbours in Japan. The latter are too independent in their bearing to please the advocates of Chinese predominance, at the same time that their insular position has left them safe from the

attack of the Peking Government. Once the attempt had been made to subdue these islanders, but the result as described in the reign of the Mongol Kublai had been too discouraging to invite repetition. In Corea the pretensions of the ruler of Yeddo had been repelled, and for a time crushed; but wherever the sea intervened the advantage rested more or less decisively with him. The island of Formosa was dependent upon China, and the western districts were governed by officials duly appointed by the Viceroy of Fuhkien. But the eastern half of the island, separated from the cultivated districts by a range of mountains covered with dense if not impenetrable forests, is held by tribes who own no one's authority, and who act as they deem fit. In the year 1868 or 1869 a junk from Loochoo was wrecked on this coast, and the crew were murdered by the islanders. The civil war in Japan prevented any prompt claim for reparation, but in 1873 the affair was revived, and a demand made at Peking for compensation. The demand was refused, whereupon the Japanese, taking the law into their own hands, sent an expedition to Formosa. China replied with a counter-demonstration, and war seemed inevitable. In this crisis Mr. Wade offered his good services in the interests of peace, and after considerable controversy he succeeded in bringing the disputants to reason, and in inducing them to agree to as equitable terms as could be obtained without having recourse to arms. The Chinese paid an indemnity, and the Japanese evacuated the island. Thanks to Mr. Wade's tact and timely intervention, a war that would have injured both parties and benefited nobody was for that occasion happily averted.

Although the development of foreign relations was proving more rapid and satisfactory than even hope had dared to anticipate, there were, of course, incidents every year that aroused apprehension for the moment, and that gave some reason to believe that an outbreak against the Fanquai might occur at any time if popular fanaticism were only aroused. None of these attained the same dimensions as the Tientsin massacre, although more than one missionary was murdered in the interior, and in more than one treaty-port the anger of the mob or the apathy of the officials entailed loss and danger

to foreigners. From an early time the Canton river had been famed as the scene of piratical outrages, and one of the principal clauses of the Tientsin Treaty had bound the Chinese to take steps to put them down. A few gun-boats were purchased, entrusted to English and American commanders, and placed at the disposal of the Customs authorities. The new arrangements were known to have not produced perfect safety. The Bogue and the channels of the lower river were frequently the scene of attacks by water-thieves, but as Chinese subjects alone suffered, it was held to be a matter for the mandarins, and not for the consuls. Yet it was well known that the pirates would not be restrained by fear of their authorities from attacking the ships and persons of Europeans.

Those who live in the constant presence of danger acquire the habit of indifference, and long impunity encouraged the foreign residents at Canton to overlook the peril that attended their frequent journeys from that place to Hongkong or Macao. It so happened, however, that an English passenger had the misfortune to embark on board the ill-fated river steamer named the *Spark*, when she quitted Whampoa on her usual weekly journey to Macao, in the month of August, 1874. A number of pirates had taken passage on board her, while another band had obtained a junk to intercept her in her course and carry off the booty. At a convenient spot the pirates began the attack. The few officers were overpowered. The one English passenger, Mr. Walter Mundy, was seriously wounded and left for dead upon the deck. His assailants escaped, and, while some were captured and punished at a later period, the direct responsibility of the Chinese Government for having neglected to put down piracy in accordance with treaty obligation was never established. Mr. Mundy's prospects were destroyed, and he returned to England with blighted hopes and an enfeebled constitution. But Lord Derby declined to press his claim for compensation on the attention of the Peking Government, and the Chinese were allowed to assume that the provisions against piracy could be enforced at their own will and convenience.

In all countries governed by an absolute sovereign it is as

interesting as it is difficult to obtain certain knowledge as to the real character of the autocrat. A most important change had been effected in the government of China, yet it is impossible to discover what its precise significance was, or to say how far it influenced the fortunes of the country. The Empresses had retired into private life. Prince Kung was only the minister of a young prince who had it in his power to guide affairs exactly as he might feel personally disposed. Prince Kung might be either the real governor of the state or only the courtier of his nephew. It depended solely on that prince's character. There were not wanting signs that Tungche had the consciousness, if not the capacity, of supreme power, and that he wished his will to be paramount. It is permissible to detect in his desire to get outside the palace, even in the night-time, the indication of a resolve to see things for himself, and to discover what was being done in the outside world. Such evidence as was obtainable agreed in stating that he was impatient of restraint, and that the prudent reflections of his uncle were not overmuch to his fancy. On the 10th of September the young ruler took the world into his confidence by announcing in a Vermilion Edict that he degraded Prince Kung and his son in their hereditary rank and as princes of the Empire for using "language in very many respects unbecoming." Whether Tungche took this very decided step in a moment of pique or because he perceived that there was a plan among his chief relatives to keep him in leading-strings, must remain a matter of opinion. At the least he must have refused to personally retract what he had done, for on the very following day (September 11th) a Decree appeared from the Two Empresses reinstating Prince Kung and his son in their hereditary rank and dignity. These ladies thus asserted a right of control over the Emperor's actions.

Not long after this disturbance in the interior of the palace, of which only the ripple reached the surface of publicity, there were rumours that the Emperor's health was in a precarious state, and in the month of December it was said that Tungche was seriously ill with an attack of a malignant nature. The disease seemed to be making

satisfactory progress, for the doctors were rewarded; but on the 18th of December an edict appeared ordering or requesting the Empresses Dowager to assume the personal charge of the administration. Six days later another edict appeared which strengthened the impression that the Emperor was making good progress towards recovery. But appearances were deceptive, for, after several weeks' uncertainty, it became known that the Emperor's death was inevitable. On the 12th of January, 1875, Tungche "ascended upon the Dragon, to be a guest on high," without leaving any offspring to succeed him. There were rumours that his illness was only a plausible excuse, and that he was really the victim of foul play; but it is not likely that the truth on that point will ever be revealed, although time has strengthened the original doubts. Whether he was the victim of an intrigue similar to that which had marked his accession to power, or whether he only died from the neglect or incompetence of his medical attendants, the consequences were certainly favourable to the personal views of the two Empresses and Prince Kung. They resumed the exercise of that supreme authority which they had resigned little more than twelve months.

The most suspicious circumstance in connection with this event was the treatment of the young Empress Ahluta, who, it was well known, was pregnant at the time of her husband's death. Instead of waiting to decide as to the succession until it was seen whether Tungche's posthumous child would prove to be a son or a daughter, the Dowager Empresses hastened to make another selection and to place the young widow of the deceased sovereign in a state of honourable confinement. Their motive was plain. Had Ahluta's child happened to be a son, he would have been the legal Emperor, as well as the heir by direct descent, and she herself could not have been excluded from a prominent share in the Government. To the Dowager Empresses one child on the throne mattered no more than another; but it was a question of the first importance that Ahluta should be set on one side, ignored and forgotten. In such an atmosphere there is often grievous peril to the lives of inconvenient personages. Ahluta sickened and died. Her child was never

born. The charitable gave her credit for having refused food through grief for her husband, Tungche. The sceptical listened to the details of her illness with scorn for the vain efforts to obscure the dark deeds of ambition.

In their extreme anxiety to realize their own designs and at the same time not to injure the constitution, the two Empresses had been obliged to resort to a plan that would only have been suggested by a desperate ambition. For the first time since the Manchu dynasty had been placed upon the throne, it was necessary to depart from the due line of succession, and to make the election of the sovereign a matter of individual fancy or favour instead of one of inheritance. The range of choice was limited ; for the son of Prince Kung himself, who seemed to enjoy the prior right to the throne, was a young man of sufficient age to govern for himself ; and moreover his promotion would have meant the compulsory retirement from public life of Prince Kung, for it is not proper in China for a father to serve under his son. The name of Prince Kung's son, if mentioned at all, was only brought forward to be dismissed. The choice of the Empresses fell upon Tsai Tien, the son of Prince Chun or the Seventh Prince, who on the 13th of January was proclaimed Emperor. Tungche died in the evening, and a family council was hurriedly assembled, and held in an adjoining chamber during the night. Tsai Tien was hastily sent for, "cross and sleepy as he was," and done homage to by his uncles. As he was of too tender an age (born 15th of August, 1871) to rule for himself, his nomination served the purposes of the two Empresses and their ally Prince Kung, who thus entered upon a second lease of undisputed power. The only notice taken of the possibility that Tungche might yet be provided with a son was that he should be proclaimed the next heir-apparent. Prince Chun retired from public life ostensibly on the ground of ill-health, and his son ascended the throne under the style of Kwangsu, or Illustrious Succession.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE REGENCY.

KWANGSU'S installation had been followed by a conflict of authority between the two Empresses and the Palace eunuchs. The latter appear to have come to the front during the brief reign of Tungche, but Tse An's vigorous measures soon shattered their power and destroyed their growing confidence.

The new ruler had scarcely been placed in the seat of power when a great catastrophe occurred in reference to the foreign relations of China. For the moment it threw every other matter into the shade, and seemed to render the outbreak of war between England and China a matter of almost complete certainty. In the year 1874 the Government of India, repenting of its brief infatuation for the Panthay cause, yet still reluctant to lose the advantages it had promised itself from the opening of Yunnan to trade, resolved upon sending a formal mission of exploratory under Colonel Horace Browne, an Anglo-Indian officer of distinction, through Burmah to that province. The difficulties in the way of the undertaking were comparatively few, as the King of Burmah was then friendly and seemed disposed at that time to accept his natural position as a dependent of Calcutta. The Peking authorities, if not enthusiastic on the subject of frontier trade, were still outwardly not opposed to the journey; and if opposition were to be encountered anywhere, it would obviously be on the part of the local officials, which could only be ascertained by making the experiment.

It was thought desirable, with the view of preparing the officials and the public generally for the appearance of this

foreign mission, as well as to better ensure the success of the undertaking, that a representative of the English embassy at Peking, having a knowledge of the language and of the ceremonial etiquette of the country, should be deputed to proceed across China and meet Colonel Browne on the Burmese frontier. The officer selected for this delicate and difficult mission was Mr. Raymond Augustus Margary, who to the singular aptitude he had displayed in the study of Chinese added a buoyant spirit and a vigorous frame that peculiarly fitted him for the long and lonely journey he had undertaken across China. His reception throughout was encouraging. The orders of the Tsungli Yamen, specially drawn up by the Grand Secretary Wansiang, were explicit, and not to be lightly ignored. Mr. Margary performed his journey in safety; and, on the 26th January, 1875, only one fortnight after Kwangsu's accession, he joined Colonel Browne at Bhamo. Apparently—or perhaps, more strictly speaking, to those who thought that the Chinese would object as little to the arrival as to the departure of foreigners—there seemed no further obstacle to be overcome. Mr. Margary's arrangements promised to ensure a safe and honourable reception for the mission from the Government of India.

A delay of more than three weeks ensued at Bhamo, which, if inevitable, cannot be characterized otherwise than as unfortunate. Time was given for the circulation of rumours as to the approach of a foreign invader along a disturbed frontier held by tribes almost independent, whose predatory instincts were excited by the prospect of rich plunder at the same time that their leaders urged them to oppose a change which threatened to destroy their hold on the caravan route between Bhamo and Talifoo. Had it only afforded the opportunity for the collection of these tribes, this delay would have been attended with danger; and when on the 17th of February Colonel Browne and his companions—Dr. Anderson, Mr. Fforde, Messrs. Allen and Margary, 15 Sikhs, and 150 Burmese soldiers—approached the limits of Burmese territory, they found themselves in face of a totally different state of affairs from what had existed when Mr. Margary passed safely across the frontier three weeks before. The

preparations for opposing the English had been made under the direct encouragement, and probably the personal direction of Lisitai, a man who had been a brigand and then a rebel, but who at this time held a military command on the frontier, in which he afterwards, despite his unconcealed guilt, attained a still higher rank.

When Colonel Browne renewed his preparations to advance, he was met with rumours of the opposition that awaited him. At first these were discredited, but on the renewed statements that a large Chinese force had been collected to bar the way, it was determined that Mr. Margary should ride forward and ascertain what truth there was in these rumours. The first town on this route within the Chinese border is Momein, which, under the name of Tengyue, was once a military station of importance, and some distance east of it again is another town, called Manwein. Mr. Margary set out on the 19th of February, and it was arranged that only in the event of his finding everything satisfactory at Momein was he to proceed to the latter place; and on the first suspicious occurrence he was to retreat at once to the main body.

We may discern the sanguine hopes of the intrepid explorer who sees himself within reach of a long-expected goal, yet we cannot make any charge of foolhardiness, in the confident tones of the letter which Mr. Margary addressed to Colonel Browne from Momein, reporting that all was quiet at that place, and that there were no signs whatever of any meditated resistance. The letter was the last news ever received from Mr. Margary. On the 19th of February he started from Momein, and the information subsequently obtained left no doubt that he was treacherously murdered on that or the following day at Manwein. An ominous silence followed, and Colonel Browne's party delayed its advance until some definite news should arrive as to what had occurred in front, although the silence was sufficient to justify the worst apprehensions. Three days later the rumour spread that Mr. Margary and his attendants had been murdered. In order to furnish some means of proving its accuracy, it was also stated that a Chinese army was advancing to

attack the small English expedition ; and on the 22nd of February a large Chinese force did make its appearance on the neighbouring heights. There was no longer any room to doubt that the worst had happened, and it only remained to secure the safety of the expedition. The Chinese numbered several thousand men under Lisitai in person, while to oppose them there were only four Europeans and fifteen Sikhs. Yet superior weapons and steadfastness carried the day against greater numbers. The Sikhs fought as they retired, and the Chinese, unable to make any impression on them, abandoned an attack which was both useless and full of peril.

The news of this outrage did not reach Peking until a month later, when Mr. Wade at once took the most energetic measures to obtain the amplest reparation in the power of the Peking Government to concede. The first and most necessary point in order to ensure not merely the punishment of the guilty, but also that the people of China should not have cause to suppose that their rulers secretly sympathized with the authors of the attack, was that no punitive measures should be undertaken, or, if undertaken, recognized, until a special Commission of Inquiry had been appointed to investigate the circumstances on the spot. Mr. Margary was both an accredited officer of the British Government, and he was also travelling under the special permission and protection of the Tsungli Yamen. The Chinese Government could not expect to receive consideration if it failed to enforce respect for its own commands, and the English Government had an obligation which it could not shirk in exacting reparation for the murder of its representative. The treacherous killing of Mr. Margary was evidently not an occurrence for which it could be considered a sufficient atonement that some miserable criminals under sentence of death, or some desperate individuals anxious to secure the worldly prosperity of their families, should undergo painful torture and public execution in order to shield official falseness and infamy.

Although no one ever suspected the Peking Government of having directly instigated the outrage, the delays in instituting an impartial and searching inquiry into the affair

strengthened an impression that it felt reluctant to inflict punishment on those who had committed the act of violence. Very probably this arose as much from the fear of stirring up the embers of discord among an unsettled people as from sympathy with the deed ; but it certainly produced a feeling among the foreign community, partly of apprehension and partly of indignation, which did not augur well for harmonious relations, and which certainly increased the importance of the Yunnan affair. Nearly three months elapsed before any step was taken towards appointing a Chinese official to proceed to the scene of the outrage in company with the officers named by the English minister ; but on the 19th of June an edict appeared in the *Pekin Gazette* ordering Li Han Chang, Governor-General of Houkwang, *i.e.* Hoonan and Hoopoh, to temporarily vacate his post, and "repair with all speed to Yunnan to investigate and deal with certain matters." Even then the matter dragged along but slowly. Li Han Chang, who, as the brother of Li Hung Chang, was an exceptionally well-qualified and highly-placed official for the task, and whose appointment was in itself some guarantee of sincerity, did not leave Hankow until August, and the English Commissioners, Messrs. Grosvenor, Davenport, and Colborne Baber, did not set out from the same place before the commencement of October. The intervening months had been employed by Mr. Wade in delicate and fluctuating negotiations with Li Hung Chang at Tientsin and with the Tsungli Yamen at Peking. The end of the year was reached before the Commission to ascertain the fate of poor Mr. Margary had begun its active work on the spot.

The result was unexpectedly disappointing. The mandarins supported one another. The responsibility was thrown on several minor officials, and on the border-tribes or savages. Several of the latter were seized, and their lives were offered as atonement for an offence they had not committed. The furthest act of concession which the Chinese Commissioner gave was to temporarily suspend Tsen Yuying the Futai for remissness ; but even this measure was never enforced with rigour. The English officers soon found that it was impossible to obtain any proper reparation on the spot,

and the evidence acquired even as to the details of the murder was singularly meagre and conflicting. Sir Thomas Wade, who had received the well-earned honour of the Bath, refused to accept the lives of the men offered, whose complicity in the offence was known to be none at all, while its real instigators escaped without any punishment.

The new year, 1876, only opened, therefore, to reveal that the question was still unsettled, and that the solution which could not be discovered on the spot would have to be provided at the capital. Sir Thomas Wade again insisted in the most emphatic language that the Chinese would have to conform with the spirit and letter of their engagements, and that unless they proffered the full redress demanded for Mr. Margary's murder it would be impossible to continue diplomatic relations. To show that this was no meaningless expression, Sir Thomas Wade left Peking, while a strong reinforcement of the English fleet demonstrated the resolve of the Government. In consequence of these steps, Li Hung Chang was, in August, 1876, or more than eighteen months after the outrage, entrusted with full powers for the arrangement of the difficulty; and the small seaport of Chefoo was fixed upon as the scene for the forthcoming negotiations. Even then the Chinese sought to secure a sentimental advantage by requesting that Sir Thomas Wade would change the place of treaty to Tientsin, or at least consent to pay Li Hung Chang a visit there. This final effort to conceal the fact that the English demanded as an equal and not as a suppliant having been baffled, there was no further attempt at delay. The Chefoo Convention was signed, and signed in that town, to which the Viceroy proceeded from Tientsin. Li Hung Chang entertained the Foreign Ministers at a great banquet; and the final arrangements were hurried forward for the departure of the Chinese Ambassador whose despatch had been decided upon in the previous year.

The most important passage in the Chefoo Convention was unquestionably that commanding the different viceroys and governors to respect, and afford every protection to, all foreigners provided with the necessary passport from the Tsungli Yamen, and warning them that they would be held

responsible in the event of any of these travellers meeting with injury or maltreatment.

The next most important passage was that arranging for the despatch of an Embassy to London bearing a letter of regret for the murder of the English official. The official selected for this duty was Kwo Sungtao, a mandarin of high rank, long experience, and unexceptionable character. The letter was submitted to Sir Thomas Wade in order that its terms should be exactly in accordance with Chinese etiquette, and that no phrase should be used showing that the Chinese Government attached less importance to the mission than the occasion demanded. The Embassy, with Sir Halliday Macartney attached as secretary and interpreter, proceeded to Europe, and, whatever may be thought of its immediate effect, it must be allowed that it established a precedent of friendly intercourse with this country, which promises to prove an additional guarantee of peace.*

While the Yunnan complication was passing through these different phases, the capital had been almost as much exercised at the funeral obsequies of the late Emperor Tungche as at the possible outbreak of a foreign war. The young Empress Ahluta had died in March, but not until the month of October were all the arrangements completed for the removal of their bodies from their temporary resting-place in the Palace grounds to the permanent mausoleum among the members of the reigning family. Some attempt seems to have been made to induce the Two Empresses to abstain from accompanying the funeral party, but the champion of propriety met with a distinct rebuff. The State procession of mourners left the Palace on the 16th of October, and on the evening of the 25th the Court had returned to Pekin. In the attendant ceremonies the young Emperor, despite his tender age, took the most prominent part; and the whole event, as recorded in the pages of the *Pekin*

* One of the remaining clauses referred to the *lekin* or transit duties, but as the arrangement is practically inoperative it need not be detailed. Another stipulated for an English mission through Tibet, but this also was never carried out. Perhaps the most significant circumstance of all was that the Chefoo Convention was never ratified, and therefore, strictly speaking, all its unfulfilled clauses have lost their validity.

Gazette, is well worth attentive perusal as throwing light on the ways of a Court indisposed to admit the prying glances of inquisitive foreigners.

The Chinese are naturally inveterate gamblers, and in the gratification of their inclination they resort to the most puerile forms. Although the Board of Censors feels bound periodically to take notice of this national weakness whenever any catastrophe results from it, and to insist on the necessity of the Government adopting measures to put down the practice, the Chinese continued to indulge their favourite passion without fear of their rulers. No change took place in the ways of the people, and the action of the executive was not merely lax, but tolerant of the principal form of amusement prevalent among the masses. It is impossible to say how long this might have gone on, when the attention of the Peking Government was attracted twenty-five years ago to this subject by a novel form of gambling, which not merely attained enormous dimensions, but which threatened to bring the system of public examination into disrepute. This latter fact created a profound impression at Peking, and roused the mandarins to take unusually prompt measures.

Canton was the head-quarters of the gambling confederacy which established the lotteries known as the Weising, but its ramifications extended throughout the whole of the province of Kwantung. The Weising, or Examination sweepstakes, were based on the principle of drawing the names of the successful candidates at the official examinations. They appealed, therefore, to every poor villager, and every father of a family, as well as to the aspirants themselves. The subscribers to the Weising lists were numbered by hundreds of thousands. It became a matter of almost as much importance to draw a successful number or name in the lottery as to take the degree. The practice could not have been allowed to go on without introducing serious abuses into the system of public examination. The profits to the owners of the lottery were so enormous that they were able to pay not less than eight hundred thousand dollars as hush-money to the Viceroy and the other high officials of Canton. In order to shield his own participation in the profits, the Viceroy

declared that he devoted this new source of revenue to the completion of the river defences of Canton.

The attention of the Peking authorities had been directed to this matter in 1874, when the whole system was declared illegal, and severe penalties were passed against those aiding, or participating in any way in, the Weising company. The local officers did not enforce with any stringency these new laws, and the Weising fraternity enjoyed a further but brief period of increased activity under a different name. The fraud was soon detected, and in an Edict of 11th August, 1875, it was very rightly laid down that "the maintenance of the purity of Government demands that it be not allowed under any pretext to be re-established." But the most emphatic evidence of the anxiety of the Government to put down the evil was afforded by the disgrace and recall of the Viceroy Yinghan and several of the highest officials in Canton. By a subsequent Edict of 13th September in the same year they were all stripped of their official rank. In the following years more stringent Acts were passed against gambling of all kinds; but although they failed to eradicate the passions of the lower and idler orders in the great city of the south, they certainly availed to prevent the resuscitation in any form of the great popular fraud and imposition known as the Weising lotteries.

No Chinese official had attracted the same cordial sympathy among Englishmen as the Grand Secretary Wansiang. A Manchu of the most honourable Banner, he added to the uprightness and vigour of the Tartar all the polish and refinement of the Chinaman; while he possessed a naturally genial temper, which was still more agreeable and rare. Latterly, although hardly to be considered as oppressed by the weight of years, his health had been bad. In 1874 he had to petition the Throne for leave to retire from active work; and during the whole of the following year it was evident to his friends that he was not in a fit state to perform his onerous duties. He lingered on until May, 1876, when his death was recorded in a decree, summing up his virtues and services in language upon which it would be difficult to improve. He was described as a man "who shone by the

purity and integrity of his character, no less than by the sedulous devotion of his intellect to the interests of the State. Loyal and stainless, far-seeing and straightforward, he was at once thorough in the earnestness that actuated his conduct, and inspired by sentiments of unselfish wisdom." In him Prince Kung lost a staunch ally and colleague, while the Foreign Ministers felt that they were deprived of a Chinese statesman with whom it was possible to transact business harmoniously and with despatch.

Great as had been the suffering from civil wars, there yet remained for China still greater suffering from the visitation of famine ; and the year 1876 witnessed the commencement of a dearth in the two great provinces of Honan and Shansi which has probably never been surpassed as the cause of a vast amount of human suffering. Although the provinces named suffered the most from the prevalent drought, the suffering was general over the whole of Northern China, from Shantung and Pechihli to Honan, and the course of the Yellow River. At first the Government, if not apathetic, was disposed to say that the evil would be met by the grant of the usual allowance made by the Provincial Governors in the event of distress ; but, when one province after another was absorbed within the famine area, it became no longer possible to treat the matter as one of such limited importance, and the high ministers felt obliged to bestir themselves in face of so grave a danger. Li Hung Chang, in particular, was most energetic, not merely in collecting and forwarding supplies of rice and grain, but also in inviting contributions of money from all those parts of the Empire which had not been affected by famine. Allowing for the general sluggishness of popular opinion in China, and for the absence of any great amount of currency, it must be allowed that these appeals met with a large and liberal response. The foreign residents also contributed their share, and even the charity of London found a vent in sending some thousands of pounds to the scene of the famine in Northern China. This evidence of foreign sympathy in the cause of a common humanity made more than a passing impression on the mind of the Chinese people, and in many parts of the country a distinct

improvement in tone towards foreigners might be traced to this cause.

While the origin of the famine may be attributed to either the effects of drought or civil war, there is no doubt that its extension and the apparent inability of the authorities to grapple with it may be traced to the want of means of communication, which rendered it almost impossible to convey the needful succour into the famine districts. The evil ensuing from this want being so obvious, the hope was indulged that the Chinese would be disposed to take a step forward on their own initiative in the great and needed work by the introduction of railways and other mechanical appliances. This expectation was based upon a certain amount of fact, for, not without objection and delay, the Viceroy of the Two Kiang had given his assent to the construction of a short line between Shanghai and the port of Woosung. The great difficulty had always been to make a start; and now that a satisfactory commencement had been made, the foreigners were disposed in their eagerness to overlook all obstacles, and to imagine the Flowery Land traversed in all directions by the lines of their construction. The officials were still reluctant to admit that the inevitable hour had come for surrendering their roads to the contractors of Europe and America. Still the Woosung-Shanghai Railway became, at least in part, an accomplished fact. In the summer of 1876 half of it was finished and open for use, and during some weeks the excitement among the Chinese themselves was not less marked than their manifestations of approval.

The hopes based upon this satisfactory event were destined to be soon dispelled by the expression of animosity on the part of the officials. The Mandarins, determined to carry their object, announced their intention to resort to every means in their power to prevent the realization of the undertaking. The situation revealed such dangers of mob violence, that on the 24th of August Sir Thomas Wade felt compelled to request the Company to discontinue its operations, and the subject of the future of this little line became a matter of high diplomacy, carried on partly in the capital

and partly at Nankin. It will be sufficient to summarize here the result. After some discussion, it was arranged that the Chinese should buy the line, and that after a stipulated period it should be placed under Chinese management. When that period had run out, the Chinese, instead of devoting themselves to the interests of the railway, and to the extension of its powers of utility, wilfully and persistently neglected it, with the express design of destroying it. At this juncture the Viceroy consented to allow the Governor of Fuhkien to remove the rails and plant to Formosa, where he was engaged in imparting some vigour to the Government. The fate of the Woosung railway destroyed the hopes created by its construction, and postponed to a later day the great event of the introduction of railways into China.

Notwithstanding such disappointments as this, and the ever-present difficulty of conducting relations with an unsympathetic people controlled by suspicious officials, there was yet observable a marked improvement in the relations of the different nations with the Chinese. Increased facilities of trade, such as the opening of new ports, far from extending the area of danger, served to promote mutual good-will and understanding. In 1876 a port—the capital Kiungchow—in the island of Hainan was made a treaty port, or rather the fact of its having been included in the treaty of Tientsin was practically accepted and recognized. In the following year four new ports were added to the list. One, Pakhoi, was intended to increase trade intercourse with Southern China. Two of the three others, Ichang and Wuhu, were selected as being favourably situated for commerce on the Yangtse and its affluents, while Wenchow was chosen for the benefit of the trade on the coast. Mr. Colborne Baber, who had taken part in the Yunnan commission, was despatched to Szchuen, to take up his residence at Chungking for the purpose of facilitating trade with that great province. The successful tour of Captain Gill, not merely through South-West China into Burmah, but among some of the wilder and more remote districts of Northern Szchuen, afforded reason to believe that henceforth travelling would

be safer in China, and nothing that has since happened is calculated to weaken that impression.

The Chinese character is marked by a strange mixture of superstition and of the greatest scepticism. The former sentiment has sometimes led to the success of political impostors, who have flourished on the credulity of the people, and has rendered them more amenable to the influence of panic, of which all nations are on occasion susceptible. But perhaps the most extraordinary instance of that popular excitement which renders men capable of committing the greatest folly was afforded in the year 1876, on the occasion of what was known as the "Paper Man" mania. The province of Kiangsu was the principal scene of the disorders which followed from this agitation, but the movement extended into the neighbouring provinces. The exact meaning of this movement could never be fathomed. It was more grotesque than terrible. It was said that paper men were employed to go about the country cutting off the tails or queues of the people, and that those who lost their tails would certainly die within a short period. The whole affair deserves to be remembered only for its absurdity, but the terror it produced among the ignorant people was intense, and might have entailed serious consequences. The officials behaved with good sense, and after several months of feverish excitement the mania gradually calmed down, and the public mind regained its feeling of tranquillity.

When Kwangsu ascended the throne the preparations for the campaign against Kashgaria were far advanced towards completion, and Kinshun had struck the first of those blows which were to ensure the overthrow of the Tungani and of Yakoob Beg. The fall of Souchow had distinguished the closing weeks of the year 1873, and in 1874 Kinshun had begun, under the direction of Tso Tsung Tang, his march across the desert to the west. He appears to have followed a circuitous route, with the view of avoiding the strongly placed and garrisoned town of Hami. The exact route is not certain, but he seems to have gone as far north even as Uliassutai, where he was able to recruit some of the most faithful and warlike of the Mongol tribes. But early in 1875.

he arrived before the walls of Barkul, a town lying to the north-west of Hami. No resistance is stated to have been offered, and a few weeks later Hami shared the same fate, and admitted a Celestial garrison. The Tungani had retreated on the approach of the Chinese, and their main forces were assembled for the defence of the two towns of Urumtsi and Manas, which are situated on the northern side of the eastern spurs of the Tian Shan. Once Barkul and Hami were in the possession of the Chinese, it became necessary to reopen direct communications with Souchow. This task occupied the whole of the next twelve months, and was only successfully accomplished after many difficulties had been overcome, and when halting-stations had been established across Gobi. There is nothing improbable in the statement that during this period the Chinese planted and reaped the seed which enabled them, or those who followed in their train, to march in the following season.

