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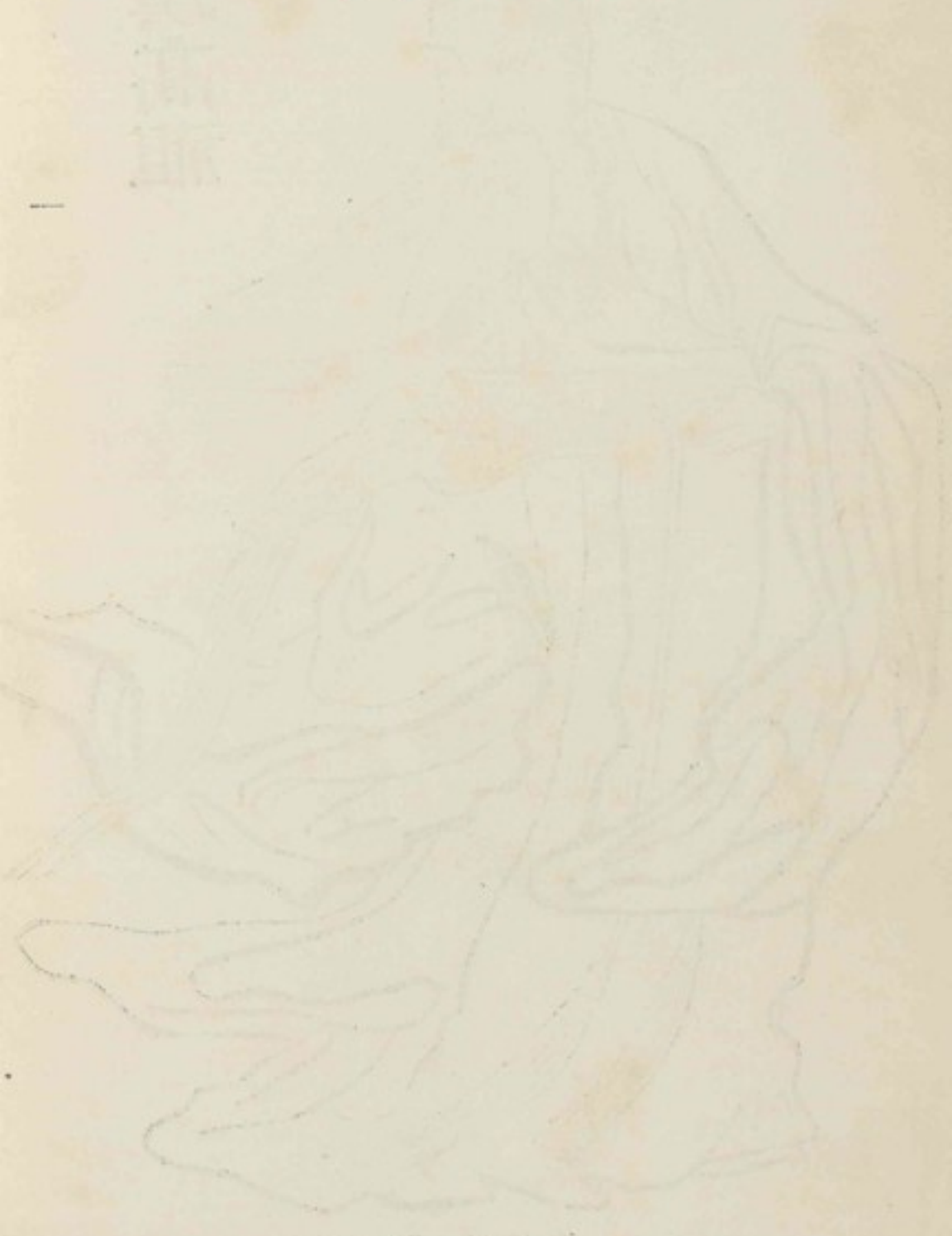






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# HISTORY OF COREA

Ancient and Modern

WITH

*DESCRIPTION OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS,  
LANGUAGE AND GEOGRAPHY.*

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY

REV. JOHN ROSS,

*Seven years resident in Manchuria.*

CHEAPER EDITION.

LONDON :

ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1891.

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## P R E F A C E .

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THE author was made painfully aware, at an early stage of his residence among the Chinese, of his own all but total ignorance of this "peculiar people," who are a world to and in themselves; and he knows that this ignorance is characteristic of his countrymen. Books written by travellers to China abound; but a visit to the Celestial Empire no more entitles a man to write on this people than the knowledge of simple arithmetic warrants a man to enter the arena of the most abstruse problems of mathematical astronomy. Travellers relate the odd, the grotesque; for this only is sufficiently notable to make it impossible to escape their passing notice. But the knowledge that the Chinese wear "tails," are olive-eyed, eat birds' nests, and consider bears' paws the greatest delicacy, no more explains this people than beef-eating accounts for the history of the English; for it is not from the eccentricities of a people we can understand them, but by our knowledge of those principles which they esteem most highly, and which they are always ready to praise, though perhaps slow to practice;—for it is only a small minority in any country which is found honestly endeavouring to embody in their life, up to the measure of their ability, those principles of right conduct which are all but universally professed by that country. This knowledge we can acquire only from the national and every day life of a people.

An excellent summary, from which to glean some knowledge of the Chinese, is the "Middle Kingdom" of Dr. Williams; but to one ignorant of the Chinese people, it is but a skeleton sketch, needing flesh and colour to make it a living picture. Dr. Legge's noble work in his translation of the Chinese classics provides a more thorough and satisfactory means of judging this people, for those who are willing to take the pains to draw inferences, to learn the cause from the effect, and from philosophical principles to search out the national life producing those principles. But this is again the work of but a few; for general readers must have all the thinking done for them.