With the year 1876 the really arduous portion of the campaign commenced. The natural difficulties to the commencement of the war from distance and desert had been all overcome. An army of about twenty-five thousand effective troops, besides a considerable number of Mongol and other tribal levies, had been placed in the field and within striking distance of the rebels. The enemies were face to face. The Tungani could retreat no further. Neither from Russia nor from Yakoob Beg could they expect a place of refuge. Both their numbers and the proximity of the Chinese rendered the adoption of any such course at the last extremity of doubtful wisdom and practicability. The Athalik Ghazi might help them to hold their own; he certainly would not welcome them within the limits of the six cities. The Tungani had, therefore, no alternative left save to make as resolute a stand as they could against those Celestials who had returned to revindicate their authority and to revenge their fellow-countrymen who had been slaughtered in their thousands twelve years before.

The town of Urumtsi, situated within a loop of the mountains, lies at a distance by road of more than 300 miles from Barkul. Kinshun, who had now been joined by Liu

Kintang, the taotai of the Sining district and a man of proved energy and capacity, resolved to concentrate all his efforts on its capture. He moved forward his army to Guchen, where he established a fortified camp and a powder-factory, and took steps to ascertain the strength and intentions of the enemy. Towards the end of July the Chinese army resumed its march. The difficulties of the country and in the collection of supplies were so great that the advanced guards of the opposing armies did not come into contact until the 10th of August. The Chinese general seems to have attempted on that date a night surprise; but although he gained some success in the encounter which ensued, the result must have been doubtful, seeing that he felt obliged to call off his men from the attack. It was only, however, to collect his forces for the delivery of a decisive blow. On the 13th of August a second battle was fought with a result favourable to the Chinese. Two days later the enemy, who held a fortified camp at Gumti, were bombarded out of it by the heavy artillery brought from the coasts of China for the purposes of the war, and after twenty-four hours' firing three breaches were declared to be practicable. The place was carried by storm at the close of four hours' fighting and slaughter, during which 6000 were stated to have been killed. Kinshun followed up his victory by a rapid march on Urumtsi. That place surrendered without a blow, and many hundred fugitives were cut down by the unsparing Manchu cavalry, which pursued them along the road to Manas, their last place of shelter.

As soon as the necessary measures had been taken for the military protection of Urumtsi, the Chinese army proceeded against Manas. Their activity, which was facilitated by the favourable season of the year, was also increased by the rumoured approach of Yakoob Beg with a large army to the assistance of the Tungani. At Manas the survivors of the Tungan movement proper had collected for final resistance, and all that desperation could suggest for holding the place had been done. The garrison were possibly cheered by the recollection that in February of the same year they had repulsed, with loss to their assailants, an ill-directed

attempt to seize the town made by a body of Chinese troops from Chuguchak. They had now to deal with a more wary as well as a more energetic and better prepared antagonist. Kinshun appeared before Manas on the 2nd of September. On the 7th his batteries were completed, and he began a heavy fire upon the north-east angle of the wall. A breach of fourteen feet having been made, the order to assault was given, but the stormers were repulsed with the loss of 100 killed. The operations of the siege were renewed with great spirit on both sides. Several assaults were subsequently delivered; but although the Chinese always gained some advantage at the beginning, they never succeeded in retaining it. In one of these later attacks they admitted a loss of 200 killed alone. The Imperial army enjoyed the undisputed superiority in artillery, and the gaps in its ranks were more than filled by the constant flow of reinforcements from the rear.

The siege gradually assumed a less active character. The Chinese dug trenches and erected earthworks. They approached the walls by means of galleries in readiness to deliver the attack on any symptom of discouragement among the besieged. On the 16th of October a mine was sprung under the wall, making a wide breach; but although the best portion of the Chinese army made two assaults on separate occasions, they were both repulsed with loss. Twelve days later another mine was sprung, destroying a large portion of the wall; but when the Chinese stormers endeavoured to carry the remaining works, they were again driven back with heavy loss, including two generals killed in the breach. Although thus far repulsed, the Imperialists had inflicted very heavy losses on the besieged, who, seeing that the end of their resources was at hand, that there was no hope of succour, and that the besiegers were as energetic as ever, had at last arrived at the conclusion that they had no choice left save to surrender on the best terms they could obtain. On the 4th of November, after a two months' siege, Haiyen, as the Chinese named the Mahomedan leader, came out and offered to yield the town. His offer seems to have been partly accepted, and on the 6th of the month the

survivors of the brave garrison, to the number of between two and three thousand men, sallied forth from the west gate. It was noticed as a ground of suspicion that all the men carried their weapons, and that they had placed their old men, women, and children in the centre of their phalanx, as if they contemplated rather a sortie than a tame and unresisting surrender.

The Chinese commanders were not indisposed to deal with the least suspicious circumstances as if they meant certain treachery. The Imperialists gradually gathered round the garrison. The Mahomedans made one bold effort to cut their way through. They failed in the attempt, and were practically annihilated on the ground. Those men who were taken by the cavalry were at once beheaded, whether in the city or among those who had gone forth, but the aged, the women and the children, were spared by Kinshun's express orders. All the leaders taken were tortured before execution as rebels, and even the bodies of the dead chiefs were exhumed in order that they might be subjected to indignity. The siege of Manas was interesting both for the stubbornness of the attack and defence, and also as marking the successful termination of the Chinese campaign against the Tungani. With its capture, those Mahomedans who might be said to be Chinese in ways and appearance ceased to possess any political importance. It would not be going much too far to say that they no longer existed. The movement of rebellion which began at Hochow in 1862 was thus repressed in 1876, after having involved during those fourteen years the north-western provinces of China, and much of the interior of Asia, in a struggle which for its bitter and sanguinary character has rarely been surpassed.

The successes of the Chinese gave their generals and army the confidence and prestige of victory, and the overthrow of the Tungani left them disengaged to deal with a more formidable antagonist. The siege of Manas had been vigorously prosecuted in order that the town might be taken before the army of Yakoob Beg should arrive. The Athalik Ghazi may have believed that Manas could hold out during the winter, for his movements in 1876 were leisurely, and

betrayed a confidence that no decisive fighting would take place until the following spring. His hopes were shown to be delusive, but too late for practical remedy. Manas had fallen before he could move to its support. The Chinese had crushed the Tungani, and were in possession of the mountain passes. They were gathering their whole strength to fall upon him, and to drive him out of the state in which he had managed to set up a brief authority.

While the events recorded had been in progress Yakoob Beg had been ruling the state of Kashgaria with sufficient vigour and wisdom to attract the observation of his great neighbours the Governments of England and Russia. He had shown rare skill in adapting circumstances to suit his own ends. The people passively accepted the authority which he was prepared to assert with his Khokandian soldiery, and the independent state of Kashgaria might have continued to exist for a longer period had the Chinese not returned. But in 1875 the arrival of Kinshun at Barkul showed Yakoob Beg that he would have to defend his possessions against their lawful owners, while the overthrow of the Tungani and the capture of their strongholds in 1876 carried with them a melancholy foreboding of his own fate. The Athalik Ghazi made his preparations to take the field, but there was no certainty in his mind as to where he should make his stand or as to how he was to obtain the victory. With conflicting views in his brain he moved his army eastwards, establishing his camp first at Korla and then moving it on to Turfan, 900 miles distant from Kashgar.

The greatest efforts of this ruler only availed to place 15,000 men at the front, and the barrenness of the region compelled him to distribute them. The Ameer was at Turfan with 8500 men and twenty guns. His second son was at Toksoun, some miles in the rear, at the head of 6000 more and five guns. There were several smaller detachments between Korla and the front. Opposed to these was the main Chinese army under Kinshun at Urumtsi, while another force had been placed in the field at Hami by the energy of Tso, and entrusted to the direction of a general named Chang Yao. No fighting actually took place until the month of

March, 1877, and then the campaign began with a rapid advance by Chang Yao from Hami to Turfan. The Kashgarians were driven out of Pidjam, and compelled, after a battle, to evacuate Turfan. The Chinese records do not help us to unravel the events of the month of April. The campaign contained no more striking or important episodes, and yet the reports of the generals have been mislaid or consigned to oblivion. The Athalik Ghazi fought a second battle at Toksoun, where he rejoined his son's army, but with no better fortune. He was obliged to flee back to his former camp at Korla.

After the capture of Turfan the Chinese armies came to a halt. It was necessary to re-organize the vast territory which they had already recovered, and to do something to replenish their arsenals, and to restore commerce. During five months the Celestials stayed their further advance, while the cities were being re-peopled, and the roads rendered once more secure. Tso Tsung Tang would leave nothing to chance. He had accomplished two parts of the three, into which his commission might be naturally divided. He would make sure of his ground before attempting the third and the most difficult of all. And while the Chinese Viceroy had, for his own reasons, come to the very sensible conclusion to refresh his army after its arduous labours in the limited productive region situated between two deserts, the stars in their courses fought on his side.

Yakoob Beg had withdrawn only to Korla. He still cherished the futile scheme of defending the eastern limits of his dominion, but with his overthrow on the field of battle the magic power which he had exercised over his subjects had vanished. His camp became the scene of factious rivalry, and of plots to advance some individual pretension at the cost of the better interests, and even the security of the State. The exact details of the conspiracy will never be ascertained, partly from the remoteness of the scene, but also on account of the mention of persons of whom nothing was, or is ever likely to be, known. The single fact remains clear that Yakoob Beg died at Korla on the 1st of May, 1877, of fever according to one account, of poison administered by Hakim

Khan Torah according to another. Still the Chinese did not even then advance, and Yakoob's sons were left to contest with Hakim Khan Torah over the dismembered fragments of their father's realm.

A bitter and protracted civil war followed close upon the disappearance of the Athalik Ghazi. On the removal of his dead body for sepulture to Kashgar, his eldest son Kuli Beg murdered his younger brother over their father's bier. It was then that Hakim Khan came prominently forward as a rival to Kuli Beg, and that the Mahomedans, weak and numerically few as they were, divided themselves into two hostile parties. While the Chinese were recruiting their troops and repairing their losses, the enemy were exhausting themselves in vain and useless struggles. In June, 1877, Hakim Khan was signally defeated, and compelled to flee into Russian territory, whence on a later occasion he returned for a short time in a vain attempt to disturb the tranquillity of Chinese rule. When, therefore, the Chinese resumed their advance much of their work had been done for them. They had only to complete the overthrow of an enemy whom they had already vanquished, and who was now exhausted by his own disunion.

The Chinese army made no forward movement from Toksoun until the end of August, 1877. Liu Kintang, to whom the command of the advance had been given, did not leave until one month later; and when he arrayed his forces he found them to number about 15,000 men. It had been decided that the first advance should not be made in greater force, as the chief difficulty was to feed the army, not to defeat the enemy. The resistance encountered was very slight, and the country was found to be almost uninhabited. Both Karashar and Korla were occupied by a Chinese garrison, and the district around them was entrusted to the administration of a local chief. The information that the rebel force was stationed at the next town Kucha, which is as far beyond Korla as that place is from Toksoun, induced Liu Kintang to renew his march and to continue it still more rapidly. A battle was fought outside Kucha in which the Chinese were victorious, but not without stubborn resistance

offered on more than one day. However, the Chinese success was complete, and with Kucha in their power they had simplified the process of attacking Kashgar itself. A further halt was made at this town to enable the men to recover from their fatigue, to allow fresh troops to come up, and measures to be taken for ensuring the security of communications with the places in their rear. At Kucha also the work of civil administration was entrusted to some of the local notables.

The deliberation of the Chinese movements, far from weakening their effect, invested their proceedings with the character of being irresistible. The advance was shortly resumed. Aksu, a once flourishing city within the limits of the old kingdom of Kashgar, surrendered at the end of October. Ush Turfan yielded a few days later. The Chinese had now got within striking distance of the capital of the state. They had only to provide the means of making the blow as fatal and decisive as possible. In December they seized Maralbashi, an important position on the Kashgar Darya, commanding the principal roads to both Yarkand and Kashgar. Yarkand was the principal object of attack. It surrendered without a blow on December 21st. A second Chinese army had been sent from Maralbashi to Kashgar, which was defended by a force of several thousand men. It had been besieged nine days, when Liu Kintang arrived with his troops from Yarkand. A battle ensued, in which the Mahomedans were vanquished, and the city with the citadel outside was captured. Several rebel leaders and some eleven hundred men were said to have been executed; but Kuli Beg escaped into Russian territory. The city of Kashgar was thus taken on the 26th of December, and one week later the town of Khoten, famous from a remote period for its jade ornaments, passed into the hands of the race who best appreciated their beauty and value.

The Chinese had thus brought to a triumphant conclusion the campaigns undertaken for the reassertion of their authority over the Mahomedan populations which had revolted. They had conquered in this war by the superiority of their weapons and their organization, and not by an overwhelming display

of numbers. Although large bodies of troops were stationed at many places, it does not seem that the army which seized the cities of Yarkand and Kashgar numbered more than twenty thousand men. Having vanquished their enemy in the field, the Celestials devoted all their attention to the reorganization of what was called the New Dominion. Their rule has been described by a Mussulman as being both very fair and very just.

Having conquered Eastern Turkestan, the Chinese next took steps for the recovery of Ili. Without the metropolitan province the undertaking of Tso Tsung Tang would lack completeness, while indeed many political and military dangers would attend the situation in Central Asia. But this was evidently a matter to be effected in the first place by negotiation, and not by violence and force of arms. Russia had always been a friendly and indeed a sympathetic neighbour. In this very matter of Ili, she had originally acted with the most considerate attention for China's rights, when it seemed that they had permanently lost all definite meaning. It was, therefore, by diplomatic representations on the part of the Tsungli Yamen to the Russian Minister at Peking that the recovery of Ili was expected in the first place to be achieved. While Tso and his lieutenants were reorganizing the New Dominion and sending useless envoys to Tashkent, Prince Kung and the other grand secretaries were deciding on the course they ought to pursue. At about the same moment of time the Russian authorities at Tashkent came to the conclusion that the matter must rest with the Czar, and the Chinese official world perceived that they would have to depute a Minister Plenipotentiary to St. Petersburg.

The official selected for the difficult and, as it proved, dangerous task of negotiating at St. Petersburg, was that same Chung How who had been sent to Paris after the Tientsin massacre. He arrived at Peking in August, 1878, and was received at several audiences by the Emperor while waiting for his full instructions from the Tsungli Yamen. He did not leave until October, about a month after the Marquis Tseng, son of Tseng Kwofan, set out from Peking to take the place of Kwo Sungtao as Ambassador in London and Paris.

Chung How reached St. Petersburg in the early part of the following year, and the discussion of the various points in question, protracted by the constant removal of the Court to Livadia, occupied the whole of the summer months. At last it was announced that a treaty had been signed at Livadia, by which Russia surrendered the Kuldja valley, but retained that of the Tekes, which left in her hands the command of the passes through the Tian Shan range into Kashgar. There was never any good reason to suppose that the Chinese Government would accept as complete satisfaction the partial territorial concession obtained by Chung How. Chung How knew nothing about frontiers or military precautions, but he thought a great deal about money. He fought the question of an indemnity with ability, and got it fixed at five million roubles, or little more than half that at which it was placed by the later treaty.

The first greeting that met Chung How on his return told him what reception awaited him, at the same time that it revealed the sure fate of his treaty. He had committed the indiscretion of returning without waiting for the Edict authorizing his return, and as the consequence he had to accept suspension from all his offices, while his treaty was submitted to the tender mercies of the grand secretaries, the six presidents of boards, the nine chief ministers of state, and the members of the Hanlin. Three weeks later, Prince Chun was specially ordered to join the Committee of Deliberation. On the 27th of January, Chung How was formally cashiered and arrested, and handed over to the Board of Punishment for correction. The fate of the treaty itself was decided a fortnight later. Chung How was then declared to have "disobeyed his instructions and exceeded his powers." On the 3rd of March an Edict appeared, sentencing the unhappy envoy to "decapitation after incarceration."

At the same time that the Chinese resolved to refuse their ratification to Chung How's treaty, they expressed their desire for another pacific settlement, which would give them more complete satisfaction. The Marquis Tseng was accordingly instructed to take up the thread of negotiation, and to proceed to the Russian capital as Ambassador and Minister

Plenipotentiary. Some delay ensued, as it was held to be doubtful whether Russia would consent to the reopening of the question. But owing to the cautious and well-timed approaches of the Marquis Tseng, the St. Petersburg Foreign Office, propitiated by the voluntary pardon of Chung How at the special request of Queen Victoria, who telegraphed a request for mercy direct to the Empress Dowager, through Sir Thomas Wade, acquiesced in the recommencement of negotiations. After six months' discussion the Russian Government accepted the principle of the almost unqualified territorial concession for which the Chinese stood firm. On the 12th of February, 1881, these views were embodied in a treaty signed at St. Petersburg, and the ratification within six months showed how differently its provisions were regarded from those of its predecessor. With the Marquis Tseng's act of successful diplomacy the final result of the long war in Central Asia was achieved. The Chinese added Ili to Kashgar and the rest of the New Dominion, which at the end of 1880 was made into a High Commissionership and placed under the care of the dashing general Liu Kintang.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND CHINA.

THE signature of the Treaty of St. Petersburg was the high-water mark of China's reputation in Europe. China, without any external support, without even looking for an ally, had resolutely faced a great Power, and insisted on the surrender to the very letter of her rights. She had stood firm, and Russia, of all Powers, had given way. The significance of such an incident might easily be, as we now know that it was, exaggerated. It did not mean that the strength of the Chinese Government was equal to a great war with the states of Europe, but that its diplomacy in Europe had been directed with such astuteness as to produce an impression of power that in reality had no existence. For this costless triumph China was indebted to the rare courage and skill of the Englishman who has been the true director of her diplomacy in the capitals of Europe since she made her appearance there, and whose portrait forms the frontispiece of this volume. I have said that Sir Halliday Macartney was the guide of her diplomacy, but it must not be supposed that he has had any part or share in the feeble policy favoured by the blind and weak-kneed rulers of China. Well would it have been for their unfortunate country if they had followed his advice, and stood firm at the right moment and given way when it was prudent and possible to abate with dignity antiquated and untenable pretensions. As they would not take advice they have had to suffer, and the twenty years of creditable effort and uniform success that culminated in the St. Petersburg Treaty have been followed by an equal period of discomfiture, defeat, and

disaster, of which the termination is still far from being reached.

The Chinese very soon after the restitution by Russia of the province of Kuldja or Ili were brought into collision with France. The growth of French power in Indo-China had been predicted by that wise and apparently ill-appreciated English statesman in the East, Sir Stamford Raffles, long before the Emperor Napoleon planted the tricolour at the mouth of the Mekong. But thirty years went by without any important consequence ensuing from the occupation of Saigon, and the colony in Cochin China, that was to be the nucleus of the empire of which Dupleix dreamed, long wore a languid and depressed appearance. Yet thoughtful persons always saw in it the base of expansion in the future, and the remarkable explorations in Cambodia, Tonquin, and Yunnan of Garnier, Doudart de Lagrée, and Rocher afforded proof that French officers were not blind to the advantages of opening up that quarter of Asia. At a moment when the desire of the French nation to possess colonies threatens on so many scenes a return of the old rivalry between France and England, let the opinion be recorded that France is entitled to that fair field of expansion in Cambodia, Annam, and Tonquin which the events now to be described secured for her, and that in winning over to civilization and peace the millions dependent on the ancient dominion of Hué, she has undertaken a task that deserves our sympathy and admiration.

Great results seldom follow with rapidity the efforts of the explorers of unknown regions, and it was not until the first formation of a Colonial Party in Paris, under the auspices of the late M. Jules Ferry, that the French designs in Indo-China began to assume definite form. Towards the end of the year 1882 the French Government came to the decision to establish what it called a "definite protectorate" over Tonquin. Events had for some time been shaping themselves in this direction, and the colonial ambition of France naturally fixed itself on Indo-China as a promising field in which it might aggrandize itself with comparatively little risk and a wide margin of advantage. The weakness of Annam, which was

displayed on many occasions during the history of the Chinese Empire, was never greater or more incontestably revealed than in the time of the youthful ruler Tuduc. It formed a strong, and in the result, an irresistible inducement to France to assert the protectorate which she had claimed in a vague and indefinite manner ever since the landing of a small naval force under Admiral de la Grandière at Hué had saved Tuduc's grandfather and averted a dynastic crisis. The reports of every explorer added to the attraction of the subject, and as the world began to attach increased importance to the opening out of the rich provinces of Yunnan and Szchuen, so did the value of the alleged route to this region by the Songcoi or Red river acquire more attractiveness in the eyes of the French authorities. These were the conditions that led to an extraordinary revival of French colonial activity, and the inexcusable apathy of England in her relations with both Burmah and Siam afforded an additional incentive to the French to act quickly. Their undertaking was in the first place given the modest character of an intention to render definite the proposed protectorate over Tonquin, and as the first step in the enterprise the occupation of the towns of Hanoi and Haiphong—the one the capital and the other the port of the Songcoi delta—was decided upon. The execution of this plan was attended with no difficulty, and before the end of the year 1882 a small French force was in occupation of these places and the conquest of Tonquin may be said to have commenced.

Among the neighbouring states of China, Tonquin, like the others, was ranked as a vassal of the Middle Kingdom. Many passages might be recalled from past history of China's interfering for the defence of Tonquin or for the settlement of internal domestic strife, and on some occasions Tonquin had been ruled as a Chinese province. The enforcement of the feudal tie was no doubt lax, and in the eyes of Europeans the rights of vassalage yielded to China by it and such states as Nepal, Siam, and Burmah were too vague and meaningless to constitute a legal right or to command respect. Such as they were, they could only be made valid by an appeal to arms, and even in Chinese eyes many of them were not worth

a struggle. Still, none the less the opinion was held at Peking that the French seizure of Hanoi was an infraction of China's rights. At least such was the current report ; but if so, they were careful not to show it, for the Chinese authorities took no steps to arrest the development of the French policy in Tonquin. That, indeed, could only have been done by proclaiming Tonquin a Chinese possession and by announcing the intention to defend it. If the Chinese had promptly taken this step at the moment that the diplomatic success at St. Petersburg was still fresh in all men's minds, there is no knowing but that France might have given way, and abandoned the enterprise.

But decision and the courage requisite to maintain strong resolutions were precisely the qualities in which the Chinese were lacking, and while Li Hung Chang and the other members of the Chinese Government were deliberating what course to pursue, the French were acting with great vigour in Tonquin and committing their military reputation to a task from which, once it was involved, their honour would not allow them to draw back. During the whole of the year 1883 they were engaged in military operations with the Black Flag irregulars, a force half piratical and half patriotic, who represented the national army of Tonquin. These men were not actually in the pay of the State. They fought, however, under regular chiefs, and were supplied with funds by public subscriptions. Their military training was very slight, but they were skilled in irregular warfare, the form of the country was in their favour, and they were as formidable on water as on land. Even when beaten they did not cease to be dangerous, and in the alternations of the struggle they often reappeared ready for the contest when they were thought to have been crushed.

The length and pertinacity of their resistance suggested the view that the Black Flags of Tonquin were paid and encouraged by the Chinese. Subsequent evidence established the fact that the Chinese did not take even an indirect part in the contest until a much later period. After the capture of Hanoi, the French were constantly engaged with the Black Flags, from whom they captured the important town of Sontay. The obstinacy of the defence suggested the idea

that the place was held by Chinese Imperial troops, but after it was captured it was clearly seen that the statement was untrue. Up to that point the Chinese had carefully abstained from showing their hand, and indeed their councils were torn by conflicting views. While one faction was all in favour of asserting the extreme rights of China at every cost, another, and the more powerful in that it was led by Li Hung Chang, supported diplomatic measures, and dreaded the subjection of China's newly-acquired naval and military strength to the test of practical experience. Matters were in this state when the French arms experienced a severe reverse in the Tonquin delta.

The French fully believed that the conquest of Tonquin would be achieved without difficulty and without much cost. Even the Black Flags were regarded as little better than robbers, who, in the course of a little time, would all be shot down. The thought that they might be a formidable enemy never seems to have presented itself to any one. The French were entirely of this belief when a serious reverse obliged them to admit that the task was not so easy as they had imagined, and that it was not wholly free from risk. A considerable detachment under the command of Captain Henri Rivière, who was one of the most able and enterprising pioneers of French commerce and authority in the delta, was surprised near Hanoi. The French were defeated with considerable loss, Rivière himself was killed, and the fruits of previous success were lost. Under these circumstances it became necessary for France to make a great effort to retrieve the ground she had lost. The necessity for this was more clearly established when the French suffered a second reverse at Phukai. The Black Flags claimed this affair as a victory because the French were obliged to retreat. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that France should send out to the Far East troops and men-of-war to redeem the honour of her arms and attain the objects of her policy.

Up to this moment the operations of the French had been restricted to Tonquin, and the delta of the Songcoi. Having thoroughly coerced Tuduc, the young Emperor of Annam, the French felt secure against any diversion from that side,

but very soon after the affairs at Sontay and Phukai this prince died, and the Annamese, encouraged perhaps by the occurrences in Tonquin and the delay in the arrival of reinforcements from Europe, openly proclaimed their hostility. It became necessary to extend the operations to Annam, and as the preliminary to a renewed attack on the Black Flags, Hué was occupied in August, 1883, a ruler of French proclivities was placed on the throne, and a French Resident installed. These conditions were set forth in a treaty which made Annam more clearly the tributary of France than it had ever been of China.

Some months elapsed before the French found themselves in sufficient force to resume operations in Tonquin, and it was not until December, 1883, that Admiral Courbet, to whom had been entrusted the command of the expedition, thought it would be safe to attack Sontay, which the Black Flags had reoccupied after the death of Henri Rivière and strongly fortified. Admiral Courbet attacked this place on the 11th December, and after a desperate resistance succeeded in driving out the Black Flags. The French suffered considerably, but they were to some extent recompensed by a very large quantity of spoil, including a considerable sum of money. Even after the fall of Sontay, the Black Flags did not disperse, and they engaged the French in repeated skirmishes. They took up a fresh position at Bacninh, which rumour declared they were making more formidable than Sontay, and owing to the slow progress made by the French force Admiral Courbet was superseded in the command by General Millot.

A new commander has always to justify his appointment, and General Millot determined to signalize his command with an attack on Bacninh. For this purpose he disposed of the very considerable force of 12,000 men, but General Millot was prudent as well as brave, and when he reconnoitred the strong position held by the Black Flags he declined to risk a front attack. He decided on threatening the rear and line of retreat of the enemy, well knowing that few or no Asiatics will stand under such circumstances. The circuitous march necessary to accomplish this object occupied four days, but complete

success attended the manœuvre, for the Black Flags abandoned their formidable positions after little or no resistance. They were unable to remove the Krupp guns which were found in position, but this was the only spoil left in the hands of the victor. These guns were the first evidence that the Chinese had so far departed from their passive attitude as to assist the defenders of Tonquin. This was very far short of the open declaration of war which the Marquis Tseng had advised and threatened as the consequence of any attack on Sontay.

Bacninh was occupied in March, 1884, and then a lull followed on the scene of operations while diplomacy resumed in Paris and Peking the task of concluding a pacific arrangement between France and China. The relations of the two States were still in name amicable. China had ostensibly done nothing, and in reality very little to invest her suzerain claims over Tonquin with reality. The party in power at Peking showed that they did not attach any importance to those claims, that peace was their sole object, and that France might possess a free field for expansion in the Songcoi Valley. Whatever merit this course had on the score of putting off the evil day, it was certainly not the right policy to invest with actuality the shadowy pretensions of China in vassal states. These pretensions could only be maintained by the sword; as China did not intend to draw the sword, and as, moreover, its temper was brittle, they should have been promptly relegated to the receptacle for the abandoned claims of nations. The overthrow of the Black Flags at Sontay and Bacninh was quickly followed therefore by a treaty of peace negotiated by Commander Fournier with Li Hung Chang, who in this, as in many other similar matters of external policy, represented the Chinese Government. The treaty was signed on the 11th May, 1884, and while it waived all China's claims on the old Empire of Annam, it also assigned to France a larger part of Tonquin than she had absolutely acquired. The success of the French in establishing a definite protectorate over Tonquin seemed thus to have been attained with equal completeness and facility.

The Fournier treaty, instead of being a bond of union, was

to prove the cause of more serious discord. One of its chief provisions was the surrender of the position of Langson to the French. After their retirement from Bacninh the Black Flags had established themselves here and made it their stronghold. The peace convention stipulated that Langson was to be surrendered to the French, but in the draft published in China no date was specified for the event, and the Chinese no doubt assumed that they would be given the time to make the necessary arrangements and to bring the desirable pressure to bear on the Black Flags to induce them to retreat without resistance or compromising the Government. Slow in all their movements, time was needed to enable the Chinese to carry out their own promises, and unfortunately the draft of the convention contained specific dates and conditions for the fulfilment of the arrangement. Commander Fournier declared on his honour that the dates named in his draft were in the original convention, and no one can doubt that this was the real truth. When, however, the French troops advanced to take possession of Langson the matter took a new and serious turn, for the Black Flags, ignorant of or indifferent to what Chinese diplomatists had promised, resisted to the full extent of their power and skill, both of which were for the work to be done far from inconsiderable. The French detachment sent to occupy Langson, under the command of Colonel Dugenne, was attacked in an ambushade at the Bacle pass, and compelled to retreat after some loss. The principal provision of the Fournier treaty was therefore rendered null and void, and France and China were brought into direct collision.

The Chinese disclaimed all responsibility in the matter on the ground that the French advance was premature in that the Fournier Convention mentioned no specific date. To that statement the French representative replied by declaring that his draft contained the dates, and the truth seems to have been that he had allowed himself to be circumvented by the more astute Chinese. However, France would not allow the Chinese Government to shake off its responsibility on this subterfuge. It demanded an instantaneous apology and an indemnity of ten millions sterling. The Chinese would have

given the former, and paid a reasonable sum by way of compensation, but the amount asked was so excessive as to prevent its even being discussed. Stormy events followed, but before entering upon them it will be clearer for the reader to record that France eventually accepted £160,000 in lieu of the £10,000,000 claimed for the Bacle outrage.

After the Bacle affair, military operations were resumed not only in Tonquin but against China. The French Government would not openly declare war, because by so doing England would have had to proclaim her neutrality, and France would then have lost the advantages of Hongkong as a coaling station. She maintained the usual relations of friendly states, and at the same time she resorted to open violence; a position of an exceptionally favourable nature for attacking the Chinese at a disadvantage was thus obtained, and the French quickly turned it to account. Foochow, a Treaty port, is situated a little distance up the Min river or estuary, and the Chinese, alive to some if not all of the military defects of their situation, had strongly defended its approach from the sea. While the peace was thought to be assured, several French men-of-war had proceeded up the river and anchored off Foochow, or, in other words, above the defences of the port. How far it was fair to utilize that position of advantage secured under the assumption of peace for the purposes of war is a question of ethics that we need not stop to examine here. It will suffice to say that the French men-of-war, in accordance with instructions telegraphed from Paris to Foochow itself, attacked the Min forts in reverse, and, thanks to their favourable position, destroyed them with little or no loss. The destruction of the Min Forts was a complete set-off to the surprise at Bacle, and it was also the most complete success of the French throughout the struggle, but for the reason given it was not one in which the French can take undiluted pride.

The French continued also to derive all the advantage they could from the fact that there was still no formal declaration of war, and by using Hongkong as a coaling station they practically made England an ally in the operations against China. This situation would soon have become

intolerable, and Sir Harry Parkes, who had succeeded Sir Thomas Wade in the post of British Minister at Peking, in the autumn of 1883, wisely decided to clear it up by issuing a proclamation to the effect that as the hostilities in progress between France and China were tantamount to a state of war, the laws of neutrality must be strictly observed at Hongkong and by all British subjects. The French resented this step, and showed an intention to retaliate by instituting a right to search all coasting steamers for rice, but fortunately this pretension was not pushed to extremities, and the war closed before any grave international complications had arisen.

After the destruction of the Min forts, the war was carried on chiefly in the island of Formosa, whither the French sent a strong expedition. The port of Tamsui was occupied without much difficulty; but at Kelung the Chinese resisted with great determination, and, although Admiral Courbet succeeded in capturing one of the forts, the Chinese erected a line of entrenchments, and batteries that effectually prevented the French force making any advance. Nor did the fortune of war shine on the French in Tonquin, where a certain number of Chinese troops were sent to co-operate with the Black Flags at Langson, and from before which, in March, 1885, the French were compelled to beat a retreat. This reverse was not quite of the same magnitude as an absolute defeat, but it was a revelation of the difficulties of the task, and a warning not to tempt fortune too far. Very soon after the open declaration of war between France and China the French Government was brought face to face with this position, that its arms were making no progress in either Formosa or Tonquin, and that, to retain the fruits of the earlier success, a special effort was necessary. In these circumstances it became necessary to choose between the despatch of a large expedition to attack Peking, and the resorting again to diplomacy to effect a pacific arrangement. The former was costly, uncertain, and affected by many extraneous considerations; it is not surprising that the French Government adopted the latter. On the 9th of June, 1885, a new treaty was signed by the respective plenipotentiaries, M. Patenotre and Li Hung Chang. It reiterated the terms

of the Fournier agreement with the simple addition of a moderate indemnity for the attack on Colonel Dugenne in the Bacle defile.

The teaching of this war, the first in which China had engaged with an European antagonist since the march of the allies to Peking, was inconclusive. On the one hand, the Chinese had shown no great military capacity, and their general conduct of the war had not been marked by any real grasp of military problems. On the other hand, their soldiers had shown admirable tenacity of purpose at both Langson and Kelung, while on no occasion did they absolutely disgrace themselves. The organization was bad, the policy of the Peking Government was timid and uncertain, but the conduct of the army in the field seemed to justify the assumption that the day of tame submission in China was passed. We now know that this view of the case was too favourable, and that the faults and crimes of the Government and the ruling classes in China far outweigh and nullify the good qualities of the Chinese people. The time seems now remote, but it must inevitably come when the Chinese people, whether of their own volition or under foreign guidance, will secure a government adequate to their needs, and that will at the same time make itself respected by its neighbours.

But in one obvious particular the Franco-Chinese war marked an epoch in modern Chinese history, and it also marked it as a point of decline. The St. Petersburg Treaty with Russia had given back a long-lost possession. It had set the seal, as it were, to the contention that China never waived her rights, that she regarded her inherited pretensions as inalienable, and that what she had once possessed she reserved the right for ever to reclaim. Such was the proud and confident pretension to which the world was asked, in 1881, to pay heed. The war with France over Tonquin taught a different lesson. As a military experience it was far indeed from being a humiliating event for China, but too narrow a view must not be taken of such passages in the life of a nation or empire. The Chinese Government had taken up a very different position on the subject of Tonquin from that it had maintained in the case of Kuldja. Tonquin was

undoubtedly a vassal state of China, for it was the dependency of the Annam ruler who sought investiture at the hands of the occupant of the Dragon Throne. It was also in close proximity to the thickly populated region of China dependent on Canton, whereas, on the other hand, Kuldja, although for a century an actual possession of the Empire, was situated by a distance of nearly two thousand miles from any centre of population in China. There was far more ground for China to stand firm in the matter of Tonquin than there was in that of Kuldja, and the excellent defence made by the Black Flags should have encouraged the Chinese to co-operate with them in holding what was known to be an avenue of approach to south-west China. But from the very beginning of the difficulty the authorities at Peking and Li Hung Chang in particular, had let it be seen that they attached no value to the suzerain claim over Tonquin, and that they had no intention of fighting for it. The Marquis Tseng took, indeed, a higher tone, and would have struggled to achieve in France a similar diplomatic victory to that he had won in Russia, but his Government would not support him. The consequence was that, at the very moment when the view was beginning to prevail, through the complete recovery of Central Asia, that the Chinese were firm in their intentions, the clearest evidence was furnished by their own acts that they had no definite policy, and that their shadowy claims in many parts of Asia were not likely to be invested with substance by the timid and irresolute rulers at Peking. What had happened with regard to Tonquin was obviously inevitable in the case of the other tributaries, as soon as they became objects coveted by other Powers.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE REIGN OF KWANGSU.

A FEW months after the signature of the treaty of St. Petersburg one of the two Regent Empresses died. This was the Empress Tsi Thsi, the principal widow of the Emperor Hienfung, and the nominal senior of the two ladies carrying on the government. Her illness was short and sudden, being due to heart disease ; and when she died, on the 18th of April, 1881, she was only forty-five years of age. Her more capable and ambitious colleague, the Empress Tsi An, who was, however, only the concubine of the Emperor Hienfung, survived to carry on the administration ; and she has been throughout, and still remains, the most powerful personage in China. Of her it will be simplest hereafter to speak as the Empress Dowager, and her form passes continually across the stage of Chinese affairs, even if shrouded in darkness, since the formal assumption of reigning authority by Kwangsu.

Closely associated with the Empresses since the death of Hienfung, and also more especially in the events following the nomination of Kwangsu, was Prince Kung, brother of the one and uncle of the other. He was a man of good sense and considerable ability, and of a patriotism beyond challenge. He was generally supposed to be the most powerful member of the administration, but how erroneous this supposition was was shown in a public and unmistakable manner by the following occurrence. Reference has already been made to a warning administered by the two Empresses to Prince Kung, in an early stage of their partnership ; but on that occasion the reinstatement of the Prince within a very short period

of his fall had pointed to the conclusion that he was the most powerful of the partners. This supposition was erroneous, and the mishap that befell the prince in July, 1884, furnished clear proof as to where the centre of power really lay. At the very moment of his greatest security, when, as President of the Tsungli Yamen, he posed as the virtual director of China's foreign policy, an imperial edict appeared, dismissing him from all his offices, and consigning him to a position of obscurity, in which he remained for eleven years. The causes of his fall were simply that he opposed the wishes of an autocratic lady who was determined to leave no one in doubt as to who was the ruler of the realm. He yielded the more rapidly, perhaps, because his more energetic brother Prince Chun, the father of the young Emperor, was ready and eager even to take his place. The Empress Dowager found in him and in Li Hung Chang allies willing and able to second her objects.

Prince Chun, whose name was mentioned at the time of the accession of Tungche, was a prince of considerable ardour and energy, anxious to play a great part, and not content with the ornamental position of father to the Emperor. He was also the recognized leader of the Chauvinist party; and, notwithstanding that it is forbidden by the fundamental laws of China for a father to serve under a son, he took an active part in the government, as President of the Board of National Defence, and as commander of the Pekin Field Force. There is no saying to what heights his ambition might not have led him, if his career had not been cut short by a sudden death in January, 1891. He possessed one rare quality among the directors of Chinese policy, a high courage, and in that way alone he might on important occasions have stiffened the purpose of his government.

The loss of Prince Chun was not the only one that befell China at this time. A few months earlier the Marquis Tseng, whose birth and European experience gave him an unique position among Chinese officials, died in the prime of his life, and at a moment when he seemed destined to be the regenerator of his country. He was closely allied with Prince Chun, and their combined influence would have been superior to

that of Li Hung Chang, whose timidity deprived his counsel of most of its value. As the eldest son of Tseng Kwofan, the satrap who had triumphed over the Taepings, and who might have set up a new dynasty if he had been so disposed, the Marquis Tseng enjoyed an exceptional position in China. It was said at one time that all the viceroys and provincial governors of China were nominees of Tseng Kwofan, and among these were the well-known Li Hung Chang, Tso Tsung Tang, and his own brother Tseng Kwo Tsiuen. The Marquis had also seen with his own eyes the marvels of Europe, and he had made a considerable reputation as a diplomatist. He was specially impressed with the importance of a navy, and on his return to China he took a prominent part in the work of the Navy Board. Unfortunately for his country, his career was prematurely cut short in April, 1890. The death of these men did not produce the recall of Prince Kung, and facilitated the retention of supreme power by the Empress Dowager. It is said that there is a secret and sinister history for these events, and for the strangely accommodating manner in which one obstacle after another was removed from the path of this emulator of the Empresses Liuchi of the Hans and Kiachi of the Later Tsins.

The mention of the diplomatic services of the Marquis Tseng justifies the insertion here of the most important negotiation concluded in his time between England and China. We refer to the new arrangement on the subject of opium, with regard to the collection of lekin, made in 1885, while Lord Salisbury was in office. The levy of the lekin, or barrier tax, on opium had led to many exactions in the interior which were equally injurious to the foreign trade, and also to the Chinese Government, in that it never received the dues to which it was entitled. Its effective control over the customs dues did not go beyond the ports, and the local authorities pocketed or wasted the large sums they appropriated at the entrance of their respective jurisdictions. After the subject had been thoroughly discussed in all its bearings, a Convention was signed in London on the 19th of July, 1885, by which the lekin was fixed at eighty taels a chest, in addition to the customs duty of thirty taels; and also arranging that

the whole of this sum should be paid in the Treaty Port before the opium was taken out of bond. The arrangement was greatly to the advantage of the Chinese Government, which came into possession of a large money revenue that had previously been frittered away in the provinces, and much of which had gone into the pockets of the officials. In connection with the customs of China it is impossible to pass on without a tribute to the services which Sir Robert Hart has rendered China during a period of forty years as Inspector-General. To his efforts the Peking Government owes the large and increasing cash revenue which by more skilful management would have sufficed to firmly re-establish its power. The services Sir Robert Hart has rendered his own country during this long period have been scarcely less striking, and on the premature death of Sir Henry Parkes he was gazetted his successor in the post of British Minister Plenipotentiary at Peking. For weighty reasons not unconnected with the development of Russian policy in China, he at once gave up his new post of Minister, and reverted to the old office of Inspector-General, which he still retains.

As the London Convention related to opium, it may be as well to make a parting reference to that much-debated article. This Convention, the text of which was drawn with such special care that it serves as a model for all Chinese drafts at the Foreign Office, was a further and final blow at the old theory that opium was forced upon the Chinese. Even Li Hung Chang, a master in the art of dissimulation, could no longer assert his old view that the opium traffic was iniquitous and the sole cause of disagreement between China and England. But the Convention did not stand alone as a piece of evidence on the subject of the true views of the Chinese Government about opium. In 1890 the Emperor of China issued an Edict legalizing the cultivation of opium in China, which, although practically carried on, and to such an extent in some provinces that it was the staple crop, was none the less an illegal practice punishable by severe penalties, including mutilation. The immediate consequence of this step was that the area under poppy cultivation in China largely increased. The great province or region of Manchuria

now raises a crop not much less than that of Yunnan. So great is the quantity of native opium now raised throughout China that, despite some inferiority in quality, there is a prospect of Indian opium being practically driven out of the Chinese market as a practical revenge for the loss inflicted on China by the successful competition of Indian tea. But at least China is now clearly debarred from again posing as an injured party in the matter of the opium traffic.

For some years past, indeed as the natural consequence of the Chinese reappearance in Kashgaria, there has been a necessity for direct relations between India and China. This necessity was greatly increased by the British invasion of Burmah in 1885 and the annexation of that state in the following year. In this direction, as in Tonquin, China possessed shadowy tributary rights. They were good or they were bad just as much as China had the power to enforce them. They were invested with a value they did not possess by the exceptional good will and complaisance of the British Government. In order to exactly understand the terms of the first Burmah Convention, in 1886, it is necessary to describe the minor negotiations that led up to it.

The Chefoo Convention of 1876, closing the Yunnan incident, contained in a separate article a promise from the Chinese Government to allow an English mission to pass through Tibet. Years passed without any attempt to give effect to this stipulation; but at last, in 1884, Mr. Colman Macaulay, a member of the Indian Civil Service, obtained the assent of his Government to his making a request of the Chinese Government for the promised passports to visit Lhasa. He went to Peking, and he came to London to interest the Marquis Tseng in his journey. He obtained the necessary permission and the promised passport from the Tsungli Yamen, and there is no doubt that if he had set off for Tibet with a small party he would have been honourably received and passed safely through Tibet to India. At least there is no doubt that the Chinese officials had made a very special effort to achieve this object. On the other hand, there is no doubt that such a journey, which might well have

provided only a slight glimpse of Lhasa, would have been of little special importance. It might have been an interesting individual experience; it could not have been the international landmark it was to form in Mr. Macaulay's own mind.

This modest character for his long-cherished project did not suit Mr. Macaulay, and, unmindful of the adage that there may be a slip betwixt the cup and the lip, he not merely delayed the execution of his visit, but he made ostentatious preparations and he engaged many persons of scientific attainments to accompany him with the view of examining the mineral resources of Tibet. He had also altered his proposed journey through China into Tibet to one from India to Tibet. The Chinese themselves did not relish, and had never contemplated, such a mission; but their dissatisfaction was slight in comparison with the storm the rumours of this mission raised in Tibet itself. No doubt was possible that the Tibetans were prepared and resolved to oppose its admission by force of arms. The Chinese Government was thus brought face to face with a position in which it must either employ its military power to coerce the Tibetans, or tamely acquiesce in their refusal to pay respect to the passports of the Tsungli Yamen, and thus provoke a serious complication with this country. Such was the position of the Tibetan question when Burmah was annexed in January, 1886, and negotiations followed with China for the adjustment of her claims and the new frontier. Negotiations were carried on, first by Lord Salisbury and afterwards by Lord Rosebery, with the Chinese minister in London, and the draft of more than one convention was prepared. Among such contemplated arrangements were the despatch of a mission from Burmah to China, and of a return mission from China to place the Empires on an equality; the appointment of the head priest of Mandalay as the person by and through whom the mission should be sent, thus making it a purely native matter outside any participation by the British Government; and a third proposition was to cede territory in the Shan states and trade rights on the Irrawaddy as an equivalent for the surrender of the claim to tribute.

It is probable that one of these three arrangements would have been carried out, but that on certain points being referred to Peking, the knowledge came to the ears of certain British officials that if the Tibetan mission were withdrawn the Chinese would be content with the formal admission of their claim to receive the tribute mission from Burmah without any specification as to how it was to be practically carried out. As both Governments wanted to bring about a speedy settlement of the question, the Chinese with the view of allaying the rising agitation in Tibet and getting rid of a troublesome question, and the English not less anxious to have the claims of China in Burmah defined in diplomatic language, the Convention which bears Mr. O'Connor's name was drawn up and signed with remarkable despatch. For the abandonment of the Macaulay Mission, and the mere recognition of their shadowy claim to tribute, the Chinese were quite willing to abandon the chance of more tangible possessions, such as a port on the Irrawaddy, which at one moment seemed within their reach. Diplomacy has since said a good deal more on this subject. The claim to any tribute at all has been waived, and in return China was given a very important and valuable slice of territory in the Shan states. The ceded territory was subsequently reduced, because China broke faith with England in the trans-Mekong territory of Kianghung by ceding part of it to France, and within the present year an Anglo-Chinese Delimitation Commission has been engaged in the task of defining with scrupulous exactitude the boundary of Burmah and Yunnan. Here, at least, the Chinese are showing an admirable ingenuity in securing the full letter of their rights and every yard to which they could lay claim, while Great Britain alone among the nations is ceding to the decrepit Peking rulers the respect and the forbearance they might claim if they were strong, steadfast, and straightforward.

In the meanwhile the young Emperor Kwangsu, "the cross and sleepy child," placed on the throne at the midnight conclave in 1875, was growing up. The date on which he was to take possession of his own was looming in the distance, and, as a preliminary to his assumption of power,

search had to be made for a suitable wife. In February, 1887—the month of the Chinese New Year—it was announced that his proposed marriage was postponed for two years in consequence of his tender age and delicate health. The postponement also had the considerable advantage of insuring for the Regent a further lease of power. About New Year's Day, 1889, when Kwangsu was well advanced in his eighteenth year, he was married to Yeh-ho-na-la, daughter of a Manchu general named Knei Hsiang. This lady had been carefully selected for the great honour of Empress of China out of many hundred candidates, and so far she has escaped the fate of the unfortunate Ahluta. The marriage was celebrated with the usual amount of state, and more than a million sterling was expended on the attendant ceremonies. At the same time the Empress Dowager made her resignation of power public in a farewell edict; but although she passed into a retreat, she still retained the substance of power, and ruled her adopted son, and, indeed, the whole of his court, with a rod of iron. If she had ruled them for her country's good, silence might have been extended to her machinations; but for the injuries that have befallen China her masterfulness has been largely responsible and much to blame.

The marriage and assumption of governing power by the Emperor Kwangsu brought to the front the very important question of the right of audience with the Chinese monarch by the foreign ministers resident at Peking. This privilege had been conceded by China at the time of the Tientsin massacre, as part of the reparation made for that outrage, and on one occasion it had been put in force during the brief reign of Tungche. During the Regency it necessarily remained in abeyance; but the time had again arrived for putting it in effect, and after long discussions as to the place of audience and the forms to be observed, Kwangsu issued, in December, 1890, an Edict appointing a day soon after the commencement of the Chinese New Year for the audience, and also arranging that it should be repeated annually about the same date. In March, 1891, Kwangsu gave his first reception to the foreign representatives; but, after the interview

was over, some dissatisfaction and legitimate criticism were aroused by the fact that the ceremony had been held in the Tse Kung Ko, or Hall of Tributary Nations. Since then some improvement has been effected in the arrangements, as this was one of the rare occasions on which foreigners were brought into direct contact with a Chinese ruler—the audience in Tungche's reign and Lord Macartney's interview with Keen Lung being the two most notable exceptions. The following description of the Emperor's personal appearance by one present at the audience is deserving of quotation:—

“Whatever the impression ‘the Barbarians’ made on him, the idea which they carried away of the Emperor Kwangsu was pleasing and almost pathetic. His air is one of exceeding intelligence and gentleness, somewhat frightened and melancholy-looking. His face is pale, and though it is distinguished by refinement and quiet dignity, it has none of the force of his martial ancestors, nothing commanding or imperial, but is altogether mild, delicate, sad, and kind. He is essentially Manchu in features, his skin is strangely pallid in hue, which is no doubt accounted for by the confinement of his life inside these forbidding walls and the absence of the ordinary pleasures and pursuits of youth, with the constant discharge of onerous, complicated, and difficult duties of state, which it must be remembered are, according to Imperial Chinese etiquette, mostly transacted between the hours of two and six in the morning. His face is oval-shaped, with a very long narrow chin and a sensitive mouth with thin nervous lips; his nose is well shaped and straight, his eyebrows regular and very arched, while the eyes are unusually large and sorrowful in expression. The forehead is well shaped and broad, and the head is large beyond the average.”

Owing to the dissatisfaction felt at the place of audience which seemed to put the Treaty Powers on the same footing as tributary states, the foreign Ministers set themselves the task of exacting from the Tsungli Yamen the selection of a more suitable place in the Imperial city for the annual ceremony. The matter was no doubt referred to the Emperor

and the Court officials for consideration and decision, but as the European Powers were not in agreement as to the importance of the matter, no speedy solution was attained. The British Foreign Office attached great importance to the point, and when Sir Nicholas O'Connor was appointed Minister in succession to Sir John Walsham, an exception was made in his favour, and a place of superior importance to the Hall of Tributary Nations was selected for the ceremony of presenting his credentials. The Emperor agreed to receive him in the Cheng Kuan Tien palace, or pavilion, which forms part of the Imperial residence of Peace and Plenty within the Forbidden City. The British representative, accompanied by his secretaries and suite, in accordance with arrangement, proceeded to this palace on the 13th of December, 1892, and was received in a specially honourable manner at the principal or imperial entrance by the High Court officials. Such a mark of distinction was quite unprecedented, and it was noticed that the Emperor took a much greater interest in the ceremony than on preceding occasions, and followed with special attention the reading of the Queen's letter by Prince Ching, at the time President of the Tsungli Yamen. After this incident there was a permanent improvement in the reception every year of the Foreign diplomatists, and with the view of giving the more importance to the matter, the Tsungli Yamen adopted the practice of giving an annual dinner as a sort of compliment to the Imperial audience. The personal reception of Prince Henry of Prussia by the Emperor of China on 15th May, 1898, marked the final settlement of the Audience Question in favour of the right of foreign potentates to rank on an equality with the so-called Son of Heaven. It is impossible to suppress the reflection that if the policy of the British Government had been more skilfully directed this privilege would have been secured first by England, and not by Germany.

Although the Dowager Empress had ostentatiously retired from the administration and taken up her abode in a palace outside the walls, in the park of Haitien, near the old Summer Palace destroyed in 1860, evidence as to her power over the Government was forthcoming on numerous occasions. Li

Hung Chang in particular was her associate and ally, and after his temporary disgrace it was only her protection that prevented his losing his head. But the world was taken into the confidence of the ruling powers at Peking when it was announced in 1894 that the Chinese Court had decided to celebrate the sixtieth birthday of the Empress Dowager in an extraordinary manner. The proposition was seriously made, and the arrangements were far completed towards executing it, that the sum of five millions sterling should be expended on this Jubilee. The reader need not discover in that extraordinary proposition proof of the excessive affection of the Emperor Kwangsu to one of the widows of his uncle, but the evidence it supplies as to the power of that lady is irrefutable. The Imperial lady's expectations were on this occasion doomed to disappointment. For over thirty years she had lorded things as she chose, but just as she was on the point of receiving the much-desired public tribute to her success and worth, the cup of anticipated triumph was dashed from her lips by the outbreak of the war with Japan. The millions had to be expended or wasted elsewhere, but they were not destined to obtain a triumph either in the streets of Peking or in the field against the national enemy.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE WAR WITH JAPAN.

THE most striking passage in the modern history of China since the Taeping rebellion has now been reached; but in order to understand the events of the war with Japan it is necessary to describe the gradual development of the Korean question until it became the cause of strife between the two principal races of the Far East. The old struggles between China and Japan have been mentioned at different periods, but although the Japanese in the sixteenth century practically overran the peninsula, they retired, and Corea reverted to that position of dependence or vassalage under China which was the common condition of all her neighbours. The tie binding Corea to China was neither weaker nor stronger than that between China and Tonquin. In each case the essential point was whether China possessed the power to make good the letter of her rights. In Tonquin the result showed that she had not the power; but much had happened in the ten years intervening between the wars with France and with Japan to justify the opinion that China could make at least a good fight for her claims over Corea, and, moreover, Corea by its position was so far more important to China that it was felt she ought to make a special effort to maintain her hold on a country which had been called her "right arm of defence."

If these considerations pointed to the conclusion that the Chinese would fight hard for their rights in Corea, the weak and uncertain policy that preceded the outbreak of war shook faith in the wisdom and firmness of the Peking Government

long before the crisis arrived. The Chinese Government, and at that moment the phrase signified Li Hung Chang, was induced to believe, first, that something should be done to regulate the position in Corea, and, secondly, that this could only be effected by opening the country to the trade and influences of the outer world. Several disputes with foreign Powers, arising out of attacks on ships, missionaries, and travellers, had not merely raised an external interest in Corea, but had created some justification for interference in its affairs. Allowance must be made for the fact that while China was anxious to cling to her shadowy claim over Corea, and to invest it with substance, she was not anxious to accept the responsibility for every act committed by the truculent and quarrelsome Coreans.

In 1876 Japan began operations in Corea by securing the opening of Fushan to her trade as compensation for an outrage on some of her sailors. About the same time China annexed the so-called neutral territory on the frontier, and in 1880 Chemulpo was also opened to Japanese trade. The activity of the Japanese compelled the Chinese to act, and in 1881 a draft commercial treaty was drawn up, approved by the Chinese authorities and the representatives of the principal Powers at Peking, and carried to the Court of Seoul for acceptance and signature by the American naval officer Commodore Schufeldt. The treaty was, of course, accepted by Corea, and all the Powers in turn became parties to it. The success of the Japanese had filled them with confidence, and when they saw the Chinese asserting their claims over Corea, and putting forward a pretension to control its destinies, they determined to advance their old right to have an equal voice with China in the peninsula. As the most effectual way of carrying out their plans they allied themselves with the so-called progressive party in Corea, which naturally took Japan as their model, while China, with equal appropriateness, was obliged or inclined to link her fortunes with the old and reactionary party in the state.

The plans of the Japanese met with much opposition, and in June, 1882, the Coreans attacked the Japanese Legation, murdered some of its inmates, and compelled the survivors

to flee. Thereupon the Japanese sent a force to exact reparation, and the Chinese also sent a force to restore order. An arrangement was effected, but for two years a Chinese and Japanese force remained in proximity under the walls of Seoul. In December, 1884, a fresh collision occurred between the Japanese and the Koreans, aided this time by the Chinese. The former were again compelled to flee. This second outrage stirred the Japanese Government to take decided action, and while it obtained compensation from the Koreans for the outrage, it sent Count Ito to China to effect an arrangement with the Peking Government. At that moment China occupied a stronger position in Korea than the Japanese. She was popular with the people, the old ties were undoubtedly strong, and the Treaty Powers were more disposed to work through her than Japan in extending trade influence through the peninsula. It now remains to show how completely the Government of China threw away these advantages by an agreement which tied her hands and placed her in a very different position from that she claimed, and had so long possessed.

Li Hung Chang was appointed Chinese plenipotentiary to negotiate with Count Ito, and a short but pregnant Convention was signed by them at Tientsin on the 18th of April, 1885. It consisted of only three articles: first, that both countries should withdraw their troops from Korea; secondly, that no more officers should be sent by either country to drill the Korean army; and thirdly, that if at any future time either country should send troops to Korea, it must inform the other country. By this Convention China admitted Japan's right to control Korea as being on an equality with her own. After that date it was impossible to talk of Korea as a vassal state of China, and all the advantages she possessed by tradition were surrendered by Li Hung Chang to the more astute representative of Japan.

For nine years after the Tientsin or Li-Ito Convention there was peace in Korea. In the spring of 1894 the assassination at Shanghai of Kim-Ok-Kiun, the leader of the Korean revolution in 1884 and a so-called reformer, drew attention to the affairs of the peninsula. Happening outside

it, this event was still the originating cause of the important occurrences that followed during the summer of 1894 in Corea. Evidence was soon forthcoming that the murderer had been put up to commit the deed by the Corean authorities. On his return to Corea honours and rewards were bestowed upon him, while the body of Kim-Ok-Kiun was quartered as that of a traitor. At this moment the Tong Haks, a body of religious not political reformers, began to agitate for various concessions, and failing to obtain them, broke into open rebellion. At the end of May the Tong Haks obtained a considerable success over the Corean forces, three hundred of whom were slain. This defeat caused such consternation at Seoul that a request was at once sent to China to send a force to save the capital.

There was no reason why China should not comply with that request, and there were many reasons why she should. By the 10th of June 2000 Chinese troops were encamped at Asan, a port some distance south of Seoul, and its recognized port Chemulpo. A few Chinese men-of-war were also sent to the coast. Notification was made to Japan of the despatch of these forces to Corea under the terms of the Convention. The Japanese Government, having equal rights with China, determined to do the same, and, acting with extraordinary vigour and promptitude, they possessed within forty-eight hours of the arrival of the Chinese at Asan a far superior force of troops at Seoul and of ships at Chemulpo. They were also in complete possession of the capital and of the Court, which was wholly in sympathy with China and opposed to Japan.

In these circumstances China revived her pretensions to regard Corea as a vassal state. Japan refused to tolerate the pretensions on the ground, first, that she had never at any time admitted them, and secondly, that the Li-Ito Convention was clear in its tenor as to the equality of the rights of the two states. The Japanese made another very astute move. They called attention to the obvious evil consequences of misgovernment in Corea, and they proposed to China that she should join them in executing the needful reforms. China, hampered by her alliance with the reactionary party at Seoul,

held back, and Japan, with the extraordinary promptitude that characterized all her proceedings, threw herself into the task alone. To do this with any prospect of success, it was necessary to secure the person of the King of Corea, and his palace was accordingly attacked by the Japanese, his guard dispersed, and the ruler of the peninsula secured as the tool or ally of his captors. The first document to which he was required to put his seal was one ordering the Chinese troops who had come at his invitation to leave the country. The Japanese acted nominally in the name of liberty and progress, but in truth it was only the great game of ambition, which they played remarkably well.