The present work is an attempt to show what China is, by drawing, from Chinese national history, as life-like a representation as the author is able to present of the exact position in the human family which we must assign to the Chinese people. This representation should unfold all the various shades of character which go to make up the Chinese people,—the noble and the base, the mean and the honourable,—and should picture the unselfish patriot, as well as the man who acts only with the view of advancing his own private interests; for all these will be found in China as in Britain. As Philosophy or Literature and Government are, and have always been, indissolubly wedded together in China, we should also thus see Chinese philosophy exhibited in actual life, and be able to reveal the causes and explain the process of political revolutions in that country. But as it would require scores of volumes to detail Chinese universal history, the author believed his purpose would be most effectually accomplished by giving an account of the rise and progress of the reigning dynasty of China, from its earliest dawn to the zenith of its power. But in preparing materials for this history, it was found so inextricably blended with the history of



Liaotung, where it originated, and this again so indissolubly connected with Corea, that it is deemed advisable to give the history of Corea and Liaotung in a separate and introductory form, and to make it as complete as can be done from the authorities at the disposal of the author. This plan was all the more readily adopted, because the recital of the Chinese ancient history, centering around Liaotung, will suffice to show as much of the past of China, as will prepare the reader for more easily comprehending its present, and approximately forecasting its future.

That future is yet to wield a mighty influence for good or for evil upon the whole world. The political throes of ancient China burst up the old Roman empire; and those who know the internal state of China, are aware that changes are going on which will make her power more actively felt by the world at large than ever before. The main condition for the manifestation of that power, is either Truth, which shall teach the Chinese mutual trust,—or a Napoleon, who shall compel united action. Christians are especially bound to interest themselves more in this China, so that when she does appear in her awakened Samson strength, it may be as a Christian power. China is still weak, but at the present moment she is assuming a bold attitude on the borders of Russia; and has compelled Russia to agree to cede over to her Eastern Turkestan, which the Russians had declared “inalienably” annexed.

In preparing this volume on Corea for the public, the author had to follow one of two courses,—either to cast the principal material at his disposal into the smallest possible bulk, and to give a few essays on the past history of the countries illustrated, or to present those materials in fuller detail, to be more literally exact if less interestingly written; and he has chosen the latter.

The author would recommend the reader to begin with chapter X, and to become somewhat familiar with the Korean people, before beginning their past history under the chapters,—*Chaosien, Gaogowli, Sinlo, and Corea*. Chapters II, III, and IV, are given not only because the *Hienbi* belonged to the country called Liaosi, but because they present a true picture of the world of China, which has often been represented as a country whose history is so uniform and quiet; no wars, no passions! The condition of China represented in those chapters, and in others of this volume, though not a chronic, is one of frequent and periodic occurrence.

The two maps, given in the beginning of this volume, are intended to show the relative positions of States, Provinces, and Cities, in Corea and Liaotung. The illustrations are inserted to enable the reader to see modern Korean costumes, and must by no means be supposed to index the intellectual portion of the Korean's person, for the paintings are by an indifferent Korean artist. When names of China proper are given, it were well to consult a Chinese map, which is sure to be accessible to all readers. And as the names of Chinese are neither very euphonious to the ear, nor attractive to the eye,—and as they are useful only to differentiate individuals, so much only of the name is used as will suffice to distinguish the various actors from each other.



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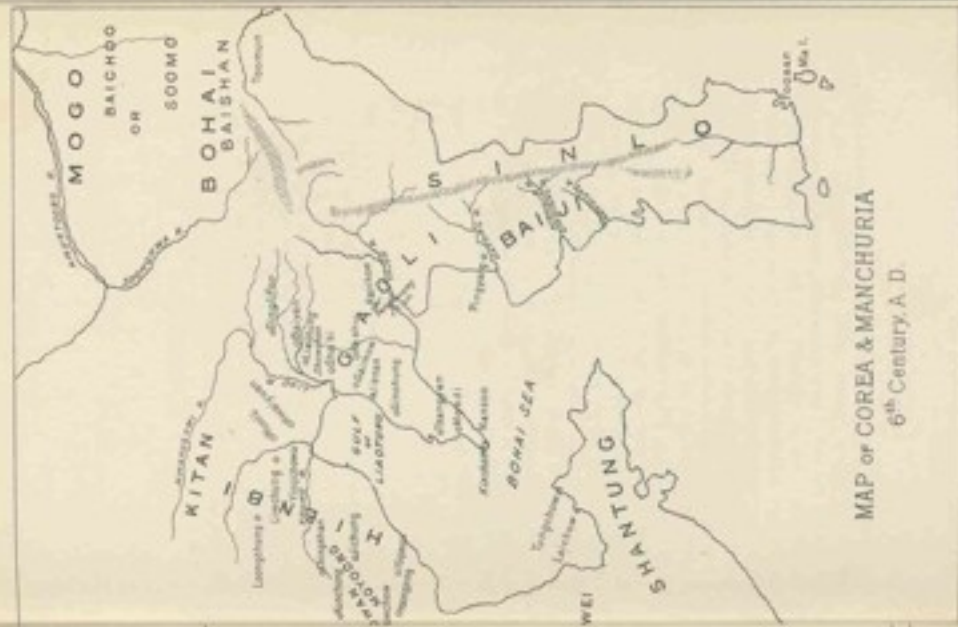
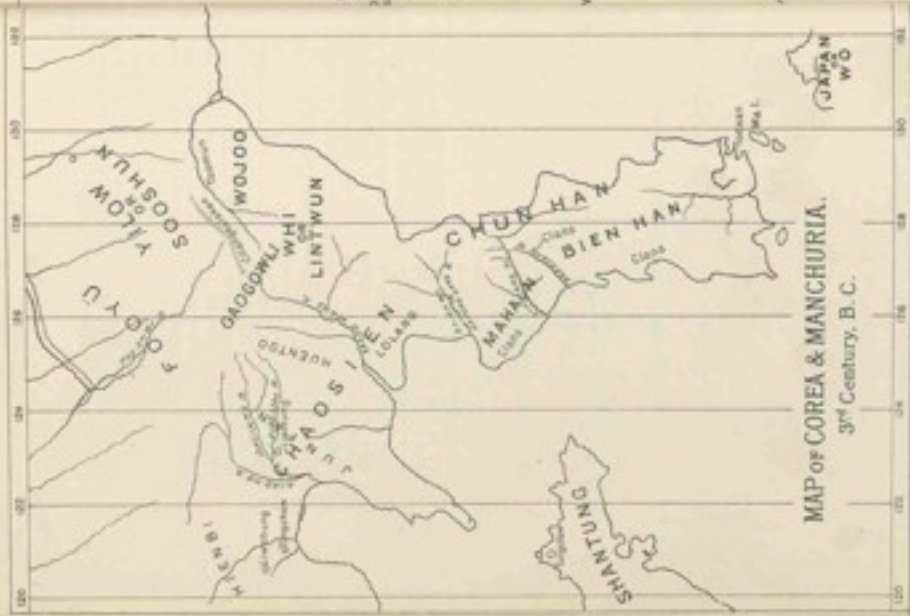
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## INTRODUCTION.