The seizure of the king's person on 23rd of July, 1894, was followed by two signal events. On the 25th the Japanese squadron attacked the transport *Kowshing* and its escort bringing fresh troops to Asan. In the engagement that followed, one Chinese man-of-war was sunk, one disabled, and 1200 troops were destroyed with the *Kowshing*. Here, again, the energy and success of the Japanese redeemed their reputation. The torpedoing of the unarmed *Kowshing* was a brutal act, not in accordance with the spirit of the age, and under different circumstances the firing on the British flag might have entailed serious consequences. On the same day as this fight General Oshima left Seoul with a small force to attack the Chinese camp at Asan. This the Chinese had abandoned for a better position at Song-hwan, which they strongly fortified. So formidable did it appear that the Japanese resorted to a night surprise as the safest mode of attack, and on the 29th of July they carried the place with a loss to the Chinese of 500 killed and wounded. Half the Chinese force, under their General Yeh, made a timely retreat on hearing of the loss of the *Kowshing*, and succeeded in reaching Pingyang, north of Seoul, on the main road to China. These preliminary encounters were followed by a mutual declaration of war between China and Japan on the 1st August.

The exciting events of July were followed by a period of tranquillity. The declaration of war produced a lull in hostilities. The interval was taken up by the preparations for

the real fighting of the struggle. Japan poured her troops into Corea, while the Chinese fleet, missing its chances, hugged the harbours of Wei Hai Wei and Port Arthur in ignominious safety. It was not until the beginning of September that the Japanese army was in sufficient strength to detach a corps of 13,000 men in all to attack the Chinese position at Pingyang, a town of historic importance on the northern banks of the Taidong river. The chief command of the operations on the Japanese side was entrusted to General Nodzu. The Chinese were in considerable force, and held a naturally strong position, but the preliminary skirmishes indicated the radical ignorance of the Chinese in military knowledge.

The early morning of the 15th of September was the time fixed for the attack on Pingyang, and so well were the arrangements made, that all was in readiness to deliver the attack at the appointed signal, although one of the columns had marched across Corea from Gensan. The plan of the Japanese was simple. While their main force threatened Pingyang in front, the Gensan corps took up a position of attack on its east, and another corps a similar position on the west. Both these latter corps had crossed the Taidong river unknown to the Chinese. The passage of the river was difficult and slow, and the Chinese might easily have overwhelmed the Japanese; but instead of this result they allowed themselves to be lulled into a false sense of security, and to remain ignorant of even the fact that the river had been crossed by their enemy.

The battle began at sunrise on the 15th of September with an attack on the forts held by the Chinese on the left bank of the river commanding a bridge of boats across the Taidong. Here the Chinese fought well, and repulsed the Japanese with considerable loss; but this success had no influence on the result of the day, which was being decided on another part of the scene. The attack on the forts north of the river by the two flanking columns represented the serious part of the operation. Here five forts, more or less strong by nature, and by artifice, had to be captured, and for a time the Chinese made a most vigorous resistance. The Japanese were fortunately assisted by the artillery fire they were able to direct

on the interior of the forts from a hill they had succeeded in capturing the night before. Aided by this advantage the Japanese succeeded in capturing the fort on Peony Hill, and the death of the Chinese general Tso-pao-kuei, who fought when wounded with a noble heroism to the last, shook the confidence of the whole Chinese army. It was then that the Japanese succeeded in capturing the Gemmu gate in the wall of Pingyang itself. When the day's struggle was over the Chinese had fully made up their mind to flee, and as soon as night set in the garrison began a disorderly retreat. As one of the Japanese divisions commanded the only line of retreat, the Chinese suffered heavily from the artillery and rifle-fire kept up on the disorderly crowd. Over 1500 Chinese were killed during this retreat, whereas in the battle itself they had only lost 500 killed in addition to wounded and prisoners.

The Japanese themselves lost 162 killed, 438 wounded, and 33 missing, who may fairly be added to the former total. At the moment when the Chinese began their flight from Pingyang they had made a respectable resistance, and if the other Chinese generals had been animated by anything like Tso's spirit, there is every reason to say that the first attack of the Japanese would have been repulsed, and that time would thus have been gained to make an orderly retreat. Much more than this would have been secured if the Chinese had shown the least knowledge of the military art. Then the Japanese would never have crossed the Taidong river, and the Gensan column would have been crushed before aid could have reached it. The battle of Pingyang was a great defeat for China, but some of the Chinese officers and men fought with great courage, and on the whole it was not the disgraceful military fiasco that has been alleged. It signified, however, the Chinese evacuation of Corea, for not a man paused until he had got the other side of the Yalu.

On the very day of the battle of Pingyang the Chinese fleet was engaged in the conveyance of troops to the mouth of the Yalu, where the Chinese were collecting a second army. The Chinese fleet, under the command of Admiral Ting, on its return from this task was encountered off the

island of Hai Yang by the Japanese squadron, under Admiral Ito, on the 17th of September. The two fleets were of very equal strength. They each numbered ten fighting vessels, and if two of the Chinese ships were superior in strength, the Japanese were superior in steam power. The Chinese began to fire at a distance of four miles, while the Japanese reserved their fire until only two miles separated the adversaries. It was to quickness and manœuvring that the Japanese Admiral mainly trusted for victory, and his first attack consisted mainly in circling round the Chinese squadron. The weaker vessels on both sides were soon put out of action. The Chinese flagship, *Ting-yuen*, after a duel with the Japanese *Matsushima*, was severely damaged, and only saved from sinking by the intervention of her sister ship, the *Chen-yuen*. These two fine ships, thanks to their armour, succeeded in making their way out of the action with the torpedo boats, but four of the Chinese boats were sunk, and a fifth was destroyed. In men the Chinese lost 700 killed or drowned and 300 wounded, while the Japanese lost 115 killed and 150 wounded—one-third of these were on the Japanese flagship alone. The honours of the day rested with the Japanese, whose skilful manœuvring won the admiration of all interested in naval warfare. The direct consequences of this victory were considerable, for the Chinese fleet never afterwards attempted to contest the seas, and water communication with the Yalu was as effectually cut off as it had been in the first week of the war with Asan.

The Japanese army halted for more than a fortnight after the battle of Pingyang. By that time Marshal Yamagata had arrived with a considerable body of fresh troops, and he assumed the personal command in the field. The Japanese began their forward movement from Pingyang early in October, and on the 10th of the month their advanced guard reached the Yalu. A considerable Chinese army, under the command of General Sung, held the northern bank of the river, which was broad and difficult of passage. The neglect and military ignorance of the Chinese had allowed of the easy crossing of the Taidong, the same causes enabled the Japanese to cross the river boundary of China. General Sung's

defence on the 25th and 26th October was contemptible, his large force withdrew from positions that could easily have been made impregnable, and despite the strength of their forts, which were admirably constructed, the Chinese officers and soldiers retreated after a merely nominal resistance. In the positions abandoned on the Yalu, the Japanese captured an enormous war *matériel*, including 74 cannons, over 4000 rifles, and more than 4,000,000 rounds of ammunition. The defeated Chinese army had retired to Feng-hwang, the border town of the old neutral zone, and for a moment it seemed as if they would make a stand there ; but on reaching it, on the 30th of the month, the Japanese found it evacuated, and rumour said that the Chinese army had dispersed in a senseless and irretrievable panic.

While Marshal Yamagata was forcing the passage of the Yalu, and beginning the invasion of China, another Japanese army under Marshal Oyama had landed on the Regent's Sword, or now more generally called the Leaoutung Peninsula, with the object of attacking the great Chinese naval station of Port Arthur. Port Arthur was not only very strongly defended by art, but its natural advantages were such that it only needed capacity and courage in its defence to be practically impregnable. In Chinese hands it was even formidable ; in those of the countrymen of Todleben it will be a second, and probably an inexpugnable Sebastopol. Over three hundred guns were in position, and the Chinese garrison numbered at least 10,000 men, while the attacking Japanese army did not exceed 13,000 men, although of course the co-operating Japanese fleet has to be added to the land forces. The Japanese landed at the mouth of the Hua-yuan river, nearly 100 miles north of Port Arthur. They then advanced south and captured the strongly fortified city of Chinchow without losing a single man. If this was surprising, what happened the next day at Ta-lien-wan bay was still more incredible. Here the Chinese had five batteries admirably constructed and heavily armed. The garrison was quite sufficient for an effective resistance, but on the approach of the Japanese it fled from its positions almost without firing a shot. In the forts, the victors found over 120 cannons,

2½ million rounds of cannon ammunition, and nearly 34 million rounds of rifle. This easy and bloodless capture of the outer defences of Port Arthur pointed to the early and inevitable fate of that fortress.

On the 20th November, 1894, the whole of the Japanese army was drawn up in front of Port Arthur while the fleet lay off the harbour. The preliminary reconnaissance showed the Japanese general that three forts on the northern side, known as Chair Hill, Table Hill, and Hope Terrace, practically commanded the others, and that their capture would probably entail the fall of the place. The Japanese began their attack early in the morning of 22nd November, and concentrated their efforts on the capture of the Chair Hill. Forty guns, of which half were siege guns, delivered their fire on this place, and in about one hour silenced its guns. The Japanese infantry then rushed to attack it, and with a loss of eighty killed and wounded they drove out the garrison. In consequence of this success, the Chinese soldiers abandoned the forts on Table Hill and Hope Terrace, which might easily have continued their defence. The panic-stricken troops from these positions were practically annihilated during their flight by the fire of a Japanese regiment which they met, and of the Japanese warships. The other forts fell in rapid succession. Only at the Dragon Hill forts did the Chinese offer any resistance worthy of the name, and then it was overcome by the impetuous gallantry of the Japanese attack. The remaining forts attempted no resistance, and thus in one day, for the insignificant loss of 18 men killed and 250 wounded, the Japanese captured the strongest position in China, and a naval fortress and arsenal on which six millions sterling had been expended.

The month of December was marked by the advance of the force under Marshal Yamagata into Manchuria, where a fresh Chinese army, under several commanders, of whom Ikotenga a Manchu was the most capable, had come down to defend the approaches to Moukden, the old Manchu capital and the home of the dynasty. The warfare partook of an irregular character, and skirmishes, rather than battles, characterized the progress of the campaign, which was

rendered more difficult by the fact that winter had set in, and that the whole region was covered with snow. The Chinese fought in this part of the campaign with far greater courage than at any other, and in one fight at Kangwasai they inflicted a loss of 400 men on the Japanese. The capture of this village, hastily fortified, cost them far more than that of the strong fortress of Port Arthur, thus showing that the Chinese only lacked honest leading and some military experience to make a good fight. At the town of Kaiping the Chinese also offered a stout resistance, and although the Japanese carried the place, they had to confess a loss of over 300 killed and wounded. These instances of returning courage will be referred to when at some future date the Chinese have been turned into good soldiers.

There only remains now to be described the second most striking military episode of the war, viz. the capture of Wei Hai Wei, with the remainder of China's modern fleet, which had taken refuge in that harbour. It was not until the middle of January, 1895, when the Japanese found further campaigning in Manchuria slow and difficult, that they turned their energies in the direction of this place. Wei Hai Wei was called by the Emperor of Japan one of the leaves of the gate of China. It was strongly fortified, but neither by art nor by nature as strong as Port Arthur. On the 20th January, and following days, the Japanese troops were landed at Yungchang on the promontory of Shantung, a little west of the place to be attacked. On the 26th, the Japanese appeared at the gates of Wei Hai Wei. The land defences of this place consisted of a line of forts and batteries in the form of a semi-circle round the range of hills commanding the bay and harbour. In the bay itself are two islands: one called Liukung is 500 feet high, and six miles in circumference, the other, Jih, is small, and covered by a fort. The defences of the place consist, therefore, of these two islands, besides the land forts, and the squadron under Admiral Ting furnished a powerful auxiliary, although its commander, whose courage was beyond dispute, did not deem it safe to venture out to engage the Japanese. The Chinese fleet comprised nine large vessels: six small gun-boats, seven large, and four small

torpedo-boats. The entrance to the bay had also been protected by two strong booms, attached to which were torpedoes, and these seemed to preclude the possibility of the Japanese effecting an entrance. It should also be added that nearly half the garrison consisted of 4000 sailors on the fleet, and that these men had at least undergone some training, while in Admiral Ting they had a leader of proved courage and energy, whose spirit was not at all likely to fail.

The attack on the land side of Wei Hai Wei began on the 29th January, and continued throughout that and the following day. The Chinese resistance proved considerable, and at several points Admiral Ting's squadron intervened with such effect that the Japanese were repulsed. Jealousy between the naval and military leaders detracted from the vigour of the defence, as the generals refused Ting's offer to lend them the services of a number of men from the ships to work the guns in the forts properly. This refusal facilitated the capture of Wei Hai Wei. The Japanese had not been able to bring any guns with them, owing to the badness of the roads, but when they captured some of the forts they turned the guns in them on the others, and on Ting's fleet. When Ting realized that the Chinese soldiers in the forts would make no resistance, he sent landing-parties to the different batteries, and rendered all the guns in them useless. By this means he deprived the Japanese of the greater part of the artillery on which they counted for his destruction. The next day the Japanese occupied the remaining forts without resistance, for the whole of the land garrison had fled panic-stricken to Chefoo. For a time it seemed as if they had come to an end of their success, for Admiral Ting's squadron and the island forts continued to defy their assaults.

The Japanese could not afford to rest content with this half success, or to remain inactive. They therefore resorted to an attack by torpedo boats, and on the 5th of February this so far succeeded that the *Ting-yuen*, the great remaining vessel of the Chinese, was struck with two torpedoes, and sunk in a few hours. The Japanese had themselves suffered heavily, but on the following night they renewed the attack, and sank three Chinese vessels. This demoralized the

Chinese, and when the magazine on Jih island was blown up by an accidental shell the Chinese torpedo squadron attempted to escape to sea, but all the vessels were taken. On the 9th February, the *Ching-yuen* was sunk by a shell that struck her below the water-line, and with her the very last chance of victory disappeared. Still Admiral Ting would not give up the struggle, and it was only after receiving a telegram from Li Hung Chang that no help was possible, that he arranged to capitulate. When the terms were agreed on, Admiral Ting retired to his cabin and took a large dose of opium. Among those who fought on the Chinese side Admiral Ting was the most prominent officer to exhibit a high form of courage and some capacity. His name will be ever exempted from the charge of cowardice, and when all the details come to be told it will be known that he was not to blame for any shortcomings in the action of the Chinese fleet, from which so much was expected. Even under every disadvantage Ting held out at Wei Hai Wei for three weeks, whereas Port Arthur was lost in a day.

The war continued for a few weeks after the fall of Wei Hai Wei. The Japanese continued their advance in Manchuria, and captured the two places called Newchwang, thus securing a footing on the Gulf of Leaoutung, and menacing Peking on the one side and Moukden on the other. At the moment when spring was about to render easy the prosecution of military operations in that northern region, the Japanese possessed an army of 100,000 men ready to advance on Peking. There is no reason to believe that, however much the Chinese might have improved in courage and resolution for the defence of their capital, they could have offered a successful resistance to the Japanese advance. The prolongation of the war would therefore have signified only the further humiliation of China and the addition of the loss of Peking to that of Port Arthur and Wei Hai Wei. Peace was, therefore, of the first necessity from the point of view of China's interests. Reserving for another chapter the consideration of the peace negotiations and terms, it will be appropriate to conclude this brief narrative of the war between China and Japan with a few general observations.

China entered on the war with a great and what seemed a growing reputation. She had done enough in the struggle with France to justify the opinion that she possessed considerable military power and a great capacity of endurance. On paper her navy was formidable. In Port Arthur she possessed a superior naval station to Hongkong, and Wei Hai Wei was scarcely in any way inferior. Her policy in Corea, it is true, had not been very skilful. It was directed to the attainment of opposite and incompatible objects, and with inexcusable inaptitude she tied her own hands and then advanced extreme and unattainable pretensions. The reforms of the Japanese were known to be more real and radical than those that had given a tinge to China's public existence. Opinions differed as to whether the Japanese fleet could cope with the Chinese, but every one allowed the superiority of the Japanese army. The balance of opinion inclined, therefore, to the view that the superior numbers and resources of the Chinese would supply their deficiencies and that the result would be indecisive.

The course of the campaign refuted these assumptions and destroyed one after another the preconceptions favourable to China. It was not merely that the Japanese generals and admirals, soldiers and sailors, exhibited an indisputable superiority over the Chinese, for that would have happened in any decisive war between equals, but the incidents of the struggle revealed in vivid colours that China had learnt nothing, and that her public men were destitute of spirit and honesty, and her soldiers of even the primitive attributes of patriotism. There were isolated instances of courage, but after the ignominious surrender of Port Arthur no foreign observer attempted to discover them. Even Admiral Ting's heroism excited incredulity, and the antiquated views of warfare held by Chinese military men, whose text-books went back for 2000 years, formed the theme of ridicule.

There is no doubt that the Chinese Government gave a deplorable exhibition of itself, and after what occurred it would be impossible to put faith in any military or naval changes carried out under the auspices of the Government then and still existing at Peking. No military and naval reforms

could command belief in their sincerity or efficacy until the ruling Government has been purged and has adopted new models. Of that no evidence has yet been afforded. But if, on the one hand, the downfall of China was complete and crushing, it would be folly for us to go to the other extreme and regard the Chinese nation as beneath contempt for all time as a fighting Power. To do so would be to play the game of our numerous adversaries. The collapse of the Chinese was due to clearly defined and ascertainable causes—the incapacity and shortsightedness of the Peking authorities and the elaborate system of make-believe kept up by Li Hung Chang. When China has a different Government, inspired and directed, as it is now clear that it must be, by foreign influence and example, she will give a very different account of herself on the field of battle, and the Power that most successfully utilizes her toiling millions will possess the mastery of the world.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF DEFEAT.

THE Chinese having been brought, by the fall of Wei Hai Wei and the advance of the Japanese army into Manchuria, to admit the necessity of peace, it only remained to secure the most favourable terms that could be obtained. To do this it was necessary, in the first place, to appoint a Plenipotentiary who should not only have full powers, but whose name would suffice to satisfy the Japanese Government that the Chinese were really in earnest in their request for peace, and that they would fulfil the conditions to which their representatives agreed. This was the more necessary because two months earlier the Chinese had sent a so-called peace mission under Chang Yin Huan, with inadequate powers to negotiate at Tokio, and the Japanese, on discovering the flaws in their credentials, had firmly and indignantly refused to do business.

For the purposes of the moment China possessed only two men of adequate rank and reputation. These were Prince Kung and Li Hung Chang. The former, in experience as well as in rank, was entitled to be considered the foremost man in China. In 1860, when Li Hung Chang was still an unknown official of no importance, Prince Kung had signed the Peking Convention with Lord Elgin, and for a great many years he had practically controlled the foreign policy of China. But for ten years preceding the outbreak of the war with Japan he had been in disgrace, and the all-powerful Empress Dowager had decreed that for his opposition to her plans he should cease to have any part

in the active administration. The misfortunes of the Japanese war, by lowering the reputation of those in power, had brought him back to office, but he wielded no great influence. Still, his nomination as Plenipotentiary would have been satisfactory to the Japanese; but, on the other hand, it was necessary for the Chinese representative, as coming from the defeated country, to proceed to Japan and to sue for peace. To that depth of concession a prince of the Imperial family, the uncle of the reigning Emperor, could not be brought. There remained, therefore, only the choice, practically speaking, of Li Hung Chang. Prince Kung was a patriotic and able prince, whose career his countrymen must hope has not yet finished. But on this occasion he could not and would not incur the personal ignominy of gracing by his presence the triumph of his country's enemy, as would have been signified by his proceeding to Shimonoseki.

In consequence of these considerations, which were not devoid of weight, Li Hung Chang remained the only possible representative for China in any peace negotiations that were at all likely to succeed. He was accordingly appointed Plenipotentiary with full powers, and reached Shimonoseki in that capacity on the 20th of March, 1895. Whatever opinion may be formed of Li Hung Chang as an able administrator or as a patriot, there can be no doubt of his skill in the art of diplomacy or at the game of chicane. If the Chinese could recover anything of all they had lost in war by skill of fence in the negotiations, no one was more qualified by character and experience than the ex-Viceroy to obtain it. The chances of the success of his mission, so far as success was possible, were greatly increased by an accidental occurrence which aroused a sentiment of pity for the aged statesman, and stirred the chivalrous ruler and people of Japan with an impulse to atone by some concession for a breach of the laws of hospitality.

Four days after his arrival, Li Hung Chang, while returning from the conference with Count Ito, the Japanese plenipotentiary, was shot in the cheek by a fanatic. The wound was not very serious, but the outrage roused great sympathy

for Li Hung Chang, and China benefited by his suffering. The Emperor of Japan sent his own doctor to take care of the wounded minister, the Empress prepared the lint with her own hands. There was a general and unanimous chorus of sympathy and regret on the part of the Japanese people, and Li Hung Chang, a master of phrases, strengthened the feeling of sympathy by the happy phrase, "In truth the benevolence of Her Majesty the Empress of Japan is profound as the sea. When I return home and tell my Imperial mistress what has been done for me she will be very satisfied." In consequence of this occurrence, the Japanese at once granted an armistice, and the original terms they had put forward as the condition of peace were modified in several of their harshest conditions. On the 17th of April the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed, and on the 8th of May—Li Hung Chang having returned to Peking in the interim—the ratifications were exchanged at Chefoo.

The terms of the treaty come under three heads: the surrender of territory, the payment of an indemnity, and the concession of commercial facilities and rights, while the first article of all provided for the full and complete independence and autonomy of Corea. The surrender of territory was to comprise the islands of Formosa and the Pescadores and the southern part of the province of Shingking, including the Leaoutung or Regent's Sword Peninsula and the important naval harbour and fortress of Port Arthur. As indemnity, China was to pay 200 million Kuping taels in eight instalments with interest at the rate of 5 per cent. on the unpaid instalments. The commercial concessions included the admission of ships under the Japanese flag to the different rivers and lakes of China, and the appointment of consuls. The text of the treaty is given in the Appendix, and it is unnecessary to enlarge on its provisions.

The terms of peace imposed on China were certainly onerous, but considering the completeness of the Japanese triumph they could not be termed excessive. If they had not seriously disturbed the balance of power in the Far East they would no doubt have been allowed to stand, as no Government was disposed to take up the cause of China

from disinterested motives. The British Government, with the largest commercial stake in the question, was by no means inclined to fetter the Japanese when they placed freedom of trade at the head of their programme. It wished China to be opened to external and beneficial influences, and that was exactly what the Japanese proposed to do. Moreover, Japan had shown throughout the war every wish to consider British views, and to respect their interests. Shanghai, in the first place, and the Yangtse Valley afterwards, were ruled outside the sphere of military operations. The identity of interests between England and Japan was clear to the most ordinary intelligence, and certainly the British Government was not the one that would seek to fetter the legitimate and beneficial expansion of the bold islanders of the Far East.

But other Powers did not regard the matter from the same point of view, and Russia saw in the appearance of the Japanese on the Pacific freeboard a spectre for the future. The Russian Government could not tolerate the presence of the Japanese on the mainland, and especially in a position which enabled them to command Peking. They therefore resorted to a diplomatic move unprecedented in the East, and which furnished evidence of how closely European affairs were reacting on Asia. The then unwritten alliance between France and Russia was turned into a formal arrangement for the achievement of definite ends, and the powerful co-operation of Germany was secured for the attainment of the same object, viz. the arrest of Japan in her hour of triumph. This movement was destined to produce the most pregnant consequences, some of which are not yet revealed, but for the moment it signified that a Triple Alliance had superseded Great Britain in the leading *rôle* she had filled in the Far East since the Treaty of Nanking.

The ink was scarcely dry on the Treaty of Shimonoseki when Japan found herself confronted by the Three Powers, with a demand couched in polite language to waive that part of the Treaty which provided for the surrender of Port Arthur and the Leaoutung peninsula. The demand was clearly one that could not be rejected without war, and Japan could have

no possible chance in coping with an alliance so formidable on land and sea. Japan gave way with a good grace, and negotiations followed which resulted in the resignation of her claim to the Leaoutung peninsula in return for an increase of the indemnity by the sum of six millions sterling. Wei Hai Wei was to be retained as bail, pending the payment of the indemnity; and the final payment in May, 1898, has released all Chinese territory on the mainland from the hands of the victors in the war of 1894-5. It will be seen that the question did not end here, but for the time being Japan's benefit from the war with China was a large indemnity, and the acquisition of the islands of Formosa and the Pescadores. The value of the latter possessions is, to say the least, doubtful, and time will have to establish it; but the indemnity has enabled Japan to purchase the new men-of-war and torpedo boats that will make her a Power at sea with which the strongest must reckon.

The Chinese rejoiced in the recovery of Leaoutung, which they represented, and perhaps believed, to be the disinterested act of the Three Powers. They thought nothing of the six millions they had paid away, and everything of the fact that the Japanese had been expelled from the position they had secured in the neighbourhood of their capital. For twelve months they seem to have indulged the hope that the assistance had been given out of disinterested motives, and that such concessions as Russia in particular might demand towards the construction of railways in Northern Asia, would fall very far short of the loss and injury inflicted by the continued presence of the Japanese in Leaoutung. For that period Russia was China's best friend, and France and Germany were content to wait on her convenience before presenting their little bills for payment at Peking. This brief respite soon expired, and the period of hope gave place to the reality that Governments, like individuals, are never altogether disinterested in their actions.

At the moment of the negotiations which resulted in the liberation of Leaoutung, Russia was represented at Peking by Count Cassini, while the direction of her foreign policy was in the able hands of Prince Lobanow. The new and youthful

Emperor Nicholas had travelled in the Far East, and had come back with strong impressions on the subject of the importance of expanding his Empire in regions where trade and mineral wealth promised to reward his energy. Under his auspices the policy of Russia has taken an Eastern direction, and the events of the Chino-Japanese war were calculated to give it a specially rapid development. While the sovereign of Russia was personally keen on the extension of his power in the direction of the Pacific, it so happened that he possessed the very men most capable of advancing the objects he had at heart. On Count Cassini devolved in the first place the task of bringing the Chinese authorities round to the view that because Russia had recovered Leaou-tung she was the only sincere friend China possessed, and that by her continued support alone could China hope to be preserved from the dangers by which she was surrounded.

The details of the secret negotiations and private understandings between Count Cassini and the Chinese officials with whom he did business are never likely to be known. It seems probable, however, that at the moment of signing the treaty of Shimonoseki, Li Hung Chang had some good grounds for believing that the clause relating to the Leaou-tung promontory would never be enforced. If, as is probable, he knew that Russia had decided to intervene, he also knew that her intervention would not be gratuitous. The exact form of the payment was probably not decided, but that payment would have to be made in some form or other cannot have been a matter of doubt. The subject formed the one topic of discussion during the autumn and winter of 1895. It would have advanced more rapidly but for one circumstance, and that was the exclusion of Li Hung Chang from office, for the Emperor of China had steadily refused to restore him to the substantive posts he had held in the administration, and he was consequently without the authority to conclude any definite arrangements. The situation was therefore controlled by two separate but closely connected issues. The first was the return of Li Hung Chang to power, and the second the making of adequate concessions to Russia in return for her intervention.

When in the spring of 1896 it became necessary for China to nominate a special Ambassador to attend the Coronation of the Emperor at Moscow, the Chinese ruler nominated as his representative his Minister at the Russian capital, and what is still more noteworthy by the light of subsequent events, the Russian Government expressed its approbation of the appointment. When, however, the news reached Peking, it was seen that if this arrangement were carried out, the return of Li Hung Chang to power might be regarded as indefinitely postponed. An unexpected turn was given to the question by the Russian Minister announcing that China would not be adequately represented at Moscow on such a memorable occasion as the Imperial Coronation, except by her most prominent and best-known official, Li Hung Chang. These representations, supported by the full weight of the Empress Dowager, produced their due effect, and Li Hung Chang was duly appointed Ambassador for the occasion. It soon became clear why this arrangement had been carried out. Before Li Hung Chang left China, he and Count Cassini had drawn up the heads of a Convention, and on his arrival at Moscow, he signed either there, or at St. Petersburg, a treaty which embodied the terms of payment to which Russia was entitled for her services. The statement as to the existence of this secret treaty has sometimes been traversed, but with every inducement to do so, and in the face of repeated challenges, no contradiction has ever been made with authority, and more recently such information has been obtained as to render any contradiction impossible.

The fact is therefore established that immediately after the rescue of Leaoutung, Russia took steps to obtain an equivalent from the embarrassed country she had rescued from her victorious adversary. She not only took the steps, but these, by the co-operation of Li Hung Chang, were crowned with success. The secret treaty gave Russia the control of that very Leaoutung peninsula which she had nominally saved at the cost to China of six millions sterling. In plain words, Russia had induced China to pay this money for the benefit of herself. We are too near the occurrence of

these events to characterize them as they deserve without incurring a suspicion of partisanship, but at the right season history will know how to designate the course of Russia's so-called friendly policy towards China. It is unnecessary to lay stress on the other stipulations of the arrangements of 1895-6. They provided before everything, and in the first place, for the possession by Russia of Port Arthur and Talienwan. There is every reason to believe that Kiaochow was also to be assigned for the shelter of the Russian fleet, and the justification for these measures was, that the great ruler of Russia had taken China under his protection. A period of eighteen months elapsed before the full practical significance of these arrangements became evident, and in that period the evidence accumulated as to the need in which China stood of protection, and as to the continuance of the incapacity which had resulted in her downfall during the struggle with Japan.

Li Hung Chang came to Europe in the first place as Special Ambassador for the Imperial Coronation at Moscow ; but his tour was extended, in a more or less accredited manner, to the other countries of the West. There was a prevalent and natural curiosity on the part of Europeans to see China's great man, the only visible embodiment of her rule, and this sentiment explained the demonstrativeness of the reception Li Hung Chang received in Berlin, Brussels, Paris, and London. The results of his tour were, however, none, because he had no authority to conduct, much less to conclude negotiations, and because all his efforts failed to obtain his restoration to the Viceroyship of Pechihli. On his return to China from Europe he found his position at Court, so far at least as his relations with the Emperor were concerned, no whit better than after his return from Shimono-seki. In order to obtain for him the requisite authority to fulfil the conditions of the arrangement with Russia, it was necessary to commence intrigues for the restitution of his rank and offices to Li Hung Chang, whose position was now confined to the honorary post of Grand Secretary. Despite the support of the Empress Dowager, whom Li Hung Chang regarded as "his Imperial Mistress," to the exclusion of the

reigning sovereign, the success of these measures was not rapid. Li Hung Chang was restored to a seat on the Tsungli Yamen ; but he was bitterly opposed by Prince Kung, the Emperor's uncle, and for twelve months it seemed as if his influence would never revive.

During this period of rather more than two years between the Treaty of Shimonoseki and the German occupation of Kiaochao, the Chinese did nothing to improve their position or to strengthen the defences of the country. A series of loans were issued to pay off the Japanese, and the balance left was used for the purchase of new ships and torpedo boats. The services of an English naval officer, Captain Dundas, have been engaged with the view of resuming the task that Captain Lang so admirably performed. It is said that Russia has supplied a certain number of officers for the training of the Manchurian garrison ; but that measure, far from contributing towards the security of China, will only facilitate the process of absorption which Russia has begun. In Central and Southern China some tentative measures at military reform have been made, but the dismissal of the German officers employed at Nankin concluded those in the former region, while at Canton and on the southern frontier where Marshal Sou seems to have established cordial relations with his French neighbours, no steps whatever have yet been taken to introduce military discipline among the raw braves of the provincial garrisons. The same complete absence of result is apparent with regard to the civil and fiscal administration as is the case in the military. No reform whatever has been attempted, and to the very men who led China into disaster has been left the task of regenerating her. That simple fact explains why the last respite accorded China has proved so barren. In face of far graver perils than those that beset her in the short struggle with Japan, she finds herself with diminished fiscal resources, without an army or a navy, and, above all, without a clear policy or a leader, exposed to the attacks and encroachments of the greatest Powers and the most aggressive nations of the world. In her old age, with the remains of strength still evident and only awaiting the directing hand of a reformer, the

picture the Chinese Empire presents would be piteous if all those who regard it were not engrossed in the designs prompted by self-interest. But for the moment China lies on the sea of time like a rudderless and mastless vessel awaiting the decree of Fate or the advent of a deliverer.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

THE German occupation of Kiaochao, the important port and natural naval station on the southern side of the extreme promontory of the province of Shantung, marks the parting of the ways in China. It may be considered as commencing the dismemberment of China on the one hand, and as forming the termination of the policies previously followed by each of the Great Powers and trading nations on the other. Germany was the first to lay her hands on a portion of Chinese territory since the Japanese war, and it must be admitted that she acted with excellent judgment in that she secured probably the very finest position for a naval station and arsenal round the coast of China. Kiaochao was coveted by Russia, and in the Cassini Convention its name was mentioned as devolving on her at the right moment for occupation. Considering this fact and the close and cordial relations between the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg, it is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that Russia expressed her approbation of Germany's proceeding to effect the temporary occupation of the place to which she herself had established a prior claim. The supposition that Germany would attempt to do anything in the Far East displeasing to her neighbour on the Vistula is as impossible of belief as that Russia would acquiesce in the loss of a possession of which she had made sure. The assumption of an understanding between the German Emperor and the Russian Czar on the subject of China is the only theory on which the events of the winter of 1897-8 can be explained.

If that theory, and it is the only plausible theory that has yet been put forward, is adopted, a key is provided for the elucidation of recent events of which every person can at his own inclination make use. In the Far East we are then bound to recognize the working out of a concerted policy that was not adopted without thought, and that was set in motion for other than British or universal purposes. For the present juncture Russia and Germany are acting in concert, and as Russia signifies France as well, this means that the triple alliance which was formed against Japan has been revived for the ulterior ends of its component members.

In November, 1897, two German men-of-war entered the harbour of Kiaochao, and ordered the Commandant to evacuate the place in reparation for the murder of two German missionaries in the Province of Shantung. They gave him 48 hours within which to obey, and he telegraphed to Peking for instructions. The Tsungli Yamen replied to the effect that he was to offer no resistance. The German seizure of Kiaochao was thus effected without loss or difficulty, and it was also remarkable for having been made without any preliminary notice or warning to the Chinese Government. Having taken possession of Kiaochao, the German Government then announced the terms on which it would consent to evacuate it. Four of the clauses related to the reparation demanded by the outrage on the missionaries, and were not open to exception; but the fifth claimed for Germany the right to construct all railways and to work any mines in the province of Shantung. The significance of this demand lay in the fact that it arbitrarily defined a sphere of influence for Germany in China on similar lines to those adopted in Africa. The Chinese, not wholly lost to a sense of their dignity if ignorant of their power, refused to discuss the matter until Kiaochao was evacuated, and Li Hung Chang appealed to the Russian representative at Peking.

The German occupation of Kiaochao having reopened the question of the Far East, it is not surprising that Russia at once put forward her claim to compensation in a port free from ice on the Pacific. In December the Russian Government announced that the Chinese had given them permission

to winter their fleet at Port Arthur, and in making this communication to Japan, the words used were that Port Arthur was lent "only temporarily as a winter anchorage." The Japanese reply was terse and dignified. They "credited" the statement and took note of it. In this manner Russia acquired the practical recognition of her hold on Port Arthur, but in the first instance she represented, as Germany did at Kiaochao, that her occupation was not final, and that she had only temporary objects in view. One month more gave a fresh turn to the question. Kiaochao was surrendered by China to Germany on a lease of ninety-nine years. Germany thus revealed her game. Russia carried hers one point further by adding Talienwan to Port Arthur, but in the first instance accompanying it by a declaration, to disarm hostile criticism, to the effect that "any port would be open to the ships of all the Great Powers, like other ports on the China mainland." Having made this promise, Russia proceeded to qualify and minimize it until practically nothing was left except the substantial fact of Russian possession. One month further of ambiguity and diplomatic fence followed, and then Russia announced that she must hold Port Arthur and Talienwan on the same terms as Germany held Kiaochao. The reason given for this demand was the curious one that their possession was essential to the proper defence of Manchuria against aggressive Powers, while in Europe no disguise was made in the matter of the fact that Russia had determined to secure these places as giving her the ice-free port to which she was entitled on the Pacific. On 27th March, 1898, a convention was signed at Peking, giving the Russians the usufruct of Port Arthur and Talienwan. The use of the word "usufruct" gave the pundits an opportunity of displaying their knowledge, but its meaning in this instance was clear and simple. It signified that, whereas Germany had secured Kiaochao for ninety-nine years, Russia had obtained Port Arthur and Talienwan without conditions and for ever.

Germany and Russia having done so well at the expense of China, it followed that France would not be content to go away empty-handed, and she accordingly put forward her claim to compensation, and, by the aid of Russia's friendly

co-operation, obtained possession of the port of Kwang-chau-fu, which is the best outlet to the sea of the southern province of Kwangsi. Some surprise was felt at the moderation of the French demand, as it was generally assumed that France had cast her eyes on Hainan, but perhaps her experience of island colonies was such as to deter her from embarking on a new venture like that of Madagascar. Of Hainan itself it may be said that, although its transfer from Chinese to European hands would not be difficult, its conquest from the aboriginal tribes might be attended with greater loss and trouble. At the same time that France obtained Kwang-chau-fu, she reiterated her claim, previously advanced by M. Gerard in 1895, to a prior right to control the future of the province of Yunnan. The claim in itself is neither more nor less natural than that put forward by Germany in Shantung, to which the British Government has so hastily expressed its compliance, but the legitimate development of British Burmah is incompatible with the pretensions that France has successfully advanced with the Tsungli Yamen.

When Germany, Russia, and France had made these successive moves, the British Government found itself compelled to take a corresponding step. It began by declaring that, whatever rights other Powers obtained in China, it should equally enjoy them by virtue of the most favoured nation clause in the Treaties with China. This was the principle of "the open door." Morally and theoretically it was perfectly sound and unassailable, but it could only have been vindicated on this occasion by the hazard and perhaps the certainty of war with Russia and France, and perhaps Germany as well. Perhaps the moment for taking that great risk in the Far East has not quite arrived, and it is only on that assumption that Lord Salisbury's policy will escape unanimous condemnation. It may at least be declared that at the moment of Russia's extreme action, Japan, our only probable ally, was not quite ready to embark on a great war. She had still to receive twelve millions of the war indemnity, and two years must elapse before she will obtain all the war vessels she has ordered to be constructed in foreign and principally British dockyards. If, then, we may assume that Japan desired the

struggle for mastery in the Far East to be postponed until she was ready to take a more prominent part in it, then an excuse is available for the more lenient judgment of British policy. There is at least something to be said in favour of a course which met the wishes of an ally.

Having found the policy of maintaining the strict letter of treaty rights in China impossible, the British Government turned its attention to obtaining some similar right to that acquired by Russia and by Germany. Sir Claude Macdonald, British Minister at Peking, discovered that the Chinese were not averse to letting us have Wei Hai Wei, and although the idea was repelled when first made, Lord Salisbury decided that its occupation was the only available means we possessed of answering Russia's seizure of Port Arthur. Accordingly Wei Hai Wei, the port on the northern coast of Shantung, was assigned to Great Britain on precisely the same terms as Port Arthur had been to Russia, and the date of occupation was fixed at the period when the Japanese should evacuate the place. Wei Hai Wei might undoubtedly be made a naval station of the first importance if a large sum were expended on its defences, but it would also require a large garrison, because the harbour and docks and island forts are completely commanded from the hills on the mainland. It will be remembered that during the siege Admiral Ting would have been compelled to make an immediate surrender if he had not landed and spiked the guns in the shore batteries. The occupation of Wei Hai Wei in itself is valueless, except as a demonstration that in the last resort a British Government may be driven to do something. At present it forms no part of the Government plan to spend two or three millions on a place which has no commercial value, and the British army cannot spare ten thousand men, or half that number, for a permanent garrison on the Gulf of Pechihli. The only possible use of Wei Hai Wei would be if we were to take in hand the training of a Chinese contingent, and to make Wei Hai Wei the base for such an interesting attempt. Then indeed might our occupation of Wei Hai Wei be made the starting-point of a serious and systematic attempt to save China.

There remains to describe briefly the part Japan has taken in the whole question. It has been marked by great reticence, reserve, and dignity. Japan has received the assurances of Russia without comment and with a brief declaration that she took note of them and believed them. She has secured the remainder of her money from China, and she will be able to complete her purchases in foreign dockyards. Her military reforms are also in progress, and the time is not remote when she will be able to place her half-million of trained soldiers on the continent of Asia. Japan has something to wait for. Every year sees her stronger and better able to assert her claims on the mainland. In the mean time she has obtained increased freedom of action in Corea. Russia, as far as she ever takes such a course, has waived her claims in that state. At the least Japan can count on being unfettered while she builds the railway from the port of Chemulpo to the capital of Seoul, and that may count for much in the future. While the European Powers have been very active in securing what they wanted and in defining their spheres of action, Japan has not, from a practical point of view, been indifferent. She is preparing for eventualities, not by useless protest or idle bluster, but by keeping her own counsel and developing her power.

Such is the existing position in the Far East. Russia, Germany, and France, acting on identical lines, have appropriated certain places and ports of China. They have each defined their positions without any reference to any outside authority, except perhaps to one another. Each has wrested from the helpless Government at Peking privileges or monopolies for specific tasks. Russia has secured the outlet for her railway across Siberia, Mongolia, and Manchuria, and the naval station free of ice for her Pacific squadron. Germany has appropriated the mineral-bearing province of Shantung, and Great Britain has gone out of her way to say she will not interfere with her projects. France is laying the basis of an Imperial sway in Southern China, and threatening to bar the road of Anglo-India to the Yang-tse-kiang. Japan has momentarily retired from the scene, but only, it cannot be doubted, to husband and collect her energies for a fresh and greater effort.

Great Britain has secured an isolated position valueless without a large expenditure and an active policy. There is too little reason to suppose that either one or the other will be sanctioned or displayed. She has, on the other hand, obtained a promise that the post of Inspector-General of Customs, so long occupied with remarkable ability and address by Sir Robert Hart, shall always be held by an Englishman. The value of that promise depends on the life of the Peking Government. It will obviously not possess much value when Peking holds a Russian garrison, and when the occupant of the Dragon Throne is the vassal of St. Petersburg. To give it tangible significance it is necessary with as little delay as possible to obtain the removal of the Imperial Customs Department from Peking to Shanghai, where it would be secure against arbitrary interference or perhaps even complete supersession. The reservation of the Yangtse valley as a sphere in which England will not tolerate interference is a matter that depends not on the pledges of Peking, but on the naval power of this country.

The division of the Chinese Empire into what practically amounts to spheres of influence implies that it is moribund, and that the Manchu dynasty which has been in existence for 250 years approaches the term of its power. The assumption may prove correct, for it is difficult to discover in any section of Chinese society the public spirit and the patriotism needed to deliver a country from great perils and a nation from being conquered. If the Chinese realized their position there would be ground for hope; but so far as can be judged, there is not a public man in China who perceives that the State is on the verge of dissolution, and that nothing short of the most strenuous exertion will avail to save not the dynasty but the country from death.

The question which the British people more than their Government have to decide is whether they will stand aside and leave China to its fate, securing as best they can in the international scramble their material interests. They have at the present moment the choice of two courses. They can throw themselves with all their power and energy into the task of developing the Yangtse region, and of assisting the

Chinese to form a new administration and a new army at Nankin. If this course is followed the new China created by our efforts in the populous and wealthy provinces of the Middle Kingdom will be equal to the task of expelling the Russians, if need be, from the northern provinces. The Manchu dynasty, unworthy of its position, will have passed away, but the germs of a worthier administration will have been discovered. To carry out this project requires men and an approving Government. The former we have, but to secure a start the goodwill of the Foreign Office and of the Consular authorities is essential. Will it be forthcoming? The timid will tell us that it is only beginning the conquest of China ourselves in disguise, but if we recoil from the enterprise from fear of its magnitude we shall do nothing until the season for wise and profitable action has been lost, and we shall be outstripped in the race.

The other course open to us is to continue indefinitely the idle and useless warfare of diplomatic fence that has been exhibited during the winter of 1897-8. This system is the one favoured by senility and cowardice. It is marked by three regular periods. In the first, we lay down the most admirable and noble principles; in the second, we protest when we see them broken in the most flagrant and brazen manner; in the third, we accept meaningless and fleeting assurances, and imitate the very action that we began by censuring. A continuance in that path must end in the loss of our power, the destruction of our reputation, and the passing of "the great name of England" into a by-word among the nations.

THE END.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Dynasty.	Emperor.	Year	Year	Length
		of Accession.	of Death, etc.	of Reign.
		B.C.	B.C.	
Semi-Mythical Period	Hwangti . . .	2637	2577	60
	Chaohow . . .	2577	2457	120
	Chwenhio . . .	2457	2397	60
	Tikou . . .	2397	2366	31
	Tichi . . .	2366	2357	9
	Yao . . .	2357	2257	100
	Chun, associated with Yao . . .	2285		(reigned in all)
	Chun . . .	2257	2208	77
Yu, associated with Chun . . .	2224		(in all)	
	Yu . . .	2208	2197	27
The Hia	Tiki . . .	2197	2188	9
	Taikang . . .	2188	2159	29
	Chungkang } . . .	2159	2118	41
	Siang } . . .	2146	2118	28
	Chaokang . . .	2118	2057	61
	Chou . . .	2057	2040	17
	Hoai . . .	2040	2014	26
	Mang . . .	2014	1996	18
	Lie . . .	1996	1980	16
	Poukiang . . .	1980	1921	59
	Kiung . . .	1921	1900	21
	Kin . . .	1900	1879	21
	Kungkia . . .	1879	1848	31
	Kao . . .	1848	1837	11
	Fa . . .	1837	1818	19
	Kia . . .	1818	1776	42
The Chang	Ching Tang . . .	1776	1753	23
	Taikia . . .	1753	1720	33
	Wouting . . .	1720	1691	29
	Taikeng . . .	1691	1666	25
	Siaokia . . .	1666	1649	17
	Yungki . . .	1649	1637	12
	Taiwou . . .	1637	1562	75
	Chungting . . .	1562	1549	13

Dynasty.	Emperor.	Year	Year	Length of Reign.	
		of Accession, B.C.	of Death, etc. B.C.		
The Chang	Waijen	1549	1534	15	
	Hotankia	1534	1525	9	
	Tsouy	1525	1506	19	
	Tsousin	1506	1490	16	
	Woukia	1490	1465	25	
	Tsouting	1465	1433	32	
	Nankeng	1433	1408	25	
	Yangkia	1408	1401	7	
	Pankeng	1401	1373	28	
	Siaosin	1373	1352	21	
	Siaoy	1352	1324	28	
	Wouting	1324	1265	59	
	Tsoukeng	1265	1258	7	
	Tsoukia	1258	1225	33	
	Linsin	1225	1219	6	
	Kengting	1219	1198	21	
	Wouy	1198	1194	4	
	Taiting	1194	1191	3	
	Tiy	1191	1154	37	
	Chousin	1154	1122	32	
	The Chow	Wou Wang	1122	1115	7
		Ching Wang	1115	1078	37
		Kang Wang	1078	1052	26
Chao Wang		1052	1001	51	
Mou Wang		1001	946	55	
Kung Wang		946	934	12	
Y Wang		934	909	25	
Hiao Wang		909	894	15	
I Wang		894	878	16	
Li Wang		878	827	51	
Suan Wang		827	781	46	
Yeou Wang		781	770	11	
Ping Wang		770	719	51	
Hing Wang		719	696	23	
Chwang Wang		696	681	15	
Li Wang		681	676	5	
Hwei Wang		676	651	25	
Siang Wang		651	618	33	
King Wang		618	612	6	
Kwang Wang		612	606	6	
Ting Wang		606	585	21	
Kien Wang		585	571	14	
Ling Wang		571	544	27	
King Wang II.		544	519	25	
King Wang III.		519	475	44	
Youan Wang		475	468	7	
Chingting Wang		468	440	28	
Kao Wang	440	425	15		

Dynasty.	Emperor.	Year	Year	Length of Reign.
		of Accession. B.C.	of Death, etc. B.C.	
The Chow	Weili Wang	425	401	24
	Gan Wang	401	375	26
	Lie Wang	375	368	7
	Hien Wang	368	320	48
	Chintsen Wang	320	314	6
	Nan Wang	314	255	59
The Tsin	Chow Siang	255	250	5
	Hiao Wang	250	249	1
	Chwang Siang Wang	249	246	3
	Wang Ching	246	221	25
	Tsin Chi Hoangti	221	209	12
	Eulchi Hoangti	209	206	3
	Tsoupa Wang	206	202	4
	Kaotsou	202	194	8
	Hiao Hweiti	194	187	7
	Kaohwang	187	179	8
The Han	(Regency of Em- press Liuchi.)			
	Wenti	179	156	23
	Kingti	156	140	16
	Vouti	140	86	54
	Chaoti	86	73	13
	Hiuenti	73	48	25
	Yuenti	48	32	16
	Chingti	32	6	26
	Gaiti	6	A.D. 1	7
	Pingti	A.D. 1	6	5
	Usurper, Wang Mang	6	23	17
	Ti Yuen	23	25	2
	Kwang Vouti	25	58	23
	Mingti	58	76	18
	Changti	76	89	13
	Hoti	89	106	17
	Changti II.	106	107	1
	Ganti	107	126	19
	Chunti	126	145	19
	Chungti	145	146	1
	Chiti	146	147	1
	Hiuenti	147	168	21
Lingti	168	190	22	
Hienti	190	220	30	
The Period of the Sankoue, or Three Kingdoms	{ Various minor Princes of Wei and the two Hans }	from 220 to 265		45

Dynasty.	Emperor.	Year	Year	Length of Reign.
		of Accession. A.D.	of Death, etc. A.D.	
The Later Tsin	Vouti	265	290	25
	Hweiti	290	307	17
	Hoaiti	307	313	6
	Mingti	313	317	4
	Yuanti	317	323	6
	Mingti	323	326	3
	Chingti	326	343	17
	Kangti	343	345	2
	Mouti	345	362	17
	Gaiti	362	366	4
	Tiy	366	371	5
	Kian Wenti	371	373	2
	Hiao Vouti	373	397	24
	Ganti	397	419	22
	Kungti	419	420	1
The Song	Vouti	420	423	3
	Ying Wang	423	424	1
	Wenti	424	454	30
	Vouti	454	465	11
	Mingti	465	473	8
	Gou Wang	473	477	4
	Chunti	477	479	2
The Tsi	Kaoti	479	483	4
	Vouti	483	494	11
	Mingti	494	499	5
	Paokwen	499	501	2
	Hoti	501	502	1
The Leang	Vouti	502	550	48
	Wenti	550	552	2
	Yuenti	552	555	3
	Kingti	555	556	1
The Chin	Vouti	556	564	8
	Wenti	564	567	3
	Petsong	567	569	2
	Suenti	569	580	11
The Soui	Wenti	580	601	21
	Vouti	601	605	4
	Yangti	605	617	12
	Kungti	617	618	1
The Tang	Kaotsou	618	627	9
	Taitsong	627	650	23
	Kaotsong	650	684	34
	Chungtsong	684	710	26
	Jouitsong	710	712	2
	Mingti	712	756	44
	Soutsung	756	763	7
	Taitsong II.	763	780	17
	Tetsong	780	805	25

Dynasty.	Emperor.	Year	Year	Length of Reign.	
		of Accession. A.D.	of Death, etc. A.D.		
The Tang	Chuntsung . . .	805	806	1	
	Hientsung . . .	806	821	15	
	Moutsung . . .	821	825	4	
	Kingsung . . .	825	827	2	
	Wentsung . . .	827	841	14	
	Woutsung . . .	841	847	6	
	Hiuntsung . . .	847	860	13	
	Ytsung . . .	860	874	14	
	Hitsung . . .	874	889	15	
	Chaotsung . . .	889	905	16	
	Chao Hiuenti . . .	905	907	2	
Five small Dynasties.	The Later Leangs (1)	Taitsou . . .	907	913	6
		Chouching . . .	913	915	2
		Ching . . .	915	923	8
The Later Tangs (2).	Chwangtsung . . .	923	926	3	
	Mingsung . . .	926	934	8	
	Minti . . .	934	934	} a few months.	
	Lou Wang . . .	934	936		2
The Later Tsin (3)	Kaotsou . . .	936	943	7	
	Tsi Wang . . .	943	947	4	
The Later Han (4)	Kaotsou . . .	947	948	1	
	Ynti . . .	948	951	3	
The Later Chow (5)	Taitsou . . .	951	954	3	
	Chitsong . . .	954	960	6	
The Sung.	Taitsou . . .	960	976	16	
	Taitsong . . .	976	998	22	
	Chintsong I. . .	998	1023	25	
	Jintsong . . .	1023	1064	41	
	Yngtsong . . .	1064	1068	4	
	Chintsong II. . .	1068	1086	18	
	Chitsong . . .	1086	1101	15	
	Hweitsong . . .	1101	1126	25	
	Kingsong . . .	1126	1127	1	
	Kaotsong . . .	1127	1163	36	
	Hiaotsong . . .	1163	1190	27	
	Kwangtsong . . .	1190	1195	5	
	Ningsong . . .	1195	1225	30	
	Litsong . . .	1225	1265	40	
	Toutsong . . .	1265	1275	10	
Tihien . . .	1275	1276	1		
Touantsong . . .	1276	1278	2		
Tiping . . .	1278	1279	1		
Taitsou . . .	1115	1123	8		
Taitsong . . .	1123	1135	12		
Hitsong . . .	1135	1149	14		
Chuliang . . .	1149	1161	12		

In 1115 the Kin Dynasty began to rule in Northern China concurrently with the Sung in Southern. For list of Rulers see further on.

Dynasty.	Emperor.	Year	Year	Length of Reign.	
		of Accession. A.D.	of Death, etc. A.D.		
The Kin	Chitsong	1161	1190	29	
	Changtsong	1190	1209	19	
	Choo Yungki	1209	1213	4	
	Hiuentsong	1213	1224	11	
	Gaitsong	1224	1234	10	
The Mongol or Yuen	Chitsou (Kublai Khan)	1260	1295	35	
	Chingsong	1295	1308	13	
	Woutsong	1308	1312	4	
	Jintsong	1312	1321	9	
	Yngtsong	1321	1324	3	
	Taitingti	1324	1328	4	
	Wentsong	1328	1333	5	
	Chunti	1333	1368	35	
	The Ming	Hongwou	1368	1398	30
		Kien Wenti	1398	1403	5
Yonglo		1403	1425	22	
Gintsong		1425	1426	1	
Suentsong		1426	1435	9	
Yngtsong		1435	1450	15	
Chinwang or Kingti		1450	1458	8	
Yngtsong (re- stored)		1458	1465	7	
Hientsong		1465	1488	23	
Hiaotsong		1488	1506	18	
Woutsong		1506	1522	16	
Chitsong		1522	1567	45	
Moutsong		1567	1573	6	
Wanleh		1573	1620	47	
Kwantsong		1620	1621	1	
Chiti	1621	1624	3		
Hitsong	1624	1628	4		
Hoaitsong	1628	1644	16		
The Manchu or Tai- tsing (still ruling)	Chuntche or Chitsou	1644	1661	17	
	Kanghi	1661	1722	61	
	Yung Ching	1722	1735	13	
	Keen Lung	1735	{ 1796 abdctd. 1799 died. }	61	
	Kiaking	1796	1821	25	
	Taoukwang	1821	1850	29	
	Hienfung	1850	1861	11	
	Tungche	1861	1875	14	
	Kwangsu	1875	still reigning.		

APPENDIX.

Treaty between Her Majesty and the Emperor of China, signed, in the English and Chinese Languages, at Nanking, August 29, 1842. (Ratifications exchanged at Hong Kong, June 26, 1843.)

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, being desirous of putting an end to the misunderstandings and consequent hostilities which have arisen between the two countries, have resolved to conclude a Treaty for that purpose, and have therefore named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say :

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., a Major-General in the employ of the East India Company, etc. ;

And His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China, the High Commissioners Keying, a Member of the Imperial House, a Guardian of the Crown Prince, and General of the garrison of Canton ; and Elepoo, of the Imperial Kindred, graciously permitted to wear the insignia of the first rank, and the distinction of a peacock's feather, lately Minister and Governor-General, etc., and now Lieutenant-General commanding at Chapoo ;*

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles :—

ARTICLE I.

There shall henceforward be Peace and Friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and His Majesty the Emperor of China, and between their respective subjects, who shall enjoy full security and protection for their persons and property within the dominions of the other.

* Although only two Chinese Plenipotentiaries are here named, the Treaty was in fact signed by three.

ARTICLE II.

His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees, that British subjects, with their families and establishments, shall be allowed to reside, for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint, at the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foo-chow-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai; and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., will appoint Superintendents, or Consular officers, to reside at each of the above-named cities or towns, to be the medium of communication between the Chinese authorities and the said merchants, and to see that the just duties and other dues of the Chinese Government, as hereafter provided for, are duly discharged by Her Britannic Majesty's subjects.

ARTICLE III.

It being obviously necessary and desirable that British subjects should have some port whereat they may careen and refit their ships when required, and keep stores for that purpose, His Majesty the Emperor of China cedes to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., the Island of Hong Kong, to be possessed in perpetuity by Her Britannic Majesty, her heirs and successors, and to be governed by such laws and regulations as Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., shall see fit to direct.

ARTICLE IV.

The Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of six millions of dollars, as the value of the opium which was delivered up at Canton in the month of March, 1839, as a ransom for the lives of Her Britannic Majesty's Superintendent and subjects, who had been imprisoned and threatened with death by the Chinese high officers.

ARTICLE V.

The Government of China having compelled the British merchants trading at Canton to deal exclusively with certain Chinese merchants, called Hong Merchants (or Co-Hong), who had been licensed by the Chinese Government for that purpose, the Emperor of China agrees to abolish that practice in future at all ports where British merchants may reside, and to permit them to carry on their mercantile transactions with whatever persons they please; and His Imperial Majesty further agrees to pay to the British Government the sum of three millions of dollars, on account of debts due to British subjects by some of the said Hong merchants, or Co-Hong, who have become insolvent, and who owe very large sums of money to subjects of Her Britannic Majesty.

ARTICLE VI.

The Government of Her Britannic Majesty having been obliged to send out an expedition to demand and obtain redress for the violent and unjust proceedings of the Chinese high authorities towards Her Britannic Majesty's Officer and subjects, the Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of twelve millions of dollars, on account of the expenses incurred; and Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiary voluntarily agrees, on behalf of Her Majesty, to deduct from the said amount of twelve millions of dollars, any sums which may have been received by Her Majesty's combined forces, as ransom for cities and towns in China, subsequent to the 1st day of August, 1841.

ARTICLE VII.

It is agreed, that the total amount of twenty-one millions of dollars, described in the three preceding Articles, shall be paid as follows:—

Six millions immediately.

Six millions in 1843; that is, three millions on or before the 30th of the month of June, and three millions on or before the 31st of December.

Five millions in 1844; that is, two millions and a half on or before the 30th of June, and two millions and a half on or before the 31st of December.

Four millions in 1845; that is, two millions on or before the 30th of June, and two millions on or before the 31st of December.

And it is further stipulated, that interest, at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, shall be paid by the Government of China on any portion of the above sums that are not punctually discharged at the periods fixed.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Emperor of China agrees to release, unconditionally, all subjects of Her Britannic Majesty (whether natives of Europe or India), who may be in confinement at this moment in any part of the Chinese Empire.

ARTICLE IX.

The Emperor of China agrees to publish and promulgate, under His Imperial Sign Manual and Seal, a full and entire amnesty and act of indemnity to all subjects of China, on account of their having resided under, or having had dealings and intercourse with, or

having entered the service of, Her Britannic Majesty, or of Her Majesty's officers; and His Imperial Majesty further engages to release all Chinese subjects who may be at this moment in confinement for similar reasons.

ARTICLE X.

His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to establish at all the ports which are, by Article II. of this Treaty, to be thrown open for the resort of British merchants, a fair and regular tariff of export and import Customs and other dues, which Tariff shall be publicly notified and promulgated for general information; and the Emperor further engages, that when British merchandise shall have been once paid at any of the said ports the regulated customs and dues, agreeable to the Tariff to be hereafter fixed, such merchandise may be conveyed by Chinese merchants to any province or city in the interior of the Empire of China, on paying a further amount as transit duties, which shall not exceed * per cent. on the tariff value of such goods.