THOUGH Chinese history carries us far enough back into the thickening mists of a hoary antiquity when treating of purely Chinese subjects, it is matter of regret that the historians of the "Centre" of the Universe treat of their barbarous neighbours only when the latter come into contact with the Chinese government by tribute or by war. And even up to the present moment, Chinese literati have failed to regard ethnography or philology as subjects worthy of their attention. Max Müller complains of the ancient Greeks, Hebrews, and Romans, because of their literary isolation and their pride of race; so the Chinese, even in this nineteenth century, continue to consider their land as the centre of the world, outside of which are barbarians, scarcely distinguishable from each other; their language as the only civilized medium of communication; and their literature as the only writings worthy of the serious thought of the scholar. Hence it is that, though full, and apparently accurate, accounts are given of China's contact with the various barbarians forming the "Four Seas" around her, we search in vain for any critical grappling with either the language or race of the "barbarian" kingdoms treated of; and only in rare instances is an unsatisfactory list given of the manners and customs of some of those peoples. If this is true of the "barbarians" north and west of China, much more is it true of those of the north-east; which is all the more regrettable, inasmuch as this region has played, for many ages, so important a part in the *role* of Chinese history, and has had so preponderating an influence over China's fate.

That this region was inhabited long before the Chinese became a nation of any consequence, we have no hesitation in believing; for we read ancient Chinese history very inaccurately indeed if it does not imply that the Chinese people were preceded every-

where by a race, or races of nomads, whom they gradually drove out of their agricultural path; and that there was horde upon horde of such nomads, far beyond the reach of their influence, of whose very names or existence they were ignorant. It was only in the thirteenth century that the Chinese first sent an officer to Formosa; and it is not, therefore, to be wondered at that they were for many centuries ignorant of the existence of peoples away in the north and north-east, much farther removed, separated from them by uncultivated plains and mountain wilds, more difficult to traverse than the Formosan channel.

There is so much that is apocryphal in the dawning of Chinese history that, though doubtless based on fact, it is difficult to say where fact ends and fiction begins. But the notices of the country improperly called Manchuria are of so general a nature that there is nothing to question.

Over twenty-three centuries before the Christian era, and four centuries before Abraham was born, when the paternal governments of Yao and Shwun are gravely said to have filled the land of China with the blessings of the golden age, Liaotung, and the country generally known as Manchuria, was peopled by the *Sishun Shu*, or Sooshun, whose descendants at the present moment rule the destinies of the half of Asia. This ancient Shun Family is said to have occupied the regions around and north of Hingking. We are left to infer that the rest of Liaotung was occupied by them, or possessed only by the deer and the tiger.

The Chinese entered their present lands from the west, apparently by the main route along and across the Yellow River, for the south-west of Chihli, and the northern centre of Shansi, including Taiyuen, have always been an integral portion of China proper. When Yü (B.C. 2200) is said to have divided the land into Nine *Chow* or Departments, that of *Ki* embraced the south-west of Chihli and the northern centre of Shansi; that of *Tsing* included the north-west of Shantung and the south-east and east of Chihli, extending north into Liaosi. The northern portion of *Ki* was afterwards formed into an independent



Department, called *Yowchow*,\* and the north of Tsing was called *Yingchow*, the site of which is placed both in Chihli and Liaosi; but all the best authorities agree that it was beyond *Shanhaigwan*, and consisted of the modern prefecture of Kingchow.† *Yowchow* was, for many subsequent centuries, known as *Liaosi Kun*, or Province of West Liao, and *Yingchow* as *Liaotung Kun*, or Province of East Liao. In reading Chinese ancient history this has to be particularly noted, otherwise Liaosi and Liaotung may be taken to signify the same as now, when they apply to the west and the east of the Liao river.

It is not till the beginning of the Chow dynasty (12th century B.C.) that we hear of a kingdom in the south of Liaotung proper. This was Chaosien, occupying the fine lands east of Kingchow to *Datong gang*, including the rivers Liao and Yaloo. It touched the sea on the south, and extended north to the borders of the modern Mukden. The people of Chaosien were, without doubt, the Sishun, who had gradually increased, and hived off to the south. At that same time there were over a hundred "kingdoms," or independent clans, east and south-east of the *Bei shwi* or *Datong gang*. These were also, most probably, various swarms of the savage Sishun. The northern portions of Chihli were then, as for two score centuries after, occupied by Mongolic nomads, or their house-dwelling descendants. In the 18th century B.C., the name Sishun is known to have been changed to *Sooshun*; and, six centuries later, the lands to the north and north-east of Chaosien were, as they have been ever since, occupied by the Sooshun savages.

If, therefore, Chinese history gives us positively but scanty information regarding the early history of that extensive region between the Gulf of Liaotung and the Frozen Ocean, and between the Ural Mountains and the Pacific, we are able to infer that the people were savage nomads. Indeed, at a comparatively recent period, much of that land was occupied by people

\*The modern Peking.

†So written on maps, but written and called Jinchow by the Chinese.



who did not till the ground, and knew not how to use a fire; who in summer lived on the hill sides, and dug deep pits for winter accommodation; whose clothing consisted of a square foot of cotton before and another behind; and an inch thick of lard smeared over their bodies formed their winter coat. I think we are therefore justified in believing the Sooshun to have been savages in every sense of the word, for they must have not only eaten flesh as their only food, but eaten it uncooked.