ARTICLE XI.

It is agreed that Her Britannic Majesty's Chief High Officer in China shall correspond with the Chinese High Officers, both at the capital and in the Provinces, under the term "communication"; the subordinate British Officers and Chinese High Officers in the Provinces, under the terms "statement" on the part of the former, and on the part of the latter, "declaration"; and the subordinates of both countries on a footing of perfect equality; merchants and others not holding official situations, and therefore not included in the above, on both sides, to use the term "representation" in all papers addressed to, or intended for the notice of, the respective Governments.

ARTICLE XII.

On the assent of the Emperor of China to this Treaty being received, and the discharge of the first instalment of money, Her Britannic Majesty's forces will retire from Nanking and the Grand Canal, and will no longer molest or stop the trade of China. The military post at Chinhai will also be withdrawn; but the Islands of Koolangsoo, and that of Chusan, will continue to be held by Her Majesty's forces until the money payments, and the arrangements for opening the ports to British merchants, be completed.

* See Declaration on this subject, which follows the Treaty.

ARTICLE XIII.

The ratification of this Treaty by Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, etc., and His Majesty the Emperor of China, shall be exchanged as soon as the great distance which separates England from China will admit; but in the mean time, counterpart copies of it, signed and sealed by the Plenipotentiaries on behalf of their respective Sovereigns, shall be mutually delivered, and all its provisions and arrangements shall take effect.

Done at Nanking, and signed and sealed by the Plenipotentiaries on board Her Majesty's ship *Cornwallis* this twenty-ninth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and forty-two; corresponding with the Chinese date, twenty-fourth day of the seventh month, in the twenty-second year of Taoukwang.

(L.S.)

HENRY POTTINGER,

Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary.

Seal of the Chinese High Commissioner.

Signature of 3rd Chinese Plenipotentiary.

Signature of 2nd Chinese Plenipotentiary.

Signature of 1st Chinese Plenipotentiary.

Supplementary Treaty between Her Majesty and the Emperor of China, signed at Hoomun-Chae, October 8, 1843.

WHEREAS a Treaty of perpetual Peace and Friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, was concluded at Nankin, and signed on board Her said Majesty's ship *Cornwallis* on the 29th day of August, A.D. 1842, corresponding with the Chinese date of the 24th day of the 7th month, of the 22nd year of Taoukwang, of which said Treaty of perpetual Peace and Friendship, the ratifications, under the respective Seals and Signs Manual of the Queen of Great Britain, etc., and the Emperor of China, were duly exchanged at Hong Kong on the 26th day of June, A.D. 1843, corresponding with the Chinese date the 29th day of the 5th month, in the 23rd year of Taoukwang; and whereas in the said Treaty it was provided (amongst other things), that the five ports of Canton, Foo-chow-foo, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai, should be thrown open for the resort and residence of British merchants, and that a fair and regular tariff of export and import duties, and other dues, should be established at such ports; and whereas various other matters of detail, connected with, and bearing relation to, the said Treaty of perpetual Peace and Friendship, have been since under

the mutual discussion and consideration of the Plenipotentiary and accredited Commissioners of the High Contracting Parties ; and the said tariff and details having been now finally examined into, adjusted, and agreed upon, it has been determined to arrange and record them in the form of a Supplementary Treaty of Articles, which Articles shall be held to be as binding, and of the same efficacy, as though they had been inserted in the original Treaty of perpetual Peace and Friendship.

ARTICLE I.

The Tariff of Export and Import Duties, which is hereunto attached, under the seals and signatures of the respective Plenipotentiary and Commissioners, shall henceforward be in force at the five ports of Canton, Foo-chow-foo, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai.

ARTICLE II.

The General Regulations of Trade, which are hereunto attached, under the seals and signatures of the Respective Plenipotentiary and Commissioners, shall henceforward be in force at the five aforementioned ports.

ARTICLE III.

All penalties enforced or confiscations made under the third clause of the said General Regulations of Trade, shall belong and be appropriated to the public service of the Government of China.

ARTICLE IV.

After the five ports of Canton, Foo-chow, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai, shall be thrown open, English merchants shall be allowed to trade only at those five ports. Neither shall they repair to any other ports or places, nor will the Chinese people at any other ports or places be permitted to trade with them. If English merchant-vessels shall, in contravention of this agreement, and of a Proclamation to the same purport, to be issued by the British Plenipotentiary, repair to any other ports or places, the Chinese Government officers shall be at liberty to seize and confiscate both vessels and cargoes ; and should Chinese people be discovered clandestinely dealing with English merchants at any other ports or places, they shall be punished by the Chinese Government in such manner as the law may direct.

ARTICLE V.

The fourth clause of the General Regulations of Trade, on the subject of commercial dealings and debts between English and

Chinese merchants, is to be clearly understood to be applicable to both parties.

ARTICLE VI.

It is agreed that English merchants and others residing at, or resorting to, the five ports to be opened, shall not go into the surrounding country beyond certain short distances to be named by the local authorities, in concert with the British Consul, and on no pretence for purposes of traffic. Seamen and persons belonging to the ships shall only be allowed to land under authority and rules which will be fixed by the Consul, in communication with the local officers; and should any persons whatever infringe the stipulations of this Article, and wander away into the country, they shall be seized and handed over to the British Consul for suitable punishment.

ARTICLE VII.

The Treaty of perpetual Peace and Friendship provides for British subjects and their families residing at the cities and towns of Canton, Foo-chow, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai, without molestation or restraint. It is accordingly determined that ground and houses, the rent or price of which is to be fairly and equitably arranged for, according to the rates prevailing amongst the people, without exaction on either side, shall be set apart by the local officers, in communication with the Consul, and the number of houses built, or rented, will be reported annually to the said local officers by the Consul, for the information of their respective Viceroy and Governors; but the number cannot be limited, seeing that it will be greater or less according to the resort of merchants.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Emperor of China having been graciously pleased to grant to all foreign countries whose subjects or citizens have hitherto traded at Canton, the privilege of resorting for purposes of trade to the other four ports of Foo-chow, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai, on the same terms as the English, it is further agreed, that should the Emperor hereafter, from any cause whatever, be pleased to grant additional privileges or immunities to any of the subjects or citizens of such foreign countries, the same privileges and immunities will be extended to, and enjoyed by, British subjects; but it is to be understood that demands or requests are not on this plea to be unnecessarily brought forward.

ARTICLE IX.

If lawless natives of China, having committed crimes or offences against their own Government, shall flee to Hong Kong, or to the English ships of war, or English merchant ships, for refuge, they shall, if discovered by the English officers, be handed over at once to the Chinese officers for trial and punishment; or if, before such discovery be made by the English officers, it should be ascertained or suspected by the officers of the Government of China, whither such criminals and offenders have fled, a communication shall be made to the proper English officer, in order that the said criminals and offenders may be rigidly searched for, seized, and, on proof or admission of their guilt, delivered up. In like manner, if any soldier or sailor, or any other person, whatever his caste or country, who is a subject of the Crown of England, shall, from any cause or on any pretence, desert, fly, or escape into the Chinese territory, such soldier or sailor, or other person, shall be apprehended and confined by the Chinese authorities, and sent to the nearest British Consular or other Government officer. In neither case shall concealment or refuge be afforded.

ARTICLE X.

At each of the five ports to be opened to British merchants, one English cruiser will be stationed to enforce good order and discipline amongst the crews of merchant shipping, and to support the necessary authority of the Consul over British subjects. The crew of such ship of war will be carefully restrained by the officer commanding the vessel, and they will be subject to all the rules regarding going on shore, and straying into the country, that are already laid down for the crews of merchant-vessels. Whenever it may be necessary to relieve such ships of war by another, intimation of that intention will be communicated by the Consul, or by the British Superintendent of Trade, where circumstances will permit, to the local Chinese authorities, lest the appearance of an additional ship should excite misgivings amongst the people; and the Chinese cruisers are to offer no hindrance to such relieving ship, nor is she to be considered liable to any port-charges, or other rules laid down in the General Regulations of Trade, seeing that British ships of war never trade in any shape.

ARTICLE XI.

The post of Chusan and Koolangsoo will be withdrawn, as provided for in the Treaty of perpetual Peace and Friendship, the moment all the monies stipulated for in that Treaty shall be paid;

and the British Plenipotentiary distinctly and voluntarily agrees, that all dwelling-houses, store-houses, barracks, and other buildings that the British troops or people may have occupied, or intermediately built or repaired, shall be handed over, on the evacuation of the posts, exactly as they stand, to the Chinese Authorities, so as to prevent any pretence for delay, or the slightest occasion for discussion or dispute on those points.

ARTICLE XII.

A fair and regular Tariff of duties and other dues having now been established, it is to be hoped that the system of smuggling which has heretofore been carried on between English and Chinese merchants—in many cases with the open connivance and collusion of the Chinese Custom-house officers—will entirely cease; and the most peremptory Proclamation to all English merchants has been already issued on this subject by the British Plenipotentiary, who will also instruct the different Consuls to strictly watch over, and carefully scrutinize, the conduct of all persons, being British subjects, trading under his superintendence. In any positive instance of smuggling transactions coming to the Consul's knowledge, he will instantly apprise the Chinese Authorities of the fact, and they will proceed to seize and confiscate all goods, whatever their value or nature, that may have been so smuggled, and will also be at liberty, if they see fit, to prohibit the ship from which the smuggled goods were landed from trading further, and to send her away, as soon as her accounts are adjusted and paid. The Chinese Government officers will, at the same time, adopt whatever measures they may think fit with regard to the Chinese merchants and Custom-house officers who may be discovered to be concerned in smuggling.

ARTICLE XIII.

All persons, whether natives of China or otherwise, who may wish to convey goods from any one of the five ports of Canton, Foo-chow-foo, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai, to Hong Kong, for sale or consumption, shall be at full and perfect liberty to do so, on paying the duties on such goods, and obtaining a pass, or post-clearance, from the Chinese Custom-house at one of the said ports. Should natives of China wish to repair to Hong Kong to purchase goods, they shall have free and full permission to do so; and should they required a Chinese vessel to carry away their purchases, they must obtain a pass, or port-clearance, for her at the Custom-house of the port whence the vessel may sail for Hong Kong. It is further settled, that in all

cases these passes are to be returned to the officers of the Chinese Government, as soon as the trip for which they may be granted shall be completed.

ARTICLE XIV.

An English officer will be appointed at Hong Kong, one part of whose duty will be to examine the registers and passes of all Chinese vessels that may repair to that port to buy or sell goods ; and should such officer at any time find that any Chinese merchant-vessel has not a pass, or register, from one of the five ports, she is to be considered as an unauthorized or smuggling vessel, and is not to be allowed to trade, whilst a report of the circumstance is to be made to the Chinese authorities. By this arrangement, it is to be hoped that piracy and illegal traffic will be effectually prevented.

ARTICLE XV.

Should natives of India who may repair to Hong Kong to trade, incur debts there, the recovery of such debts must be arranged for by the English Courts of Justice on the spot ; but if the Chinese debtor shall abscond, and be known to have property, real or personal, within the Chinese territory, the rule laid down in the fourth clause of the General Regulations for Trade shall be applied to the case ; and it will be the duty of the Chinese Authorities, on application by, and in concert with, the British Consuls, to do their utmost to see justice done between the parties. On the same principle, should a British merchant incur debts at any of the five ports, and fly to Hong Kong, the British authorities will, on receiving an application from the Chinese Government officers, accompanied by statements and full proofs of the debts, institute an investigation into the claims, and, when established, oblige the defaulter or debtor to settle them to the utmost of his means.

ARTICLE XVI.

It is agreed that the Custom-house officers at the five ports shall make a monthly return to Canton, of the passes granted to vessels proceeding to Hong Kong, together with the nature of their cargoes ; and a copy of these returns will be embodied in one return, and communicated once a month to the proper English officer at Hong Kong. The said English officer will, on his part, make a similar return or communication to the Chinese authorities at Canton, showing the names of Chinese vessels arrived at Hong Kong, or departed from that port, with the nature of their cargoes ; and the Canton authorities will apprise the Custom-houses at the five

ports, in order that, by these arrangements and precautions, all clandestine and illegal trade, under the cover of passes, may be averted.

XVII., OR ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

Relating to British Small Craft.

Various small vessels belonging to the English nation, called schooners, cutters, lorchas, etc., etc., have not hitherto been chargeable with tonnage dues. It is now agreed, in relation to this class of vessels, which ply between Hong Kong and the city, and the city and Macao, that if they only carry passengers, letters, and baggage, they shall, as heretofore, pay no tonnage dues; but if these small craft carry any dutiable articles, no matter how small the quantity may be, they ought, in principle, to pay their full tonnage dues. But this class of small craft are not like the large ships which are engaged in foreign trade; they are constantly coming and going; they make several trips a month, and are not like the large foreign ships, which, on entering the port, cast anchor at Whampoa. If we were to place them on the same footing as the large foreign ships, the charge would fall unequally; therefore, after this, the smallest of these craft shall be rated at 75 tons, and the largest not to exceed 150 tons; whenever they enter the port (or leave the port with cargo), they shall pay tonnage dues at the rate of one mace per ton register. If not so large as 75 tons, they shall still be considered and charged as of 75 tons; and if they exceed 150 tons, they shall be considered as large foreign ships, and, like them, charged tonnage dues, at the rate of five mace per register ton. Foo-chow and the other ports having none of this kind of intercourse, and none of this kind of small craft, it would be unnecessary to make any arrangement as regards them.

The following are the rules by which they are to be regulated:—

- 1st. Every British schooner, cutter, lorcha, etc., shall have a sailing letter or register in Chinese and English, under the seal and signature of the Chief Superintendent of Trade, describing her appearance, burden, etc., etc.
- 2nd. Every schooner, lorcha, and such vessel, shall report herself, as large vessels are required to do, at the Bocca Tigris; and when she carries cargo, she shall also report herself at Whampoa, and shall, on reaching Canton, deliver up her sailing letter or register to the British Consul, who will obtain permission from the Hoppo for her to discharge her cargo, which she is not to do without such permission, under

the forfeiture of the penalties laid down in the 3rd clause of the General Regulations of Trade.

- 3rd. When the inward cargo is discharged, and an outward one (if intended) taken on board, and the duties on both arranged and paid, the Consul will restore the register or sailing letter, and allow the vessel to depart.

This Supplementary Treaty, to be attached to the original Treaty of Peace, consisting of sixteen Articles, and one Additional Article relating to small vessels, is now written out, forming, with its accompaniments, four pamphlets, and is formally signed and sealed by their Excellencies the British Plenipotentiary and the Chinese Imperial Commissioner, who, in the first instance, take two copies each, and exchange them, that their provisions may be immediately carried into effect. At the same time, each of these high functionaries, having taken his two copies, shall duly memorialize the Sovereign of his nation; but the two countries are differently situated as respects distance, so that the will of the one Sovereign can be known sooner than the will of the other. It is now therefore agreed, that on receiving the gracious assent of the Emperor in the Vermilion Pencil, the Imperial Commissioner will deliver the very document containing it into the hands of his Excellency Hwang, Judge of Canton, who will proceed to such place as the Plenipotentiary may appoint, and deliver it to the English Plenipotentiary to have and to hold. Afterwards, the Sign Manual of the Sovereign of England having been received at Hong Kong, likewise graciously assenting to and confirming the Treaty, the English Plenipotentiary will despatch a specially appointed officer to Canton, who will deliver the copy containing the Royal Sign Manual to his Excellency Hwang, who will forward it to the Imperial Commissioner, as a rule and a guide to both nations for ever, and as a solemn confirmation of our peace and friendship.

A most important Supplementary Treaty.

Signed and sealed at Hoomun-Chae, on the eighth day of October, 1843, corresponding with the Chinese date of the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, of the twenty-third year of Taoukwang.

(L.S.)

HENRY POTTINGER.

Seal and Signature of the Chinese Plenipotentiary.

Convention signed at Bocca Tigris, April 4, 1846.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, having, with a view to the settlement of all questions between the two

countries, and for the preservation of mutual harmony and good understanding, appointed as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say, Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Sir John Francis Davis, a Baronet of the United Kingdom, Governor and Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's Colony of Hong Kong, etc., and His Majesty the Emperor of China, the High Commissioner Keying, a Member of the Imperial House, a Cabinet Councillor, a Guardian of the Crown Prince, and Governor-General of the Two Kwang Provinces ;

The said Plenipotentiaries respectively have, in pursuance of the above-mentioned ends, and after communicating to each other their respective full Powers, and finding them to be in good and due form, agreed upon and concluded the following Articles :—

1. His Majesty the Emperor of China having, on his own part, distinctly stated that when in the course of time mutual tranquillity shall have been insured, it will be safe and right to admit foreigners into the city of Canton, and the local authorities being for the present unable to coerce the people of that city, the Plenipotentiaries on either side mutually agree that the execution of the above measure shall be postponed to a more favourable period ; but the claim of right is by no means yielded or abandoned on the part of Her Britannic Majesty.

2. British subjects shall in the meanwhile enjoy full liberty and protection in the neighbourhood, on the outside of the city of Canton, within certain limits fixed according to previous Treaty, comprising seventy localities of which the names were communicated by the district magistrates to the British Consul on the 21st of November, 1845. They may likewise make excursions on the two sides of the river where there are not numerous villages.

3. It is stipulated, on the part of His Majesty the Emperor of China, that on the evacuation of Chusan by Her Britannic Majesty's forces, the said island shall never be ceded to any other foreign Power.

4. Her Britannic Majesty consents, upon her part, in case of the attack of an invader, to protect Chusan and its dependencies, and to restore it to the possession of China as of old ; but as this stipulation proceeds from the friendly alliance between the two nations, no pecuniary subsidies are to be due from China on this account.

5. Upon the receipt of the sign-manual of His Majesty the Emperor of China to these presents, it is agreed, on account of the distance which separates the two countries, that the Island of Chusan shall be immediately delivered over to the Chinese authorities ;

and on the ratification of the present Convention by Her Britannic Majesty, it shall be mutually binding on the High Contracting Powers.

Done at Bocca Tigris, and signed and sealed by the Plenipotentiaries, this fourth day of April, 1846, corresponding with the Chinese date, Taoukwang twenty-sixth year, third moon, ninth day.

Inclosure in No. 181.

Treaty between Her Majesty and the Emperor of China. Signed, in the English and Chinese languages, at Tien-tsin, June 26, 1858.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, being desirous to put an end to the existing misunderstanding between the two countries, and to place their relations on a more satisfactory footing in future, have resolved to proceed to a revision and improvement of the Treaties existing between them; and, for that purpose, have named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, a Peer of the United Kingdom, and Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle;

And His Majesty the Emperor of China, the High Commissioner Kweiliang, a Senior Chief Secretary of State, styled of the East Cabinet, Captain-General of the Plain White Banner of the Manchu Banner Force, Superintendent-General of the administration of Criminal Law; and Hwashana, one of His Imperial Majesty's Expositors of the Classics, Manchu President of the Office for the regulation of the Civil Establishment, Captain-General of the Bordered Blue Banner of the Chinese Banner Force, and Visitor of the Office of Interpretation;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, and found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

The Treaty of Peace and Amity between the two nations, signed at Nankin on the twenty-ninth day of August, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-two, is hereby renewed and confirmed.

The Supplementary Treaty and General Regulations of Trade having been amended and improved, and the substance of their

provisions having been incorporated in this Treaty, the said Supplementary Treaty and General Regulations of Trade are hereby abrogated.

ARTICLE II.

For the better preservation of harmony in future, Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and His Majesty the Emperor of China mutually agree that, in accordance with the universal practice of great and friendly nations, Her Majesty the Queen may, if She see fit, appoint Ambassadors, Ministers, or other Diplomatic Agents to the Court of Peking; and His Majesty the Emperor of China may, in like manner, if He see fit, appoint Ambassadors, Ministers, or other Diplomatic Agents to the Court of St. James'.

ARTICLE III.

His Majesty the Emperor of China hereby agrees that the Ambassador, Minister, or other Diplomatic Agent, so appointed by Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, may reside, with his family and establishment, permanently at the capital, or may visit it occasionally, at the option of the British Government. He shall not be called upon to perform any ceremony derogatory to him as representing the Sovereign of an independent nation on a footing of equality with that of China. On the other hand, he shall use the same forms of ceremony and respect to His Majesty the Emperor as are employed by the Ambassadors, Ministers, or Diplomatic Agents of Her Majesty towards the Sovereigns of independent and equal European nations.

It is further agreed, that Her Majesty's Government may acquire at Peking a site for building, or may hire houses for the accommodation of Her Majesty's Mission, and that the Chinese Government will assist it in so doing.

Her Majesty's Representative shall be at liberty to choose his own servants and attendants, who shall not be subjected to any kind of molestation whatever.

Any person guilty of disrespect or violence to Her Majesty's Representative, or to any member of his family or establishment, in deed or word, shall be severely punished.

ARTICLE IV.

It is further agreed, that no obstacle or difficulty shall be made to the free movements of Her Majesty's Representative, and that he, and the persons of his suite, may come and go, and travel at their pleasure. He shall, moreover, have full liberty to send and receive his correspondence, to and from any point on the sea-coast that

he may select; and his letters and effects shall be held sacred and inviolable. He may employ, for their transmission, special couriers, who shall meet with the same protection and facilities for travelling as the persons employed in carrying despatches for the Imperial Government; and, generally, he shall enjoy the same privileges as are accorded to officers of the same rank by the usage and consent of Western nations.

All expenses attending the Diplomatic Mission of Great Britain shall be borne by the British Government.

ARTICLE V.

His Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to nominate one of the Secretaries of State, or a President of one of the Boards, as the high officer with whom the Ambassador, Minister, or other Diplomatic Agent of Her Majesty the Queen shall transact business, either personally or in writing, on a footing of perfect equality.

ARTICLE VI.

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain agrees that the privileges hereby secured shall be enjoyed in her dominions by the Ambassadors, Ministers, or Diplomatic Agents of the Emperor of China accredited to the Court of Her Majesty.

ARTICLE VII.

Her Majesty the Queen may appoint one or more Consuls in the dominions of the Emperor of China; and such Consul or Consuls shall be at liberty to reside in any of the open ports or cities of China, as Her Majesty the Queen may consider most expedient for the interests of British commerce. They shall be treated with due respect by the Chinese authorities, and enjoy the same privileges and immunities as the Consular Officers of the most favoured nation.

Consuls and Vice-Consuls in charge shall rank with Intendants of Circuits; Vice-Consuls, Acting Vice-Consuls, and Interpreters, with Prefects. They shall have access to the official residences of these officers, and communicate with them, either personally or in writing, on a footing of equality, as the interests of the public service may require.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching it or professing it,

therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities, nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the laws, be persecuted or interfered with.

ARTICLE IX.

British subjects are hereby authorized to travel, for their pleasure or for purposes of trade, to all parts of the interior, under passports which will be issued by their Consuls, and countersigned by the local authorities. These passports, if demanded, must be produced for examination in the localities passed through. If the passport be not irregular, the bearer will be allowed to proceed, and no opposition shall be offered to his hiring persons, or hiring vessels for the carriage of his baggage or merchandise. If he be without a passport, or if he commit any offence against the law, he shall be handed over to the nearest Consul for punishment, but he must not be subjected to any ill-usage in excess of necessary restraint. No passport need be applied for by persons going on excursions from the ports open to trade to a distance not exceeding 100 *li*, and for a period not exceeding five days.

The provisions of this Article do not apply to crews of ships, for the due restraint of whom regulations will be drawn up by the Consul and the local authorities.

To Nankin, and other cities disturbed by persons in arms against the Government, no pass shall be given, until they shall have been recaptured.

ARTICLE X.

British merchant-ships shall have authority to trade upon the Great River (Yang-tsz). The Upper and Lower Valley of the river being, however, disturbed by outlaws, no port shall be for the present opened to trade, with the exception of Chin-kiang, which shall be opened in a year from the date of the signing of this Treaty.

So soon as peace shall have been restored, British vessels shall also be admitted to trade at such ports as far as Han-kow, not exceeding three in number, as the British Minister, after consultation with the Chinese Secretary of State, may determine shall be ports of entry and discharge.

ARTICLE XI.

In addition to the towns and cities of Canton, Amoy, Foo-chow, Ningpo, and Shanghai, opened by the treaty of Nankin, it is agreed that British subjects may frequent the cities and ports of New-Chwang, Tang-chow, Tai-Wan (Formosa), Chau-Chow (Swatoa), and Kiung-Chow (Hainan).

They are permitted to carry on trade with whomsoever they please, and to proceed to and fro at pleasure with their vessels and merchandise.

They shall enjoy the same privileges, advantages, and immunities, at the said towns and ports, as they enjoy at the ports already opened to trade, including the right of residence, of buying or renting houses, of leasing land therein, and of building churches, hospitals, and cemeteries.

ARTICLE XII.

British subjects, whether at the ports or at other places, desiring to build or open houses, warehouses, churches, hospitals, or burial-grounds, shall make their agreement for the land or buildings they require, at the rates prevailing among the people, equitably, and without exaction on either side.

ARTICLE XIII.

The Chinese Government will place no restrictions whatever upon the employment, by British subjects, of Chinese subjects in any lawful capacity.

ARTICLE XIV.

British subjects may hire whatever boats they please for the transport of goods or passengers, and the sum to be paid for such boats shall be settled between the parties themselves, without the interference of the Chinese Government. The number of these boats shall not be limited, nor shall a monopoly in respect either of the boats, or of the porters or coolies engaged in carrying the goods, be granted to any parties. If any smuggling takes place in them, the offenders will, of course, be punished according to law.

ARTICLE XV.

All questions in regard to rights, whether of property or person, arising between British subjects, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the British authorities.

ARTICLE XVI.

Chinese subjects who may be guilty of any criminal act towards British subjects, shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities, according to the laws of China.

British subjects who may commit any crime in China shall be tried and punished by the Consul, or other public functionary authorized thereto, according to the laws of Great Britain.

Justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides.

ARTICLE XVII.

A British subject having reason to complain of a Chinese must proceed to the Consulate, and state his grievance. The Consul will inquire into the merits of the case, and do his utmost to arrange it amicably. In like manner, if a Chinese have reason to complain of a British subject, the Consul shall no less listen to his complaint, and endeavour to settle it in a friendly manner. If disputes take place of such a nature that the Consul cannot arrange them amicably, then he shall request the assistance of the Chinese authorities, that they may together examine into the merits of the case, and decide it equitably.

ARTICLE XVIII.

The Chinese authorities shall, at all times, afford the fullest protection to the persons and property of British subjects, whenever these shall have been subjected to insult or violence. In all cases of incendiarism or robbery, the local authorities shall at once take the necessary steps for the recovery of the stolen property, the suppression of disorder, and the arrest of the guilty parties, whom they will punish according to law.

ARTICLE XIX.

If any British merchant-vessel, while within Chinese waters, be plundered by robbers or pirates, it shall be the duty of the Chinese authorities to use every endeavour to capture and punish the said robbers or pirates, and to recover the stolen property, that it may be handed over to the Consul for restoration to the owner.

ARTICLE XX.

If any British vessel be at any time wrecked or stranded on the coast of China, or be compelled to take refuge in any port within the dominions of the Emperor of China, the Chinese authorities, on being apprised of the fact, shall immediately adopt measures for its relief and security; the persons on board shall receive friendly treatment, and shall be furnished, if necessary, with the means of conveyance to the nearest Consular station.

ARTICLE XXI.

If criminals, subjects of China, shall take refuge in Hong Kong, or on board the British ships there, they shall, upon due requisition

by the Chinese authorities, be searched for, and, on proof of their guilt, be delivered up.

In like manner, if Chinese offenders take refuge in the houses or on board the vessels of British subjects at the open ports, they shall not be harboured or concealed, but shall be delivered up, on due requisition by the Chinese authorities, addressed to the British Consul.

ARTICLE XXII.

Should any Chinese subject fail to discharge debts incurred to a British subject, or should he fraudulently abscond, the Chinese authorities will do their utmost to effect his arrest, and enforce recovery of the debts. The British authorities will likewise do their utmost to bring to justice any British subject fraudulently absconding or failing to discharge debts incurred by him to a Chinese subject.

ARTICLE XXIII.

Should natives of China who may repair to Hong Kong to trade incur debts there, the recovery of such debts must be arranged for by the English Courts of Justice on the spot; but should the Chinese debtor abscond, and be known to have property, real or personal, within the Chinese territory, it shall be the duty of the Chinese authorities, on application by, and in concert with, the British Consul, to do their utmost to see justice done between the parties.

ARTICLE XXIV.

It is agreed that British subjects shall pay, on all merchandise imported or exported by them, the duties prescribed by the Tariff; but in no case shall they be called upon to pay other or higher duties than are required of the subjects of any other foreign nation.

ARTICLE XXV.

Import duties shall be considered payable on the landing of the goods, and duties of export on the shipment of the same.

ARTICLE XXVI.

Whereas the Tariff fixed by Article X. of the Treaty of Nankin, and which was estimated so as to impose on imports and exports a duty at about the rate of five per cent. *ad valorem*, has been found, by reason of the fall in value of various articles of merchandise therein enumerated, to impose a duty upon these, considerably in excess of the rate originally assumed as above to be a fair rate, it

is agreed that the said Tariff shall be revised, and that as soon as the Treaty shall have been signed, application shall be made to the Emperor of China to depute a high officer of the Board of Revenue to meet, at Shanghai, officers to be deputed on behalf of the British Government to consider its revision together, so that the Tariff, as revised, may come into operation immediately after the ratification of this Treaty.

ARTICLE XXVII.

It is agreed that either of the High Contracting Parties to this Treaty may demand a further revision of the Tariff, and of the Commercial Articles of this Treaty, at the end of ten years, but if no demand be made on either side within six months after the end of the first ten years, then the Tariff shall remain in force for ten years more, reckoned from the end of the preceding ten years ; and so it shall be, at the end of each successive ten years.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

Whereas it is agreed in Article X. of the Treaty of Nankin, that British imports, having paid the tariff duties, should be conveyed into the interior free of all further charges, except a transit duty, the amount whereof was not to exceed a certain percentage on tariff value ; and whereas no accurate information having been furnished of the amount of such duty, British merchants have constantly complained that charges are suddenly and arbitrarily imposed by the provincial authorities as transit duties upon produce on its way to the foreign market, and on imports on their way into the interior, to the detriment of trade ; it is agreed that within four months from the signing of this Treaty, at all ports now open to British trade, and within a similar period at all ports that may hereafter be opened, the authority appointed to superintend the collection of duties shall be obliged, upon application of the Consul, to declare the amount of duties leviable on produce between the places of production and the port of shipment, and upon imports between the Consular port in question and the inland markets named by the Consul ; and that a notification thereof shall be published in English and Chinese for general information.

But it shall be at the option of any British subject desiring to convey produce purchased inland to a port, or to convey imports from a port to an inland market, to clear his goods of all transit duties, by payment of a single charge. The amount of this charge shall be leviable on exports at the first barrier that they may have to pass, or, on imports, at the port at which they are landed ; and,

on payment thereof, a certificate shall be issued, which shall exempt the goods from all further inland charges whatsoever.

It is further agreed, that the amount of this charge shall be calculated as near as possible, at the rate of two-and-a-half per cent. *ad valorem*, and that it shall be fixed for each article at the Conference to be held at Shanghai for the revision of the Tariff.

It is distinctly understood that the payment of transit dues, by commutation or otherwise, shall in no way affect the tariff duties on imports or exports, which will continue to be levied separately and in full.

ARTICLE XXIX.

British merchant-vessels of more than one hundred and fifty tons burden shall be charged tonnage dues at the rate of four mace per ton; if of one hundred and fifty tons and under, they shall be charged at the rate of one mace per ton.

Any vessel clearing from any of the open ports of China for any other of the open ports or for Hong Kong, shall be entitled, on application of the master, to a special certificate from the Customs, on exhibition of which she shall be exempted from all further payment of tonnage-dues in any open port of China, for a period of four months, to be reckoned from the date of her port-clearance.

ARTICLE XXX.

The master of any British merchant-vessel may, within forty-eight hours after the arrival of his vessel, but not later, decide to depart without breaking bulk, in which he will not be subject to pay tonnage-dues. But tonnage-dues shall be held due after the expiration of the said forty-eight hours. No other fees or charges upon entry or departure shall be levied.

ARTICLE XXXI.

No tonnage-dues shall be payable on boats employed by British subjects in the conveyance of passengers, baggage, letters, articles of provision, or other articles not subject to duty, between any of the open ports. All cargo-boats, however, conveying merchandise subject to duty shall pay tonnage-dues, once in six months, at the rate of four mace per register ton.

ARTICLE XXXII.

The Consuls and Superintendents of Customs shall consult together regarding the erection of beacons or light-houses, and the distribution of buoys and light-ships, as occasion may demand.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

Duties shall be paid to the bankers authorized by the Chinese Government to receive the same in its behalf, either in sycee or in foreign money, according to the assay made at Canton, on the thirteenth of July, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

ARTICLE XXXIV.

Sets of standard weights and measures, prepared according to the standard issued to the Canton Custom-house by the Board of Revenue, shall be delivered by the Superintendent of Customs to the Consul at each port, to secure uniformity and prevent confusion.

ARTICLE XXXV.

Any British merchant-vessel arriving at one of the open ports shall be at liberty to engage the services of a pilot to take her into port. In like manner, after she has discharged all legal dues and duties, and is ready to take her departure, she shall be allowed to select a pilot to conduct her out of port.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

Whenever a British merchant-vessel shall arrive off one of the open ports, the Superintendent of Customs shall depute one or more Customs officers to guard the ship. They shall either live in a boat of their own, or stay on board the ship, as may best suit their convenience. Their food and expenses shall be supplied them from the Custom-house, and they shall not be entitled to any fees whatever from the master or consignee. Should they violate this regulation, they shall be punished proportionately to the amount exacted.

ARTICLE XXXVII.

Within twenty-four hours after arrival, the ship's papers, bills of lading, etc., shall be lodged in the hands of the Consul, who will, within a further period of twenty-four hours, report to the Superintendent of Customs the name of the ship, her register tonnage, and the nature of her cargo. If, owing to neglect on the part of the master, the above rule is not complied with within forty-eight hours after the ship's arrival, he shall be liable to a fine of fifty taels for every day's delay: the total amount of penalty, however, shall not exceed two hundred taels.

The master will be responsible for the correctness of the manifest, which shall contain a full and true account of the particulars of

the cargo on board. For presenting a false manifest, he will subject himself to a fine of five hundred taels; but he will be allowed to correct, within twenty-four hours after delivery of it to the Customs officers, any mistake he may discover in his manifest, without incurring this penalty.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

After receiving from the Consul the report in due form, the Superintendent of Customs shall grant the vessel a permit to open hatches. If the master shall open hatches and begin to discharge any goods without such permission, he shall be fined five hundred taels, and the goods discharged shall be confiscated wholly.

ARTICLE XXXIX.

Any British merchant who has cargo to land or ship, must apply to the Superintendent of Customs for a special permit. Cargo landed or shipped without such permit will be liable to confiscation.

ARTICLE XL.

No transshipment from one vessel to another can be made without special permission, under pain of confiscation of the goods so transhipped.

ARTICLE XLI.

When all dues and duties shall have been paid, the Superintendent of Customs shall give a port-clearance, and the Consul shall then return the ship's papers, so that she may depart on her voyage.

ARTICLE XLII.

With respect to articles subject, according to the Tariff, to an *ad valorem* duty, if the British merchant cannot agree with the Chinese officer in affixing a value, then each party shall call two or three merchants to look at the goods, and the highest price at which any of these merchants would be willing to purchase them shall be assumed as the value of the goods.

ARTICLE XLIII.

Duties shall be charged upon the net weight of each article, making a deduction for the tare weight of congee, etc. To fix the tare on any article, such as tea, if the British merchant cannot agree with the Custom-house officer, then each party shall choose so many chests out of every hundred, which being first weighed in gross, shall afterwards be tared, and the average tare upon these chests

shall be assumed as the tare upon the whole, and upon this principle shall the tare be fixed upon all other goods and packages. If there should be any other points in dispute which cannot be settled, the British merchant may appeal to his consul, who will communicate the particulars of the case to the Superintendent of Customs, that it may be equitably arranged. But the appeal must be made within twenty-four hours, or it will not be attended to. While such points are still unsettled, the Superintendent of Customs shall postpone the insertion of the same in his books.

ARTICLE XLIV.

Upon all damaged goods a fair reduction of duty shall be allowed, proportionate to their deterioration. If any disputes arise, they shall be settled in the manner pointed out in the clause of this Treaty having reference to articles which pay duty *ad valorem*.

ARTICLE XLV.

British merchants who may have imported merchandise into any of the open ports and paid the duty thereon, if they desire to re-export the same, shall be entitled to make application to the Superintendent of Customs, who, in order to prevent fraud on the revenue, shall cause examination to be made by suitable officers, to see that the duties paid on such goods, as entered in the Custom-house books, correspond with the representation made, and that the goods remain with their original marks unchanged. He shall then make a memorandum on the port-clearance of the goods and of the amount of duties paid, and deliver the same to the merchant; and shall also certify the facts to the officers of Customs of the other ports. All which being done, on the arrival in port of the vessel in which the goods are laden, everything being found on examination there to correspond, she shall be permitted to break bulk, and land the said goods, without being subject to the payment of any additional duty thereon. But if, on such examination, the Superintendent of Customs shall detect any fraud on the revenue in the case, then the goods shall be subject to confiscation by the Chinese Government.

British merchants desiring to re-export duty-paid imports to a foreign country, shall be entitled, on complying with the same conditions as in the case of re-exportation to another port in China, to a drawback-certificate, which shall be a valid tender to the Customs in payment of import or export duties.

Foreign grain brought into any port of China in a British ship, if no part thereof has been landed, may be re-exported without hindrance.

ARTICLE XLVI.

The Chinese authorities at each port shall adopt the means they may judge most proper to prevent the revenue suffering from fraud or smuggling.

ARTICLE XLVII.

British merchant-vessels are not entitled to resort to other than the ports of trade declared open by this Treaty. They are not unlawfully to enter other ports in China, or to carry on clandestine trade along the coasts thereof. Any vessel violating this provision shall, with her cargo, be subject to confiscation by the Chinese Government.

ARTICLE XLVIII.

If any British merchant-vessel be concerned in smuggling, the goods, whatever their value or nature, shall be subject to confiscation by the Chinese authorities, and the ship may be prohibited from trading further and sent away, as soon as her accounts shall have been adjusted and paid.

ARTICLE XLIX.

All penalties enforced, or confiscations made, under this Treaty, shall belong and be appropriated to the public service of the Government of China.

ARTICLE L.

All official communications addressed by the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of Her Majesty the Queen to the Chinese authorities shall, henceforth, be written in English. They will for the present be accompanied by a Chinese version, but it is understood that, in the event of there being any difference of meaning between the English and Chinese text, the English Government will hold the sense as expressed in the English text to be the correct sense. This provision is to apply to the Treaty now negotiated, the Chinese text of which has been carefully corrected by the English original.

ARTICLE LI.

It is agreed, that henceforward the character "I" (barbarian) shall not be applied to the Government or subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, in any Chinese official document issued by the Chinese authorities, either in the capital or in the provinces.

ARTICLE LII.

British ships of war coming for no hostile purpose, or being engaged in the pursuit of pirates, shall be at liberty to visit all ports

within the dominions of the Emperor of China, and shall receive every facility for the purchase of provisions, procuring water, and, if occasion require, for the making of repairs. The Commanders of such ship shall hold intercourse with the Chinese authorities on terms of equality and courtesy.

ARTICLE LIII.

In consideration of the injury sustained by native and foreign commerce from the prevalence of piracy in the seas of China, the High Contracting Parties agree to concert measures for its suppression.

ARTICLE LIV.

The British Government and its subjects are hereby confirmed in all privileges, immunities, and advantages conferred on them by previous Treaties; and it is hereby expressly stipulated that the British Government and its subjects will be allowed free and equal participation in all privileges, immunities, and advantages that may have been, or may be hereafter, granted by His Majesty the Emperor of China to the Government or subjects of any other nation.

ARTICLE LV.

In evidence of Her desire for the continuance of a friendly understanding, Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain consents to include in a Separate Article, which shall be in every respect of equal validity with the Articles of this Treaty, the conditions affecting indemnity for expenses incurred and losses sustained in the matter of the Canton question.

ARTICLE LVI.

The ratifications of this Treaty, under the hand of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and His Majesty the Emperor of China, respectively, shall be exchanged at Peking, within a year from this day of signature.

In token whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed this Treaty.

Done at Tien-tsin, this twenty-sixth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight; corresponding with the Chinese date, the sixteenth day, fifth moon, of the eighth year of Hien Fung.

(L.S.)

ELGIN AND KINCARDINE.

Signature of First Chinese Plenipotentiary.

Signature of Second Chinese Plenipotentiary.

Seal of the Chinese Plenipotentiaries.

Separate Article annexed to the Treaty concluded between Great Britain and China, on the twenty-sixth day of June, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight.

IT is hereby agreed that a sum of two millions of taels, on account of the losses sustained by British subjects through the misconduct of the Chinese authorities at Canton; and a further sum of two millions of taels, on account of the military expenses of the expedition which Her Majesty the Queen has been compelled to send out for the purpose of obtaining redress, and of enforcing the due observance of Treaty provisions; shall be paid to Her Majesty's Representatives in China by the authorities of the Kwang-tung province.

The necessary arrangements with respect to the time and mode of effecting these payments shall be determined by Her Majesty's Representative, in concert with the Chinese authorities of Kwang-tung.

When the above amount shall have been discharged in full, the British forces will be withdrawn from the city of Canton.

Done at Tien-tsin, this twenty-sixth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, corresponding with the Chinese date, the sixteenth day, fifth moon, of the eighth year of Hien Fung.

(L.S.)

ELGIN AND KINCARDINE.

Signature of First Chinese Plenipotentiary.

Signature of Second Chinese Plenipotentiary.

Seal of the Chinese Plenipotentiaries.

CONVENTION OF PEACE BETWEEN HER MAJESTY AND THE
EMPEROR OF CHINA.

Signed at Peking, 24th October, 1860.

HER Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China, being alike desirous to bring to an end the misunderstanding at present existing between their respective Governments, and to secure their relations against further interruption, have for this purpose appointed Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine; and His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China, His Imperial Highness the Prince of Kung; who, having met and communicated to each other their full powers, and finding

these to be in proper form, have agreed upon the following Convention, in Nine Articles :—

ART. I.—A breach of friendly relations have been occasioned by the act of the Garrison of Taku, which obstructed Her Britannic Majesty's Representative when on his way to Peking, for the purpose of exchanging the ratifications of the Treaty of Peace, concluded at Tientsin in the month of June, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China expresses his deep regret at the misunderstanding so occasioned.

ART. II.—It is further expressly declared, that the arrangement entered into at Shanghai, in the month of October, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, between Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, and His Imperial Majesty's Commissioners Kweiliang and Hwashana, regarding the residence of Her Britannic Majesty's Representative in China, is hereby cancelled, and that, in accordance with Article III. of the Treaty of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, Her Britannic Majesty's Representative will henceforward reside, permanently or occasionally, at Peking, as Her Britannic Majesty shall be pleased to decide.

ART. III.—It is agreed that the separate Article of the Treaty of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight is hereby annulled, and that in lieu of the amount of indemnity therein specified, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China shall pay the sum of eight millions of taels, in the following proportions or instalments, namely, —at Tientsin, on or before the 30th day of November, the sum of five hundred thousand taels ; at Canton, on or before the first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty, three hundred and thirty-three thousand and thirty-three taels, less the sum which shall have been advanced by the Canton authorities towards the completion of the British Factory site of Shameen ; and the remainder at the ports open to foreign trade, in quarterly payments, which shall consist of one-fifth of the gross revenue from Customs there collected ; the first of the said payments being due on the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred and sixty, for the quarter terminating on that day.

It is further agreed that these monies shall be paid into the hands of an officer whom Her Britannic Majesty's Representative shall specially appoint to receive them, and that the accuracy of the amounts shall, before payment, be duly ascertained by British and Chinese officers appointed to discharge this duty.

In order to prevent future discussion, it is moreover declared

that of the eight millions of taels herein guaranteed, two millions will be appropriated to the indemnification of the British Mercantile Community at Canton, for losses sustained by them; and the remaining six millions to the liquidation of war expenses.

ART. IV.—It is agreed that on the day on which this Convention is signed, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China shall open the port of Tientsin to trade, and that it shall be thereafter competent to British subjects to reside and trade there, under the same conditions as at any other port of China, by Treaty open to trade.

ART. V.—As soon as the ratifications of the Treaty of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight shall have been exchanged, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China, will, by decree, command the high authorities of every province to proclaim throughout their jurisdictions, that Chinese, in choosing to take service in British Colonies or other parts beyond sea, are at perfect liberty to enter into engagements with British subjects for that purpose, and to ship themselves and their families on board any British vessels at the open ports of China; also that the high authorities aforesaid shall, in concert with Her Britannic Majesty's Representative in China, frame such regulations for the protection of Chinese emigrating as above, as the circumstances of the different open ports may demand.

ART. VI.—With a view to the maintenance of law and order in and about the harbour of Hongkong, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China agrees to cede to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Her heirs and successors, to have and to hold as a dependency of Her Britannic Majesty's Colony of Hongkong, that portion of the township of Cowloon, in the province of Kwang-Tung, of which a lease was granted in perpetuity to Harry Smith Parkes, Esquire, Companion of the Bath, a Member of the Allied Commission at Canton, on behalf of Her Britannic Majesty's Government by Lau T'sung-kwang, Governor-General of the Two Kwang.

It is further declared that the lease in question is hereby cancelled, that the claims of any Chinese to property on the said portion of Cowloon shall be duly investigated by a mixed Commission of British and Chinese officers, and that compensation shall be awarded by the British Government to any Chinese whose claim shall be by that said Commission established, should his removal be deemed necessary by the British Government.

ART. VII.—It is agreed that the provisions of the Treaty of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, except in so far as these are modified by the present Convention, shall without delay come into

operation as soon as the ratifications of the Treaty aforesaid shall have been exchanged. It is further agreed, that no separate ratification of the present Convention shall be necessary, but that it shall take effect from the date of its signature, and be equally binding with the Treaty above-mentioned on the high contracting parties.

ART. VIII.—It is agreed that, as soon as the ratifications of the Treaty of the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight shall have been exchanged, His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China shall, by decree, command the high authorities in the capital, and in the provinces, to print and publish the aforesaid Treaty and the present Convention, for general information.

ART. IX.—It is agreed that, as soon as the Convention shall have been signed, the ratification of the Treaty of the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight shall have been exchanged, and an Imperial Decree respecting the publication of the said Convention and Treaty shall have been promulgated, as provided for by Article VIII. of this Convention, Chusan shall be evacuated by Her Britannic Majesty's troops there stationed, and Her Britannic Majesty's force now before Peking shall commence its march towards the city of Tientsin, the forts of Taku, the north coast of Shantung, and city of Canton, at each or all of which places it shall be at the option of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to retain a force, until the indemnity of eight millions of taels, guaranteed in Article III., shall have been paid.

Done at Peking, in the Court of the Board of Ceremonies, on the twenty-fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

(L.S.) (Signed) ELGIN AND KINCARDINE.
Seal of Chinese Plenipotentiary.
Signature of Chinese Plenipotentiary.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE
GOVERNMENTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND CHINA.

*Signed, in the English and Chinese Languages, at Chefoo,
13th September, 1876.*

Ratified by the Emperor of China, 17th September, 1876.

AGREEMENT negotiated between Sir Thomas Wade, K.C.B., Her Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of China, and Li, Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of China, Senior Grand Secretary,

Governor-General of the Province of Chih Li, of the First-Class of the Third Order of Nobility.

The negotiation between the Ministers above-named has its origin in a despatch received by Sir Thomas Wade, in the spring of the present year, from the Earl of Derby, Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated 1st January, 1876. This contained instructions regarding the disposal of three questions: first, a satisfactory settlement of the Yün Nan affair; secondly, a faithful fulfilment of engagements of last year respecting intercourse between the high officers of the two Governments; thirdly, the adoption of a uniform system in satisfaction of the understanding arrived at in the month of September, 1875 (8th moon of the 1st year of the reign Kwang Sü), on the subject of rectification of conditions of trade. It is to this despatch that Sir Thomas Wade has referred himself in discussions on these questions with the Tsung-li Yamên, farther reference to which is here omitted as superfluous. The conditions now agreed to between Sir Thomas Wade and the Grand Secretary are as follows:—

SECTION I.—*Settlement of the Yün Nan Case.*

(i.) A Memorial is to be presented to the Throne, whether by the Tsung-li Yamên or by the Grand Secretary Li is immaterial, in the sense of the memorandum prepared by Sir Thomas Wade. Before presentation, the Chinese text of the Memorial is to be shown to Sir Thomas Wade.

(ii.) The Memorial having been presented to the Throne, and the Imperial Decree in reply received, the Tsung-li Yamên will communicate copies of the Memorial and Imperial Decree to Sir Thomas Wade, together with a copy of a letter from the Tsung-li Yamên to the Provincial Governments, instructing them to issue a proclamation that shall embody at length the above Memorial and Decree. Sir Thomas Wade will thereon reply to the effect that for two years to come officers will be sent, by the British Minister, to different places in the provinces, to see that the proclamation is posted. On application from the British Minister, or the Consul of any port instructed by him to make application, the high officers of the provinces will depute competent officers to accompany those so sent to the places which they go to observe.

(iii.) In order to the framing of such regulations as will be needed for the conduct of the frontier trade between Burma and Yün Nan, the Memorial, submitting the proposed settlement of the Yün Nan affair, will contain a request that an Imperial Decree be issued, directing the Governor-General and Governor, whenever the

British Government shall send officers to Yün Nan, to select a competent officer of rank to confer with them and to conclude a satisfactory arrangement.

(iv.) The British Government will be free for five years, from the 1st of January next, being the 17th day of the 11th moon of the 2nd year of the reign Kwang Sü, to station officers at Ta-li Fu, or at some other suitable place in Yün Nan, to observe the conditions of trade; to the end that they may have information upon which to base the regulations of trade when these have to be discussed. For the consideration and adjustment of any matter affecting British officers or subjects, these officers will be free to address themselves to the authorities of the province. The opening of the trade may be proposed by the British Government, as it may find best, at any time within the term of five years, or upon expiry of the term of five years.

Passports having been obtained last year for a Mission from India into Yün Nan, it is open to the Viceroy of India to send such Mission at any time he may see fit.

(v.) The amount of indemnity to be paid on account of the families of the officers and others killed in Yün Nan; on account of the expenses which the Yün Nan case has occasioned; and on account of claims of British merchants arising out of the action of officers of the Chinese Government up to the commencement of the present year, Sir Thomas Wade takes upon himself to fix at Two Hundred Thousand Taels, payable on demand.

(vi.) When the case is closed, an Imperial Letter will be written, expressing regret for what has occurred in Yün Nan. The Mission bearing the Imperial Letter will proceed to England immediately. Sir Thomas Wade is to be informed of the constitution of this Mission, for the information of his Government. The text of the Imperial Letter is also to be communicated to Sir Thomas Wade by the Tsung-li Yamên.

SECTION II.—*Official Intercourse.*

Under this heading are included the conditions of intercourse between high officers in the capital and the provinces, and between Consular officers and Chinese officials at the ports; also the conduct of judicial proceedings in mixed cases.

(i.) In the Tsung-li Yamên's Memorial of the 28th September, 1875, the Prince of Kung and the Ministers stated that their object in presenting it had not been simply the transaction of business in which Chinese and Foreigners might be concerned; missions abroad and the questions of diplomatic intercourse lay equally within their prayer.

To the prevention of farther misunderstanding upon the subject of intercourse and correspondence, the present conditions of both having caused complaint in the capital and in the provinces, it is agreed that the Tsung-li Yamên shall address a circular to the Legations, inviting Foreign Representatives to consider with them a code of etiquette, to the end that foreign officials in China, whether at the ports or elsewhere, may be treated with the same regard as is shown them when serving abroad in other countries, and as would be shown to Chinese Agents so serving abroad.

The fact that China is about to establish Missions and Consulates abroad renders an understanding on these points essential.

(ii.) The British Treaty of 1858, Article XVI., lays down that "Chinese subjects who may be guilty of any criminal act towards British subjects shall be arrested and punished by Chinese authorities according to the laws of China.

"British subjects who may commit any crime in China shall be tried and punished by the Consul, or any other public functionary authorized thereto, according to the laws of Great Britain.

"Justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides."

The words "functionary authorized thereto" are translated in the Chinese text "British Government."

In order to the fulfilment of its Treaty obligations, the British Government has established a Supreme Court at Shanghai, with a special code of rules, which it is now about to revise. The Chinese Government has established at Shanghai a Mixed Court; but the officer presiding over it, either from lack of power, or dread of unpopularity, constantly fails to enforce his judgments.

It is now understood that the Tsung-li Yamên will write a circular to the Legations, inviting Foreign Representatives at once to consider with the Tsung-li Yamên the measures needed for the more effective administration of justice at the ports open to trade.

(iii.) It is agreed that, whenever a crime is committed affecting the person or property of a British subject, whether in the interior or at the open ports, the British Minister shall be free to send officers to the spot to be present at the investigation.

To the prevention of misunderstanding on this point, Sir Thomas Wade will write a Note to the above effect, to which the Tsung-li Yamên will reply, affirming that this is the course of proceeding to be adhered to for the time to come.

It is farther understood that so long as the laws of the two countries differ from each other, there can be but one principle to

guide judicial proceedings in mixed cases in China, namely, that the case is tried by the official of the defendant's nationality; the official of the plaintiff's nationality merely attending to watch the proceedings in the interests of justice. If the officer so attending be dissatisfied with the proceedings, it will be in his power to protest against them in detail. The law administered will be the law of the nationality of the officer trying the case. This is the meaning of the words *hui l'ung*, indicating combined action in judicial proceedings, in Article XVI. of the Treaty of Tientsin; and this is the course to be respectively followed by the officers of either nationality.

SECTION III.—*Trade.*

(i.) With reference to the area within which, according to the treaties in force, *likin* ought not to be collected on foreign goods at the open ports, Sir Thomas Wade agrees to move his Government to allow the ground rented by foreigners (the so-called Concessions) at the different ports, to be regarded as the area of exemption from *likin*; and the Government of China will thereupon allow I-ch'ang in the province of Hu-Pei, Wu-hu in An-Hui, Wên-chow in Che-Kiang, and Pei-hai (Pak-hoi) in Kwang-Tung, to be added to the number of ports open to trade, and to become Consular stations. The British Government will farther be free to send officers to reside at Ch'ung K'ing, to watch the conditions of British trade in Ssu-Ch'uen. British merchants will not be allowed to reside at Ch'ung K'ing, or to open establishments or warehouses there, so long as no steamers have access to the port. When steamers have succeeded in ascending the river so far, farther arrangements can be taken into consideration.

It is farther proposed as a measure of compromise that at certain points on the shore of the Great River, namely Ta-t'ung, and Ngan-Ching, in the province of An-Hui; Hu-K'ou, in Kiang-Si; Wu-suëh, Lu-chi-k'ou, and Sha-shih, in Hu Kuang; these being all places of trade in the interior, at which, as they are not open ports, foreign merchants are not legally authorized * to land or ship goods, steamers shall be allowed to touch for the purpose of landing or shipping passengers or goods; but in all instances by means of native boats only, and subject to the regulations in force affecting native trade.

Produce accompanied by a half-duty certificate may be shipped at such points by the steamers, but may not be landed by them for sale. And at all such points, except in the case of imports accom-

* N.B.—In the Chinese text, this sentence reads: . . . are not authorized, according to the *Yangtze Regulations*, to land and ship, etc.

panied by a transit duty certificate, or exports similarly certificated, which will be severally passed free of *likin* on exhibition of such certificates, *likin* will be duly collected on all goods whatever by the native authorities. Foreign merchants will not be authorized to reside or open houses of business or warehouses at the places enumerated as ports of call.

(ii.) At all ports opened to trade, whether by earlier or later agreement, at which no settlement area has been previously defined, it will be the duty of the British Consul, acting in concert with his colleagues, the Consuls of other Powers, to come to an understanding with the local authorities regarding the definition of the foreign settlement area.

(iii.) On opium, Sir Thomas Wade will move his Government to sanction an arrangement different from that affecting other imports. British merchants, when opium is brought into port, will be obliged to have it taken cognizance of by the Customs, and deposited in bond, either in a warehouse or a receiving hulk, until such time as there is a sale for it. The importer will then pay the tariff duty upon it, and the purchasers the *likin*; in order to the prevention of the evasion of the duty. The amount of *likin* to be collected will be decided by the different Provincial Governments, according to the circumstances of each.

(iv.) The Chinese Government agrees that Transit Duty certificates shall be framed under one rule at all ports, no difference being made in the conditions set forth therein; and that so far as imports are concerned, the nationality of the person possessing and carrying these is immaterial. Native produce carried from an Inland Centre to a Port of Shipment, if *bonâ fide* intended for shipment to a foreign port, may be, by treaty, certificated by the British subject interested, and exempted by payment of the half-duty from all charges demanded upon it *en route*. If produce be not the property of a British subject, or is being carried to a port not for exportation, it is not entitled to the exemption that would be secured it by the exhibition of a Transit Duty Certificate. The British Minister is prepared to agree with the Tsung-li Yamên upon rules that will secure the Chinese Government against abuse of the privilege as affecting produce.

The words *nei ti*, inland, in the clause of Article VII. of the Rules appended to the Tariff, regarding carriage of imports inland, and of native produce purchased inland, apply as much to places on the sea coasts and river shores, as to places in the interior not open to foreign trade; the Chinese Government having the right to make arrangements for the prevention of abuses thereat.

(v.) Article XLV. of the Treaty of 1858 prescribes no limit to the term within which a drawback may be claimed upon duty paid Imports. The British Minister agrees to a term of three years, after expiry of which no drawback shall be claimed.

(vi.) The foregoing stipulation, that certain ports are to be opened to foreign trade, and that landing and shipping of goods at six places on the Great River is to be sanctioned, shall be given effect to within six months after receipt of the Imperial Decree approving the Memorial of the Grand Secretary Li. The date for giving effect to the stipulations affecting exemption of imports from *likin* taxation within the foreign settlements, and the collection of *likin* upon opium by the Customs' Inspectorate at the same time as the Tariff duty upon it, will be fixed as soon as the British Government has arrived at an understanding on the subject with other foreign Governments.

(vii.) The Governor of Hongkong having long complained of the interference of the Canton Customs' Revenue Cruisers with the junk trade of that Colony, the Chinese Government agrees to the appointment of a Commission, to consist of a British Consul, an officer of the Hongkong Government, and a Chinese official of equal rank, in order to the establishment of some system that shall enable the Chinese Government to protect its revenue, without prejudice to the interests of the Colony.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

Her Majesty's Government having it in contemplation to send a Mission of exploration next year by way of Peking through Kan-Su and Koko-Nor, or by way of Ssu-Ch'uen to Thibet, and thence to India, the Tsung-li Yamên, having due regard to the circumstances, will, when the time arrives, issue the necessary passports, and will address letters to the high provincial authorities, and to the Resident in Thibet. If the Mission should not be sent by these routes, but should be proceeding across the Indian frontier to Thibet, the Tsung-li Yamên, on receipt of a communication to the above effect from the British Minister, will write to the Chinese Resident in Thibet, and the Resident, with due regard to the circumstances, will send officers to take due care of the Mission; and passports for the Mission will be issued by the Tsung-li Yamên, that its passage be not obstructed.

Done at Chefoo, in the Province of Shan Tung, this thirteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six.

(L.S.)	(Signed)	THOMAS FRANCIS WADE.
(L.S.)	(Signed)	CHINESE PLENIPOTENTIARY.

*Treaty between Russia and China concerning the Re-establishment
of the Authority of the Chinese Government in Ili.*

HIS Majesty the Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias and His Majesty the Emperor of China, being desirous of settling certain frontier questions concerning the interests of both Empires, and of drawing closer the friendly relations between the two countries, have named as their Plenipotentiaries, in order to arrive at an understanding on these questions :—

His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, his Secretary of State, Nicolas de Giers, Senator, Actual Privy Councillor, in charge of the Imperial Ministry for Foreign Affairs ; and his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of China, Eugene de Butzow, Actual Councillor of State ;

And His Majesty the Emperor of China, Tsêng, Marquis of Neyoung, Vice-President of the High Court of Justice, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Russia, intrusted with special powers to sign the present Treaty as Ambassador Extraordinary.