The example said to have been set by Kitsu has been abundantly imitated; for from the time he fled to Chaosien, Liaotung became subject to irregular immigration from China—never more so than within the past century. Many fled to the inaccessible nomads for shelter from oppression, many for asylum from justice. But though these might and did introduce a degree of Chinese civilization, the character of the people and the nature of their customs remained mainly stationary. It is now impossible to ascertain the resemblances, or differences, in the customs of the numerous kingdoms into which this region has almost always been divided. The languages, if not indeed originally of the same species, were, as they still are, of the same genus. For however different their various languages now, there is no positive proof that they were as distinct from each other, three or even two thousand years ago, as they now are. Analogy would lead us to suppose the reverse, and to infer that the Turanian languages of this region were at one time one and the same, but as unlike Chinese as now. During the Han dynasty—prior, contemporaneous with, and subsequent to the time of our Lord—the names of men and places among the Turanian peoples of the modern Mongolia, Manchuria, and Corea, were polysyllabic as they are now. Much more we cannot learn; nor is it possible to find such traces, at so early a period of Chinese history, as would justify us in expecting proofs of a common original Turanian language over all that region.

Long after Kitsu is said to have introduced Chinese civilization among the *Sishun* who formed the kingdom of Chaosien,



Yow and Ying Chows remained in their original savage state. But in the time of the "Fighting Kingdoms" (5th century B.C.), those regions—then Liaosi and Liaotung—became organised into the Kingdom of Yen; implying an improvement in manners, and, possibly, the ability to till the ground.

When, after centuries of misrule, anarchy, and bloodshed, China was again welded into one by the Founder of the Tsin (Chin) dynasty—him who began the building of the Great Wall, B.C. 239,—Yowchow was renamed Liaosi Kun, and Yingchow, Liaotung Kun. The Tsin was overturned by the first really powerful dynasty China has ever produced—the Han,—which began to reign B.C. 206, and whose name dates Chinese affairs of state for nearly five centuries. It is after this dynasty the Chinese delight to call themselves the "Han People."

As soon as the Han was firmly seated on the throne of China, a formidable expedition was hurled on Chaosien, which, though doubtless always fighting in the east, never had any war with China till this second century B.C. A stubborn resistance was of no avail against overwhelming numbers and better discipline, and Chaosien ceased to be. It was about the very time of the destruction of Chaosien that Fooyü men laid the foundation of the ancient and modern Corea, giving first the name Gaogowli, afterwards of Gaoli, to the head waters of the Yaloo, where they originated. Sooshun produced another powerful kingdom, that of Yilow, north-east of Fooyü, before which the glory of Fooyü paled.

The power of Han no sooner extended its wave into Chaosien than it began to subside. And the Eastern Han had to yield, to the regions formerly called Chaosien, the rank of a feudal kingdom. The dynasty, towards its close, nominated Goong Swundoo Commandant of Huentoo. But the dynastic influence having waned so that it scarcely extended so far, Goong assumed first the title of Liaotung How (Marquis), and afterwards Liaotung Wang or Feudal King. He got possession of all Liaotung and Liaosi, and divided his kingdom into West Liao,

East Liao, and Central Liao provinces; and the neighbouring small kingdoms had to acknowledge his sway.

When the Han state ship burst up, numberless living planks struggled for the uppermost place. Among them the Wei became dominant in north-east China, marched against, overthrew the grandson of Goong, and annexed Liaotung to the northern dynasty. With the waning of the Wei dynasty Gaogowli, which had been steadily growing among the south-western slopes of Changbaishan, gradually spread over all Liaotung, while Baiji, which was east of ancient Chaosien, and south-east of Gaogowli, seized Liaosi. Both powers were, however, driven off by the Tsin dynasty (3rd century A.D.), which established the feudal kingdom of Liaotung. The power of Tsin vanished very speedily, and Moyoong Kwei took possession of Pingchow and the west of the Liao river. And in the Swi dynasty (6th century A.D.), Gaogowli again overran all Liaotung, and held it in spite of the overwhelming forces of the Swi Emperor sent against it. Taidsoong of Tang drove the Gaoli across the Yaloo. But Gaodsoong Emperor afterwards annihilated Gaoli, as the Han had effaced Chaosien, and divided all its lands into 9 Doodoo foo, 42 chow, and 100 hien cities. The Tang reached its zenith in crushing Corea, and was soon unable to hold its own. The Emperor Kaifung was compelled to recognise the kingdom of *Bohai*, which sprung into being on the ruins and at the north of Gaogowli. It extended southwards to the Gulf of Liaotung, and westwards to, or beyond, Shanhaigwan. Bohai filled the land with walled cities, agricultural villages, and literary institutions; but though it swept the Chinese beyond the bounds of the modern Kingchow, it did not, like its succeeding Sooshun kingdoms, penetrate into China proper. It was in its turn swallowed up by the Kitan, who spread southwards and south-westwards, and, under the name of *Liao* or "Iron," drove the Sung dynasty south of the old Yellow River, and threatened to extinguish it altogether.

The power of Bohai was no sooner faded away than the



Nüjun, or Sooshun, gradually arose, a phoenix out of the burnt out ashes. It followed the track of Bohai, from the northern slopes of Changbaishan and the beautiful wilds of Ninguta, driving the Liao out of Liaotung, then out of China, bearing absolute sway of all China north of the Yellow River, and becoming virtually masters of the northern bank of the Yangtsu, dictating for a considerable time its own terms, under the title of *Kin* or Gold, to the effeminate Sung dynasty.

The Mongols, from the north of Shamo, and the north-west of Manchuria, swept with an irresistible flood all Asia, from the sea of Japan to the heart of Russia, swallowing up the Kin, crushing out the lingering death of the Sung in South China, and setting up the Yuen dynasty. They made Liaoyang the capital of all Manchuria, dividing the country into seven "Loo" or Circuits. But the Yuen dynasty soon made itself hateful by its vices, and a Chinese monk drove out the Mongols, establishing the Ming dynasty. Liaotung fell with a stroke of his pen. But this Ming dynasty never established its rule in Manchuria further north than Kaiyuen, having to rest content with the lands now shown in maps as enclosed by palisades of wood, which may have at one time existed, and, according to Du Halde, did exist in the seventeenth century.

This dynasty was again displaced by the largest wave of Sooshun adventure; for it is a petty clan of that widely extended family which has ruled the Chinese world for over two centuries. They sprang from the narrow, beautiful, but savage glens far south-west of Changbaishan and east of Mukden. They are known as the Manchu dynasty—the word *Manjoo*, in their own language, meaning "Clear," as their predecessors were Ming, or "Bright."

This bird's-eye view will help to show the important rôle played by Liaotung, beyond all proportion to its wealth and resources, over the destinies of the great Chinese world; and will explain the chief cause why the author has considered a history of Liaotung—in reality the history of Corea—a necessary prelude to the history of the rise of the present Manchu empire.

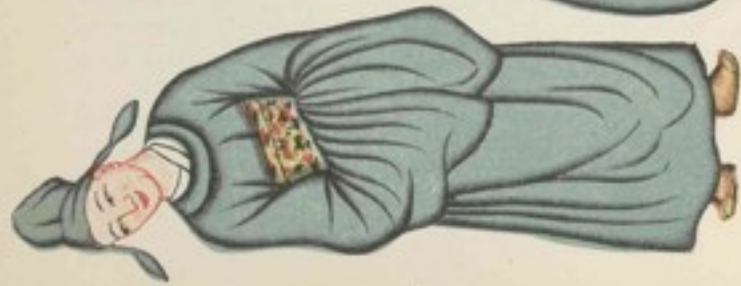
Hundreds of Chinese volumes have been carefully ransacked for this work, the sources of principal information being the General History of Su Magwang; that of Joo Hi, brought down to the end of the Ming dynasty; the *Shungwoo ji* or History of the Holy Wars of the Manchus; the *Doong hwa loo* or Annals of the Manchu dynasty; the History of Liaotung, more bulky than satisfactory; and some books of travel calculated to throw some light on Ancient Liaotung. The information regarding Corean Customs, Government, &c., was derived partly orally and partly from Corean books written in Chinese.

The result is what appears. The process of digesting so much material is sure to leave some crude matter; but if the author has succeeded in more clearly explaining what the intelligent and civilized races of Eastern Asia are; and if he is able to make his fellow-countrymen take a somewhat more lively interest in the Chinese, a people possessing many elements of sterling nobility, his purpose shall have been amply fulfilled. And the fact that his efforts to ferret out the origin of the Tungusic races of North-Eastern Asia have produced so little, will be the less regretted if the work helps to give a hint to those better qualified to conduct such investigation.





COREAN COSTUMES



PRIVY COUNCILLOR



& WIFE.



KING



QUEEN

## CHAPTER I.

### CHAOSIEN.

THAT mountainous peninsula in the north-east of Asia, west of Japan, and east of Manchuria, is known to westerns under the name of Corea or Korea, but to the Chinese, whose emperor is liege lord of that kingdom, it is known under the name of Chaosien.\* The Coreans themselves employ both names; the official designation being Chaosien, but in common speech the name *Gori* or *Gaoli* is general. The modern name Chaosien is a revival of the name under which the country was known in its earliest contact with China. But the Chaosien of those days was not co-extensive with the Chaosien of the present day, for the greater portion of the modern Chaosien extends eastwards far beyond the original Chaosien.

But that original Chaosien stretched much further westward than the present, embracing all Liaotung, and, for a time, whose duration is unknown, a great part of Liaosi as well. It stretched east little beyond the Ping or Datonggang river. To its east were many independent tribes, afterwards amalgamated into two kingdoms, those of Baiji and Sinlo. A straight line from Kwangning, through Liaoyang to the Yaloo river, would point out the extreme north of Chaosien, and the sea washed all its southern bounds.

From Chinese history it is impossible to say whence came the inhabitants of Chaosien, for the statement that they are the descendants of Kitsu, brother of Woo Wang, can apply at most only to a line of kings over Chaosien, and not in any way to the people forming his kingdom. The people were there before he went, and had been there for ages unknown. They were

\* The *Chaoshien* of Du. Halde, whose brief account of it is inaccurate. (See Map I.)



doubtless of the Tungusic people around them. But whence they came, and when they emigrated, history will never inform us.

That they were savages, to begin with, is pretty certain. The first historical ray of light—creating, however, only a questionable twilight, is that Woo Wang, son of Wun Wang, and founder of the Chow dynasty (B.C. 1122), invested his younger brother Kitsu with the feudal sovereignty of Chaosien. But Chinese scholars state that the “investment” is a euphemism to shield the character of the ancestor of Confucius,—the truth being that Kitsu, a faithful and upright man, found it necessary to leave his elder brother’s court; and having fled to Chaosien, was there elected king. He refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the new emperor, or king Woo, as the ruler of China was then styled. Both Chinese history and Corean tradition agree in representing Kitsu as the civilizer of the aborigines of Chaosien. But Corean tradition, written or oral, is dependent on Chinese history; for as we shall see, the present Corea is inhabited by the descendants of men who had no connection with Chaosien. Kitsu is said to have taught Chaosien propriety or etiquette (*li*), uprightness or integrity (*yi*), agriculture, the rearing of silkworms, the spinning of silk and its weaving. He established eight laws, which were so well observed that theft was unknown, no house was barred, no store locked, and no woman unfaithful.

The wide plains and innumerable vallies of inner Mongolia, Manchuria, and Corea were peopled in the time of Confucius, full five centuries before the Christian era. When he was travelling about among the kingdoms of China, he is said to have desired to visit and live among the “Nine Yi.”\*

\* The “Investigation into the Men and Things” of the Four Books, allocates the Nine Yi and their countries as follows:—1. the *Kuen Yi* in Hüentoo; 2. *Yu Yi* in Lolang; 3. *Fang Yi* in Gaoli; 4. *Whang Yi* in Manjie; 5. *Bai Yi* in Fooyü; 6. *Chu Yi* in Swokia; 7. *Hüen Yi* in Doongtoo; 8. *Fung Yi* in Wo Yin (Japan); 9. *Yang Yi* in Tienbi. The first five were east and north-east of Liaotung. Some of the others I cannot localise. The name *Yi* is variously interpreted. The word means to “squat,” hence “without propriety or manners.” It also means to “ward off,” “butt,” and is applied to “working the ground,” hence supposed to mean “benevolent,” from the desire to see things live. This latter is the common rendering.



These nine barbarians were all to the east of China. Liaotung and the regions then occupied by Chaosien were included among them; and if civilization had been introduced among these full five centuries before, it is strange that they were then undistinguished from the Nine Yi, of whom it is said that they folded their hair in a bunch on the top of their head, painted their bodies, ate food without cooking, and knew nothing of grain. The story of Kitsu is not impossible, but it is to be received with suspicion.