The aforesaid Plenipotentiaries, intrusted with full powers, which have been found sufficient, have agreed to the following stipulations :—

ARTICLE I.

His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias consents to the re-establishment of the Chinese Government in the country of Ili, which has been temporarily occupied, since 1871, by the Russian forces.

Russia remains in possession of the western part of that country, within the limits indicated by Article VII. of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE II.

His Majesty the Emperor of China undertakes to issue the necessary Decrees, in order that the inhabitants of Ili, to whatever race or religion they may belong, may be freed from all liability, whether as concerns their persons or their property, for acts committed during or after the disorders which have taken place in that country.

A Proclamation in conformity with this undertaking will be addressed by the Chinese authorities, in the name of His Majesty the Emperor of China, to the people of Ili, before that country is made over to the said authorities.

ARTICLE III.

The inhabitants of Ili will be at liberty to remain in the places where they at present reside as Chinese subjects, or to emigrate to Russia and to adopt Russian nationality. They will be called upon for a decision on the subject before Chinese authority is re-established in Ili, and a term of one year, to be reckoned from the date of the restoration of the country to the Chinese authorities, will be granted to those who express a wish to emigrate to Russia. The Chinese authorities will place no obstacles in the way of their emigration and of the removal of their personal property.

ARTICLE IV.

Russian subjects holding land in Ili will retain their rights of ownership, even after the re-establishment of the authority of the Chinese Government in that country.

This arrangement does not apply to those inhabitants of Ili who adopt Russian nationality at the time of the re-establishment of Chinese authority in that country.

Russian subjects whose lands are situated outside the areas assigned for Russian factories, in virtue of Article XIII. of the Kuldja Treaty of 1851, will pay the same taxes and contributions as Chinese subjects.

ARTICLE V.

The two Governments will send to Kuldja Commissioners, who will proceed on the one part to cede and on the other to resume the administration of the Province of Ili, and to whom will be confided, in general, the execution of the stipulations of the present Treaty which relate to the re-establishment in that country of the authority of the Chinese Government.

The said Commissioners will carry out their instructions in accordance with the understanding to be arrived at as to the manner of ceding on the one part, and of resuming on the other, the administration of Ili, between the Governor-General of Turkestan and the Governor-General of the Provinces of Chan-si * and Kan-sou, to whom the management of this business has been intrusted by the two Governments.

The transfer of the administration of Ili should be concluded within a term of three months or earlier, if possible, to date from the day of the arrival at Tashkend of the official delegated by the

* So printed in the Blue Book, but beyond question a mistake for Shensi. Kansuh and Shensi form the same Viceroyalty.

Governor-General of Chan-si and Kan-sou to the Governor-General of Turkestan to notify to him the ratification and promulgation of the present Treaty by His Majesty the Emperor of China.

ARTICLE VI.

The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of China will pay to the Government of Russia the sum of 9,000,000 metallic roubles, to meet the expenses of the occupation of Ili by Russian troops since 1871, to satisfy all pecuniary claims which have been brought forward up to this date for losses of Russian subjects whose goods have been plundered in Chinese territory, and to assist the families of Russian subjects killed in armed attacks of which they have been the victims in Chinese territory.

The above-mentioned sum of 9,000,000 metallic roubles is to be paid within a term of two years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, in the order and in accordance with the conditions agreed to by the two Governments in the special Protocol annexed to the present Treaty.

ARTICLE VII.

The western part of Ili is incorporated with Russia, to serve as a place for the establishment of the inhabitants of that country who adopt Russian nationality, and who will therefore have had to abandon the lands they possessed.

The frontier between the Russian possessions and the Chinese Province of Ili, starting from the Bedjin-Taou Mountains, will follow the course of the Khorgos River as far as the spot where it falls into the River Ili, and, crossing this last river, will take a southerly direction, towards the Ouzontaou Mountains, leaving the village of Koldjat on the west. From this point it will follow in a southerly direction the line laid down by the Protocol signed at Tchougoutchak in 1864.

ARTICLE VIII.

A portion of the frontier-line to the east of Lake Zaïsan, as laid down by the Protocol signed at Tchougoutchak in 1864, having been found incorrect, the two Governments will nominate Commissioners who will jointly modify the former line, in such a manner as to correct the errors pointed out, and to establish a sufficient separation between the Kirghiz tribes subject to the two Empires.

The new line shall, as far as possible, take a direction intermediate between the old frontier and a straight line starting from the Kouïtoun Mountains towards the Saour Mountains, and crossing the Tcherni-Irtych.

ARTICLE IX.

The two Contracting Parties will name Commissioners for erecting boundary posts upon the line fixed by Articles VII. and VIII., as well as upon that portion of the frontier where no posts have been erected. The time and place of meeting of these Commissioners will be settled by an understanding between the two Governments.

The two Governments will also name Commissioners to examine the frontier and to erect boundary posts between the Russian Province of Ferganah and the western part of the Chinese Province of Kachgar. These Commissioners will take the present frontier as the basis of their labours.

ARTICLE X.

The recognized Treaty right of the Russian Government to appoint Consuls at Ili, at Tarbagataï, at Kachgar, and at Ourga is henceforward extended to the towns of Sou-Tcheou (Tsia-yu-kouan) and Tourfan. In the following towns: Kobdo, Ouliassoutaï, Khami, Ouroumtsi, and Goutchen, the Russian Government will establish Consulates accordingly as they are called for by the development of commerce, and after coming to an understanding with the Chinese Government.

The Consuls at Sou-Tcheou (Tsia-yu-kouan) and Tourfan will exercise Consular functions in the neighbouring districts, where the interests of Russian subjects may call for their presence.

The provisions of Articles V. and VI. of the Treaty concluded at Peking in 1860, relating to the concession of lands for Consular dwellings, for cemeteries, and for pasturage, will be in like manner applicable to the towns of Sou-Tcheou (Tsia-yu-kouan) and Tourfan. The local authorities will assist the Consuls in finding temporary residences until the Consular houses are built.

The Russian Consuls in Mongolia and the districts situated on the two slopes of the Tian-chan will, for travelling purposes and for forwarding their correspondence, make use of the Government postal establishments, according to the stipulations of Article XI. of the Treaty of Tien-tsin and Article XII. of the Treaty of Peking. The Chinese authorities, when called upon by them for this purpose, will afford them their aid and assistance.

The town of Tourfan not being a place open to foreign trade, the right of establishing a Consulate there shall not serve as a precedent upon which to rest a similar right with respect to the ports of China, to the internal provinces, and to Manchouria.

ARTICLE XI.

Russian Consuls in China will communicate on business matters, either with the local authorities of their place of residence or with the superior authorities of the district or province, accordingly as the nature of the interests respectively intrusted to them and the importance or urgency of the business to be transacted may require. The correspondence between them will take the shape of official letters. As to the rules of etiquette to be observed in their interviews, they will be based upon the consideration which the officers of friendly Powers owe to one another.

All questions arising on Chinese territory with regard to commercial or other matters between the dependents of the two States will be examined and settled by common consent by the Consuls and the Chinese authorities.

In disputes concerning commercial matters the parties may settle their differences amicably by means of arbitrators chosen by both sides. If by this course an understanding cannot be arrived at, the question will be examined and settled by the authorities of the two States.

Written engagements between Russian and Chinese subjects concerning orders for goods or their carriage, the hire of shops, houses, and other places, or relating to other similar transactions, may be presented for the legalization of the Consulates and of the higher local administrations whose duty it is to legalize documents presented to them. In case of the non-fulfilment of engagements contracted, the Consuls and the Chinese authorities will consider as to measures calculated to insure the execution of such obligations.

ARTICLE XII.

Russian subjects are authorized, as heretofore, to carry on trade free of duty in Chinese Mongolia, in those localities or aïmaks where there are Chinese authorities, as well as in those where there are none.

Russian subjects may likewise carry on trade free of duty in the towns and other localities of the Provinces of Ili, Tarbagataï, Kachgar, Ouroumtsi, and others, situated on the northern and southern slopes of the Tlan-chan range, as far as the Great Wall. This privilege will be withdrawn when the development of trade necessitates the enactment of a Customs Tariff, in accordance with an understanding to be arrived at between the two Governments.

Russian subjects may import into and export from the aforesaid provinces of China, products of every kind, no matter what their

origin may be. They may effect purchases and sales either for cash or by barter ; they will be entitled to make payments in merchandise of all kinds.

ARTICLE XIII.

In the localities where the Russian Government is entitled to establish Consulates, as in the town of Kalgan, Russian subjects may construct houses, shops, store-houses, and other buildings on the land they may acquire by purchase, or which may be granted to them by the local authorities, in accordance with what is laid down for Ili and Tarbagataï by Article XIII. of the Kuldja Treaty of 1851.

Privileges granted to Russian subjects in the town of Kalgan, where there will be no Consulate, constitute an exception which cannot be extended to any other locality in the internal provinces.

ARTICLE XIV.

Russian merchants wishing to send from Russia by land goods for the inner provinces of China, may, as formerly, send them by the towns of Kalgan and Toun-Tcheou to the port of Tien-tsin, and thence to other ports and inner markets, and sell them in those different localities.

Merchants will use the same route to export to Russia goods purchased in the towns and ports above mentioned, or in the inner markets.

They will likewise be entitled to proceed on commercial business to Sou-Tcheou (Tsia-yu-kouan), the terminus of Russian caravans, and will there enjoy all the rights granted to Russian commerce at Tien-tsin.

ARTICLE XV.

Trade carried on by land by Russian subjects in the inner and outer provinces of China will be governed by the Regulations annexed to the present Treaty.

The commercial stipulations of the present Treaty, as well as the Regulations which serve as its complement, may be revised after the lapse of ten years, to date from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty ; but if, within the course of six months before that term expires, neither of the Contracting Parties should manifest a desire to proceed to its revision, the commercial stipulations, as well as the Regulations, will remain in force for a further term of ten years.

Trade by sea carried on by Russian subjects in China will come under the general Regulations established for foreign maritime

commerce with China. Should it become necessary to modify these Regulations, the two Governments will come to an understanding on the subject.

ARTICLE XVI.

Should the development of Russian trade by land call for the enactment of a Customs Tariff applicable to goods exported from and imported into China, which shall harmonize better with the necessities of that trade than the existing Tariffs, the Governments of Russia and China will come to an understanding on the subject, taking as a basis for fixing the export and import duties an *ad valorem* rate of 5 per cent.

Pending the enactment of this Tariff, the export duties levied on certain kinds of teas of inferior quality, which are at present subject to the rates established for teas of high quality, will be lowered in proportion to value. The settlement of those duties for each kind of tea will be sought for by means of an understanding between the Chinese Government and the Russian Envoy at Peking, within the term of one year, at the outside, from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE XVII.

Differences of opinion having heretofore arisen as to the application of Article X. of the Treaty concluded at Peking in 1860, it is hereby agreed that the stipulations of the aforesaid Article concerning the settlement of claims arising out of the theft or driving of cattle across the frontier will in future be interpreted to mean that parties found guilty of theft or driving astray will be condemned to pay the real value of the cattle not restored to the owners. It is understood that, in case of the insolvency of the guilty parties, the indemnity to be paid for the missing cattle shall not fall upon the local authorities.

The frontier authorities of both States will prosecute with the full rigour of the laws of their country parties guilty of driving astray or stealing cattle, and will take such measures as may lie in their power to restore to the rightful owners cattle which have been driven astray or which have crossed the frontier.

The tracks of cattle driven astray, or which have crossed the frontier, may be pointed out not only to the frontier guards, but also to the elders of the nearest villages.

ARTICLE XVIII.

The stipulations of the Treaty concluded at Aigoun on the 16th May, 1858, concerning the rights of the subjects of the two Empires

to navigate the Amour, the Soungari, and the Oussouri, and to trade with the inhabitants of riverain places, are and remain confirmed.

Both Governments will proceed to the establishment of an understanding concerning the mode of applying the said stipulations.

ARTICLE XIX.

The provisions of former Treaties between Russia and China, not modified by the present Treaty, remain in full force.

ARTICLE XX.

The present Treaty, after having been ratified by the two Emperors, will be promulgated in either Empire for the information and guidance of all persons concerned. The ratifications will be exchanged at St. Petersburg within six months from the date of the signature of the Treaty.

Having settled the aforesaid Articles, the Plenipotentiaries of the two Contracting Parties have signed and sealed two copies of the present Treaty in the Russian, Chinese, and French languages. Of the three texts duly collated and found to correspond, the French text shall be held to be authoritative for the interpretation of the present Treaty.

Done at St. Petersburg the 12th February, 1881.

(Signed) NICOLAS DE GIERS. (Signed) TSENG.
(L.S.) (L.S.)

(Signed) EUGÈNE BUTZOW.
(L.S.)

Protocol.

In virtue of the VIth Article of the Treaty signed this day by the Plenipotentiaries of the Russian and Chinese Governments, the Chinese Government will pay to the Russian Government the sum of 9,000,000 metallic roubles to meet the expenses of the occupation of Ili by Russian troops, and to satisfy divers pecuniary claims of Russian subjects. This sum is to be paid within a term of two years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty.

In order to fix the mode of payment of the aforesaid sum, the Undersigned have agreed as follows:—

The Chinese Government will pay the equivalent of the sum of 9,000,000 roubles in pounds sterling, viz. £1,431,664 2s., to

Messrs. Baring Brothers and Co., of London, in six equal parts of £238,610 13s. 8d. each, less the usual banking charges incurred by the transfer of these payments to London.

A space of four months shall intervene between the payments, the first being effected four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty signed this day, and the last after the completion of two years from the date of that exchange.

The present Protocol will have the same force and value as if it had been inserted word for word in the Treaty signed this day.

In token of which the Plenipotentiaries of the two Governments have signed the present Protocol and have affixed their seals to it.

Done at St. Petersburg the 12th February, 1881.

(Signed) NICOLAS DE GIERS.	(Signed) TSENG.
(L.S.)	(L.S.)
(Signed) EUGÈNE BUTZOW.	
(L.S.)	

English Text of Convention between great Britain and China relating to Burmah and Thibet. Signed at Peking, July 24, 1886.

WHEREAS Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, being sincerely desirous to maintain and perpetuate the relations of friendship and good understanding which now exists between their respective Empires, and to promote and extend the commercial intercourse between their subjects and dominions, the following Convention has been agreed upon and concluded:—

On the part of Great Britain by Nicholas Roderick O'Connor, Esquire, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation at Washington, and lately Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in China, Companion of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, duly empowered thereunto;

And on the part of China by his Highness Prince of Ch'ing, President of the Tsung-li Yamên, and his Excellency Sun, Minister of the Tsung-li Yamên, Senior Vice-President of the Board of Works.

ARTICLE I.

Inasmuch as it has been the practice of Burmah to send decennial Missions to present articles of local produce, England agrees that the highest authority of Burmah shall send the customary decennial Missions, the Members of the Missions to be of Burmese race.

ARTICLE II.

China agrees that, in all matters whatsoever appertaining to the authority and rule which England is now exercising in Burmah, England shall be free to do whatsoever she deems fit and proper.

ARTICLE III.

The frontier between Burmah and China to be marked by a Delimitation Commission, and the conditions of frontier trade to be settled by a Frontier Trade Convention, both countries agreeing to protect and encourage trade between China and Burmah.

ARTICLE IV.

Inasmuch as inquiry into the circumstances by the Chinese Government has shown the existence of many obstacles to the Mission to Thibet provided for in the Separate Article of the Chefoo Agreement, England consents to countermand the Mission forthwith.

With regard to the desire of the British Government to consider arrangements for frontier trade between India and Thibet, it will be the duty of the Chinese Government, after careful inquiry into the circumstances, to adopt measures to exhort and encourage the people with a view to the promotion and development of trade. Should it be practicable, the Chinese Government shall then proceed carefully to consider Trade Regulations; but if insuperable obstacles should be found to exist, the British Government will not press the matter unduly.

ARTICLE V.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London as soon as possible after the date of the signature thereof.

In witness whereof the respective negotiators have signed the same and affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done in triplicate at Peking, this twenty-fourth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six, corresponding with the Chinese date the twenty-third day of the sixth moon of the twelfth year of Kuang Hsu.

(L.S.) NICHOLAS RODERICK O'CONNOR.

(L.S.)

(Monogram) CH'ING.

(Monogram) SUN YU-WEN.

DESPATCH FROM HER MAJESTY'S MINISTER AT TÔKIÔ, FORWARDING
COPY OF THE TREATY OF PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN CHINA
AND JAPAN, APRIL 17, 1895.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
June, 1895.*

Mr. Lowther to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 18.)

Tôkiô, May 13, 1895.

MY LORD,

THE text of the Treaty of Shimonoseki was to-day published in the official *Gazette* accompanied by an Imperial Rescript explaining the course taken by Japan in view of the objections offered by certain of the Great Powers to the permanent occupation of the Liaotung Peninsula.

I have the honour to transmit herewith an official translation of the Treaty, and a translation of the Imperial Rescript.

I have, etc.

(Signed) GERALD LOWTHER.

Inclosure 1.

Treaty between China and Japan, signed at Shimonoseki, April 17, 1895.
(Translation.)

HIS Majesty the Emperor of Japan, and His Majesty the Emperor of China, desiring to restore the blessings of peace to their countries and subjects, and to remove all cause for future complications, have named as their Plenipotentiaries for the purpose of concluding a Treaty of Peace, that is to say:—

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Count Ito Hirobumi, Junii, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of Paulownia, Minister-President of State, and Viscount Mutsu Munemitsu, Junii, First Class of the Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs;

And His Majesty the Emperor of China, Li Hung-chang, Senior Tutor to the Heir Apparent, Senior Grand Secretary of State, Minister Superintendent of Trade for the Northern Ports of China, Viceroy of the Province of Chihli, and Earl of the First Rank, and Li Ching-fong, ex-Minister of the Diplomatic Service, of the Second Official Rank;

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in good and proper form, have agreed to the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

China recognizes definitely the full and complete independence and autonomy of Corea, and, in consequence, the payment of tribute and the performance of ceremonies and formalities by Corea to China in derogation of such independence and autonomy shall wholly cease for the future.

ARTICLE II.

China cedes to Japan in perpetuity and full sovereignty the following territories, together with all fortifications, arsenals, and public property thereon :—

(a.) The southern portion of the province of Fêng-tien, within the following boundaries—

The line of demarcation begins at the mouth of the River Yalu, and ascends that stream to the mouth of the River An-ping; from thence the line runs to Fêng Huang; from thence to Haicheng; from thence to Ying Kow, forming a line which describes the southern portion of the territory. The places above-named are included in the ceded territory. When the line reaches the River Liao at Ying Kow it follows the course of that stream to its mouth, where it terminates. The mid-channel of the River Liao shall be taken as the line of demarcation.

This cession also includes all islands appertaining or belonging to the Province of Fêng Tien situated in the eastern portion of the Bay of Liao Tung, and in the northern part of the Yellow Sea.

(b.) The Island of Formosa, together with all islands appertaining or belonging to the said Island of Formosa.

(c.) The Pescadores Group, that is to say, all islands lying between the 119th and 120th degrees of longitude east of Greenwich and the 23rd and 24th degrees of north latitude.

ARTICLE III.

The alignments of the frontiers described in the preceding article, and shown on the annexed map, shall be subject to verification and demarcation on the spot by a Joint Commission of Delimitation, consisting of two or more Japanese and two or more Chinese delegates, to be appointed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this Act. In case the boundaries laid down in this Act are found to be defective at any point, either on account of topography or in consideration of good administration, it shall also be the duty of the Delimitation Commission to rectify the same.

The Delimitation Commission will enter upon its duties as soon

as possible, and will bring its labours to a conclusion within the period of one year after appointment.

The alignments laid down in this Act shall, however, be maintained until the rectifications of the Delimitation Commission, if any are made, shall have received the approval of the Governments of Japan and China.

ARTICLE IV.

China agrees to pay to Japan as a war indemnity the sum of 200,000,000 Kuping taels. The said sum to be paid in eight instalments. The first instalment of 50,000,000 taels to be paid within six months, and the second instalment of 50,000,000 taels to be paid within twelve months after the exchange of the ratifications of this Act. The remaining sum to be paid in six equal annual instalments as follows: the first of such equal annual instalments to be paid within two years, the second within three years, the third within four years, the fourth within five years, the fifth within six years, and the sixth within seven years after the exchange of the ratifications of this Act. Interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum shall begin to run on all unpaid portions of the said indemnity from the date the first instalment falls due.

China shall, however, have the right to pay by anticipation at any time any or all of said instalments. In case the whole amount of the said indemnity is paid within three years after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Act, all interest shall be waived, and the interest for two years and a half, or for any less period, if then already paid, shall be included as a part of the principal amount of the indemnity.

ARTICLE V.

The inhabitants of the territories ceded to Japan who wish to take up their residence outside the ceded districts shall be at liberty to sell their real property and retire. For this purpose a period of two years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present Act shall be granted. At the expiration of that period those of the inhabitants who shall not have left such territories shall, at the option of Japan, be deemed to be Japanese subjects.

Each of the two Governments shall, immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of the present Act, send one or more Commissioners to Formosa to effect a final transfer of that province, and within the space of two months after the exchange of the ratifications of this Act such transfer shall be completed.

ARTICLE VI.

All Treaties between Japan and China having come to an end in consequence of war, China engages, immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of this Act, to appoint Plenipotentiaries to conclude with the Japanese Plenipotentiaries a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, and a Convention to regulate frontier intercourse and trade. The Treaties, Conventions, and Regulations now subsisting between China and European Powers shall serve as a basis for the said Treaty and Convention between Japan and China. From the date of the exchange of the ratifications of this Act until the said Treaty and Convention are brought into actual operation the Japanese Government, its officials, commerce, navigation, frontier intercourse and trade, industries, ships and subjects, shall in every respect be accorded by China most-favoured-nation treatment.

China makes, in addition, the following concessions, to take effect six months after the date of the present Act:—

1. The following cities, towns, and ports, in addition to those already opened, shall be opened to the trade, residence, industries, and manufactures of Japanese subjects under the same conditions, and with the same privileges and facilities as exist at the present open cities, towns, and ports of China.

- (1.) Shashih, in the Province of Hupeh.
- (2.) Chung King, in the Province of Szechuan.
- (3.) Suchow, in the Province of Kiang Su.
- (4.) Hangchow, in the Province of Chekiang.

The Japanese Government shall have the right to station Consuls at any or all of the above-named places.

2. Steam navigation for vessels under the Japanese flag for the conveyance of passengers and cargo shall be extended to the following places:—

- (1.) On the Upper Yangtsze River, from Ichang to Chung King.
- (2.) On the Woosung River and the Canal, from Shanghai to Suchow and Hangchow.

The Rules and Regulations which now govern the navigation of the inland waters of China by foreign vessels shall, so far as applicable, be enforced in respect of the above-named routes, until new Rules and Regulations are conjointly agreed to.

3. Japanese subjects purchasing goods or produce in the interior of China, or transporting imported merchandise into the interior of China, shall have the right temporarily to rent or hire warehouses for the storage of the articles so purchased or transported, without the payment of any taxes or exactions whatever.

4. Japanese subjects shall be free to engage in all kinds of manufacturing industries in all the open cities, towns, and ports of China, and shall be at liberty to import into China all kinds of machinery, paying only the stipulated import duties thereon.

All articles manufactured by Japanese subjects in China shall, in respect of inland transit and internal taxes, duties, charges, and exactions of all kinds, and also in respect of warehousing and storage facilities in the interior of China, stand upon the same footing and enjoy the same privileges and exemptions as merchandise imported by Japanese subjects into China.

In the event additional Rules and Regulations are necessary in connection with these concessions, they shall be embodied in the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation provided for by this Article.

ARTICLE VII.

Subject to the provisions of the next succeeding Article, the evacuation of China by the armies of Japan shall be completely effected within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Act.

ARTICLE VIII.

As a guarantee of the faithful performance of the stipulations of this Act, China consents to the temporary occupation by the military forces of Japan, of Wei-hai-wei, in the Province of Shantung.

Upon the payment of the first two instalments of the war indemnity herein stipulated for and the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, the said place shall be evacuated by the Japanese forces, provided the Chinese Government consents to pledge, under suitable and sufficient arrangements, the Customs Revenue of China as security for the payment of the principal and interest of the remaining instalments of said indemnity. In the event no such arrangements are concluded, such evacuation shall only take place upon the payment of the final instalment of said indemnity.

It is, however, expressly understood that no such evacuation shall take place until after the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation.

ARTICLE IX.

Immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of this Act, all prisoners of war then held shall be restored, and China undertakes not to ill-treat or punish prisoners of war so restored to her by Japan. China also engages to at once release all Japanese

subjects accused of being military spies or charged with any other military offences. China further engages not to punish in any manner, nor to allow to be punished, those Chinese subjects who have in any manner been compromised in their relations with the Japanese army during the war.

ARTICLE X.

All offensive military operations shall cease upon the exchange of the ratifications of this Act.

ARTICLE XI.

The present Act shall be ratified by their Majesties the Emperor of Japan and the Emperor of China, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Chefoo on the 8th day of the 5th month of the 28th year of Meiji, corresponding to 14th day of the 4th month of the 21st year of Kuang Hsü.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Shimonoseki, in duplicate, this 17th day of the 4th month of the 28th year of Meiji, corresponding to 23rd day of the 3rd month of the 21st year of Kuang Hsü.

- (L.S.) Count ITO HIROBUMI, *Junii, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of Paulownia, Minister-President of State, Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.*
- (L.S.) Viscount MUTSU MUNEMITSU, *Junii, First Class of the Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.*
- (L.S.) LI HUNG-CHANG, *Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of China, Senior Tutor to the Heir Apparent, Senior Grand Secretary of State, Minister-Superintendent of Trade for the Northern Ports of China, Viceroy of the Province of Chihli, and Earl of the First Rank.*
- (L.S.) LI CHING-FONG, *Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of China, Ex-Minister of the Diplomatic Service, of the Second Official Rank.*

Separate Articles.

ARTICLE I.

The Japanese military forces which are, under Article VIII. of the Treaty of Peace signed this day, to temporarily occupy Wei-hai-wei shall not exceed one brigade, and from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the said Treaty of Peace China shall pay annually one-fourth of the amount of the expenses of such temporary occupation, that is to say, at the rate of 500,000 Kuping taels per annum.

ARTICLE II.

The territory temporarily occupied at Wei-hai-wei shall comprise the Island of Liu Kung and a belt of land 5 Japanese *ri* wide along the entire coast-line of the Bay of Wei-hai-wei.

No Chinese troops shall be permitted to approach or occupy any places within a zone 5 Japanese *ri* wide beyond the boundaries of the occupied territory.

ARTICLE III.

The civil administration of the occupied territory shall remain in the hands of the Chinese authorities. But such authorities shall at all times be obliged to conform to the orders which the Commander of the Japanese army of occupation may deem it necessary to give in the interest of the health, maintenance, safety, distribution, or discipline of the troops.

All military offences committed within the occupied territory shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Japanese military authorities.

The foregoing Separate Articles shall have the same force, value, and effect as if they had been word for word inserted in the Treaty of Peace signed this day.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Shimonoseki, in duplicate, this 17th day of the 4th month of the 28th year of Meiji, corresponding to the 23rd day of the 3rd month of the 21st year of Kwang Hsü.

(L.S.) Count ITO HIROBUMI, *Junii*, *Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of Paulownia*, *Minister-President of State*, *Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.*

(L.S.) Viscount MUTSU MUNEMITSU, *Junii*, *First Class of the Imperial Order of the Sacred*

Treasure, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

(L.S.) LI HUNG-CHANG, *Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of China, Senior Tutor to the Heir Apparent, Senior Grand Secretary of State, Minister-Superintendent of Trade for the Northern Ports of China, Viceroy of the Province of Chihli, and Earl of the First Rank.*

LI CHING-FONG, *Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of China, Ex-Minister of the Diplomatic Service, of the Second Official Rank.*

Inclosure 2.

Imperial Proclamation, dated May 10, 1895.

(Translation.)

WE recently, at the request of the Emperor of China, appointed Plenipotentiaries for the purpose of conferring with the Ambassadors sent by China, and of concluding with them a Treaty of Peace between the two Empires. Since then the Governments of the two Empires of Russia and Germany and of the French Republic, considering that the permanent possession of the ceded districts of the Feng-tien Peninsula by the Empire of Japan would be detrimental to the lasting peace of the Orient, have united in a simultaneous recommendation to our Government to refrain from holding those districts permanently.

Earnestly desirous as we always are for the maintenance of peace, nevertheless we were forced to commence hostilities against China for no other reason than our sincere desire to secure for the Orient an enduring peace. The Governments of the three Powers are, in offering their friendly recommendations, similarly actuated by the same desire, and we, out of our regard for peace, do not hesitate to accept their advice. Moreover, it is not our wish to cause suffering to our people, or to impede the progress of the national destiny by embroiling the Empire in new complications, and thereby imperilling the situation and retarding the restoration of peace.

China has already shown, by the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, the sincerity of her repentance for her breach of faith with us, and has made manifest to the world our reasons and the object we had in view in waging war with that Empire.

Under these circumstances we do not consider that the honour and dignity of the Empire will be compromised by resorting to magnanimous measures, and by taking into consideration the general situation of affairs.

We have therefore accepted the advice of the friendly Powers, and have commanded our Government to reply to the Governments of the three Powers to that effect.

We have specially commanded our Government to negotiate with the Chinese Government respecting all arrangements for the return of the peninsular districts. The exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of Peace has now been concluded, the friendly relations between the two Empires have been restored, and cordial relations with all other Powers have been strengthened.

We therefore command all our subjects to respect our will, to take into careful consideration the general situation, to be circumspect in all things, to avoid erroneous tendencies, and not to impair or thwart the high aspirations of our Empire.

(Imperial sign-manual.)

(Countersigned by all the Ministers of State.)

May 10, 1895.

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Author Boulger, Demetrius Charles

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