In the beginning of the Han dynasty, two centuries before the Christian era, How Dsun, who was king, is said to have been the fourteenth generation occupying the Chaosien throne. The emperor who had welded China into one empire, under the title of the Tsin, is known to military men as the original builder of the Great Wall\* as a barrier to the Nomadic hordes beyond; and to literary men as the author of the conflagration, which consumed the Confucian classics, which teach that the prince is for the people, not the people for the prince. He was no sooner dead than his empire crumbled to pieces, like that of Alexander a century before. A frightful anarchy then lorded it over China. The capital of the kingdom of Yen was bounded by Yügwan, in the neighbourhood of Shanhaigwan, 900 li † to the east, by Yunjoong ‡ (cloud-mist) 700 li to the west, by Hiwngchow 240 li south, and by Goobeikow 300 li to its north. This kingdom was thrown into the same disorder as the rest of China; and most of its people sought the protection of Junfan and Chaosien, which divided the kingdom of Yen between them. But Wei Man, a chief of Yen, with an army of his fellow-countrymen,

\* We find it needful to state that the modern wall is by no means that built two centuries B.C. In the article "Fire-arms," in "Chambers's Cyclopaedia," a British officer is quoted inferring the existence of fire-arms in China in the Tsin dynasty, because there are loopholes in the great wall! The loopholes, constructed of brick, existing now in good condition after passing through 2000 winters with a cold below zero, and summers with a heat of 90°, would certainly be curiosities! The wall has been twice rebuilt since its foundation was first laid.

† Anciently there were four li to an English mile, now a fraction over three.

‡ Tatung of Shansi.

came into collision with How Dsun, fought with and conquered him, and became king of Chaosien. He built a city for his capital east of the river Bei, as the Datonggang was then called. This city he called Wanghien. North-east of him, north of Chunhan, and south of Wojoo, was the kingdom of Whi, which extended eastwards to the sea. In B.C. 126, Whi gave in its allegiance to the Han dynasty.

As soon as this Han \* dynasty established itself without a rival over the turbulent waters of China, it began to look around its frontiers. The kingdom of Yen was remote and difficult to govern directly from the capital. The emperor, therefore, established the frontier on the Bei river; thus including not only Liaotung, but the present Corean province of Pingyang as well. We hence learn that if Chaosien had been so long co-extensive with Liaotung, the inhabitants were not very numerous; for had there been any fortified cities, the authority of Han would have been contested before crossing the Bei.

Yow Jü, the grandson of Wei Man, was then king, and was repeatedly invited to shelter himself under the warmth of the Han wings. He believed himself more comfortable as he was, and declined the honour as often as proffered. Not only so, but he took the liberty to stop the heir of Chunhan when passing through his territory to acknowledge the Han as his master. At length (B.C. 109) the emperor sent Ho, a special ambassador, who sailed down the Bei river, went eastwards to Wanghien, and used every argument to induce Yow to better himself, by

\* The successful rebel or revolutionist in China, who ousts the reigning dynasty, always assumes a dynastic style for the rule of himself and descendants, which style covers the whole period during which his family is able to retain the throne. Each ruler of this dynasty has his own special style. If the former may be called the dynastic style, the latter may be termed the chronological style; for as we date by the Christian era, the Chinese date by the style of the emperor, just as Parliament dates by the year of the sovereign's reign. If an emperor dies even on the second day of a new year, his style dates that year; and though his successor is immediately enthroned, the new emperor's style begins only with the first new-year's day after his accession. The present is the *Ching* or *Tsing* dynasty in China, as it is the Hanoverian in England; and the fifth year of the Emperor Gwangsu, as it is the forty-second of Queen Victoria.



acknowledging the Han. But as Yow refused to be convinced, Ho returned, and his unaccomplished object put him in no good humour. A Chaosien chief, with an escort, was sent to accompany him, to prove their respect for the Chinese emperor. When, however, they got well west of the Bei, instead of expressing his gratitude to his escort, Ho had the chief put to death, and hastened to the Chinese court to announce the victory in which he had cut off the head of a Chaosien general! His bravery was rewarded by the glad emperor, who appointed him governor of eastern Liaotung. This incident pictures the political morality which rules the Chinese court ever since that murder of 2000 years ago. Chaosien, however, did not regard the matter in the same light, but considered the appointment of Ho as much a threat as it was an insult. The men were therefore mustered; crossed the Bei; marched westwards; attacked, defeated, and beheaded Ho; and then returned to their own capital. But to avenge this insult to its offended dignity, the Han court got ready without delay an expedition in Bohai, as the north-west of Shantung was then called. The naval force set sail for the Chaosien shore, where it landed in the beginning of B.C. 107; while a land army passed through the modern Shanhaigwan, Liaotung, by Funghwangshan, across the present Yaloo, marching eastwards to act in concert with the naval force.

As soon as the ships got to shore, an army of 7000 men was pushed on in advance. It was encountered by Yow, who broke it up completely; the survivors fled to the mountains, where they had to remain for ten days. The van of the land army suffered the same fate on the west bank of the Bei. This had not been anticipated by men who had so lately overcome large kingdoms, and taken great cities. An imperial messenger was ushered in before Yow, who deeply bowed in the presence of the representative of Chinese majesty; and stated that he had been always anxious to acknowledge the lordship of his Chinese majesty, but he could not trust himself to the two generals whose armies had just been defeated. In proof of his readiness



to show his loyalty, he prepared to at once send his heir to the Chinese court with a present of 5000 horses, together with the plunder and prisoners taken after the defeats. This heir had an escort of 10,000 armed men; the number of which led both the messenger and Dso, the commander of the Chinese army, west of the river, to suspect a trick. The heir was on his part quite as suspicious of them, so that when he got to the east bank of the river he determined not to risk the crossing. Nor was his caution at all groundless, after the former experiences of his country of the value to be placed on Chinese honour. The messenger returned to court empty handed, and was executed for his share in the blunder.

Dso was more fortunate. He had crossed the Bei, defeated the northern Chaosien army, and set up his camp to the north of the city; while Commander Low, at the head of his disembarked naval troops, pressed it on the south. Though the Yen\* men of Dso's army behaved well, and died bravely in great numbers, many months passed away making no impression on the city. The chief attention of the besieged was directed to Dso; while they endeavoured, secretly, to form a treaty with Low, who, after his first defeat, was not eager to press nearer. The manœuvring came to nothing, for the Chinese commanders and the Chaosien king were all mutually suspicious.

Being at a loss to account for the length of time spent in taking a single city, the emperor sent the Taishow or governor of Tsinan in Shantung to investigate. To him Dso stated that the reason why the siege was not long ago at an end, was that he was not properly seconded by Low. The naval commander was therefore summoned to appear at Dso's camp, where the Taishow imprisoned him. All the forces, on both sides of the city, were put at the disposal of Dso, who pressed the siege with redoubled vigour. Five Chaosien officers, seeing that their king was determined never to yield, and knowing, because of the wasted strength of the garrison, that the siege must end disastrously, sent trusty men secretly, who murdered their king,

\* See above description of Yen kingdom, p. 11.



Chinese Woman—II. Cent. B.C.





after which they fled with all their men to Dso. The city opened its gates immediately.

Thus was finished the first war between China and any portion of the land now known as Corea. The country of Chaosien was immediately divided into four provinces or circuits—1st. Lolang, which the Coreans call Norang, the present Pingyang, in which was the captured city Wanghien; 2nd. Lintwun, kingdom of Whi; Lintwun was the modern Gangwan Do; 3rd. Hüentoo, the original Gaogowli, and the eastern portion of the present Liaotung; and 4th. Junfan, the western half of Liaotung bordering the Liao river. (See Map I.)

The great bulk of the modern Corea was still beyond this tract. To the east of the conquered regions was Mahan, with fifty-four "kingdoms," or independent clans. Still east was Chun han, divided into twelve independent "kingdoms"; Bien han was south of it, and bordering the kingdom of Wo, as Japan is known in Chinese history, which, too, had twelve "kingdoms." On the northern border of Chun han was the kingdom of Whi, extending eastwards to the sea. North of it was Wojoo, also stretching to the sea.

Mahan, east and south-east of Lolang, had among its fifty-four kingdoms one called *Baiji* or *Baijiachi*, a name which Chinese writers hesitatingly derive from the fact that a hundred families fled thither from China. It afterwards gained supreme power in Mahan. This land produced pears of enormous size, and does so still; long-tailed fowls; and large pearls, which the people stitched on their clothes in rows, and of which they made necklaces. Those of them who were very robust bound pieces of hide to their back with strong cords. To this hide they attached a long pole, with which they made merry antics. They had no formal etiquette, nor could they ride on horse or ox back; they, therefore, had neither horse nor ox at that time. Their houses were made of earth, in appearance like a pig-stye, with a door above.

*Chun han* was also called Chin (Tsin) han, a name originating from a supposed immigration of Chinese, who

remained faithful to the Tsin dynasty when it was overthrown. When a son was [born among this people, a heavy stone was pressed against his head to flatten it.\* *Bien han*, to the south of it, can have had no distinctively peculiar customs, for none such are related. Both these Han became merged afterwards into the kingdom of Sinlo. Its grades of officials numbered sixteen,—the highest of which was called *Dsoping*, and the second *Daswai*. Each of the provinces was under a *Fangling*, who was a *Daswai*. Each province was divided into five districts (*Kun*), each of which had three military officers of the fourth grade, called *Duswai*. Baiji officials were similar in all respects. Hence those who know Chinese will at once infer, that though there may have been Chinese immigrations, the population was not Chinese, for Chinese official ranks have always been nine.

*Whi* kingdom was south of Gaogowli and Wojoo. At one period of its history it extended west to Funghwangchung. Originally it was under the rule of Chaosien; and with it, is said to have received, through Kitsu, the civilization of China. In B.C. 169 it had 28,000 able-bodied (*Ding*) men. When Chaosien was broken up, Nan Lü, a prince of Whi, established an independent kingdom there. The land produced cotton and silk, and very small horses,†—called under-fruit-tree horse, because it could pass under the branches of a fruit tree with its rider on its back. It was about three feet high. Gaogowli, to the north of it, produced the same minute horse. And as no mention is made of it either among Chaosien products, or those of the Three Han, we must conclude that this diminutive horse, now so common all over western Corea, came from the north of the

\* In Manchuria at this day, even the Chinese follow the ancient Manchu custom of tying a piece of board behind the head to make it straight up and down. What will phrenologists say to the practice? Certainly no remarkable result is ever manifest, though the back of the head rises up in a line with the nape of the neck.

† This horse is of the same height as the Shetland pony, but much more strongly and less gracefully formed. The author was astonished to find a small horse very like the Corean in Singapore, on the Malay coast; this, however, was a native of the islands south of Singapore. We have never heard of any such diminutive horse in any portion of China proper.



country, and has its home on the eastern slopes of Changbaishan. The mountains of Whi were invested with leopards (Bao); while the sea, on its east, produced the beautiful *Ban*, or vary-coloured fish. When a man died his house was forsaken, left to rot to pieces, and a new one built by the survivors.

*Wojoo* was east of Gaogowli, stretching to the shores of the sea of Japan. One peculiar custom is recorded of this people. The head of a family provided a great tree, a hundred feet long, which was burnt and scooped out hollow, till only sufficient wood was left at the unburnt end to securely seal it. When one of the family died, the body was buried elsewhere till the flesh was consumed away, and then the bones were taken up and put into this tube. All the members of the family were re-interred in this peculiar tomb. There is a practice much like this in use to the present day among the Sibo Manchus, north of Mukden.

East of the Three Hans, in the midst of the sea, was the kingdom of *Wo* (Japan). There were over thirty kings and kingdoms; the most powerful of which was in Yematai. This land produced white pearls and dark blue jade. There were no oxen, horses, sheep, or birds. Their arrow barbs were of bone.\* The men coloured their faces black, and covered their bodies with flour. The extent and depth of the colour showed the rank to which the man belonged,—the first advance beyond Carlyle's clotheless king! Women left their hair unbound to flow behind, and painted their bodies with a red dye. They ate food with the fingers,† and wore no shoes. They were extremely fond of strong spirits. They were long livers; living often beyond a hundred years. They assumed a half sitting posture to show respect. The women were more numerous than the men, those who could support them having four or five wives.‡ They sent

\* Human or fish?

† This would imply that the Chinese in the time of Han, and most likely much earlier, used *kaai-dsu* or chop-sticks, and were probably the only people then on the face of the earth who did not eat with the fingers.

‡ By the same, which is a blundering test, China has always had more women than men.



messengers with tribute to Han dynasty. In the beginning of this dynasty, a large force of Japanese made a plundering expedition into Chaosien, as they have often done since. The greatest anarchy prevailed in *Wo* during the years 147-170 A.D. There was no supreme ruler till a woman, *Bei mi hoo*, old and unmarried, credited with the possession of magical powers, was made queen. She had a thousand servants; but only one man saw her face, who brought her food, and took forth her orders.

To the east of *Wojoo*, in the great sea, was the "*Kingdom of Women*." These were, however, of nature more gentle than their western sisters,—the Amazons of world-wide fame, the ancient advocates of women's rights, who advocated at the point of the sword, and dealt death blows on the battle-field. The successive generations of our eastern Amazons were secured by the women looking down into a certain well in their island kingdom. If the result of this look was a boy child, he was destroyed, if a girl, she was preserved,—so thoroughly did they detest the male tyrant of their sex. Whatever the object of the ancient author of this romance, the Chinese continue to this day, with a slight inclination to scepticism, to believe in the existence of the "*Kingdom of Women*."

Four thousand *li* south of the Kingdom of Women was *Jooli* Kingdom; the men of which were only three to four feet high. To its south-east was *Lo* ("naked") Kingdom and *Heichu* ("black teeth") Kingdom. This was the most remote point reached by Chinese in the time of the Han dynasty. Did they reach Singapore? or did its women then stain their teeth?

All this is seriously written by the Chinese historians as the state of eastern Asia, contemporaneous with the Han dynasty. The exaggerations and fabrications are easily discounted by any reader. Though the notes on Japan are beyond the scope of this book, they will not be regarded wholly out of place by those interested in that kingdom, which has been aroused from its dream of ages by the whistle of the steam ship, and the screech of the railway engine.

But to return. It is stated, and with an appearance of truth,

that the never-ending strife, war, murder, and pillage by taxgatherer and robber drove many Chinese into voluntary exile before the Han dynasty bound up the wounds of the rent empire; and that some of those found their way not only into Chaosien, but into the Three Hans. They were scarcely sufficiently numerous to form a new element in the ethnological character of the people. They were so thoroughly absorbed by the original inhabitants of the land, that the manners, laws, and customs of the people there remained unchanged and markedly distinct from the Chinese.

We leap over nearly three centuries, and find the Han dynasty still struggling for life, but reeling on the throne. Every man was left to do as he could, and most did as they liked. Jang Wun raised an army of 3000 men at Yowchow and Woohwun in June 187 A.D., to march against Liang Chow. Jang Twun desired to be commander, but was rejected; the command being given to the Duke of Liaosi. But when it got to Kichow, most of the Woohwun men deserted, and went home; and Twun, in his anger, joined the old Taishow of Taishan in Shantung, Jang Jü, and was strengthened by the adhesion of the chief of Woohwun. They raised a force with which they marched on Kichow, slew many men, and captured the remaining Woohwun men. Another camp of 10,000 men was located at Feiyoo,\* under the Taishows of Yowbeiping† and Liaotung. Jü was proclaimed emperor, and Twun the heavenly general and peace-restoring Wang. For universal peace is always to come when the man crying out for peace, like the modern international, crushes to death all rivals.

The Han emperor, therefore, appointed Goong Swun, Taishow of Liaotung, giving him the powers of dictator over those regions. He was to march eastwards against Gaogowli, and westwards against Woohwun, his two neighbours, and to behead and destroy as he saw proper. He began his career successfully; for in November he had Wun beheaded, and defeated 300,000 (!) men who were plundering Bohai. He attacked them with fury

\*The present Looloong hien of Yoong ping.

†The modern Tsunhwa.



at the head of 20,000 horse and foot at Doonggwan hien, the modern Tsangchow in the south-east of Chihli. 30,000 of the rebels were slain. They abandoned their heavy baggage, and fled across the river, eastwards, closely pursued by their conqueror, who took 70,000 (!) prisoners. Waggon and stores of all kinds were taken in immense quantities. There can be little doubt that the robbers were a rabble, and that Swun was at the head of an army; but even then the story will appear strained, though something like it occurred in the defeat of the Taiping rabble, which was marching on Peking, a few years ago.

China had become so thoroughly disorganised, that it was impossible to distinguish friend from foe, for all alike robbed and desolated the country. It was indeed only what happens usually in this country after a long series of famines, such as had then happened. Then riot ran loose, and for many years the country was under the Lord of Misrule. Every province and every city, nay every village, had its own battle to fight against its own people. Fighting men would, of course, still be imperial as long as it paid better; but they became robbers as soon as it was more profitable.

In A.D. 199, Nan Low, a chief or "excellency" ("great man") of Shanggoo; \* Soo Pooyen, an "excellency" of Liaotung; and Woo Yen, an "excellency" of Yowbeiping, united with Woohwun against Goong Swun, who, doubtless, gave them some trouble in preventing them from plundering as freely as they would like to do. From their title I would infer that these were petty chiefs of the aborigines of those places; for it was no title of a Chinese official, though it is now used as a term of respect in addressing higher officials; nor could it possibly be applied to an untitled Chinaman; besides, Woohwun had nothing Chinese about it, and the north of Chihli and Liaotung were not then inhabited by Chinese, as we shall see further down. Those allies placed themselves under the leadership of Yuen Shao, who proclaimed himself emperor of all north of the Whang river. By this coalition Swun's army was crushed, and himself slain.

\* The modern Huenhwa, near Peking.

Lowban, the son of Chin Lijü, late King of Woohwun, was but a child, and the government devolved upon his illegitimate elder brother Tadun, who was made Regent. After the victory, all the leaders were rewarded by the "Emperor" with titles—that of *Shanyü*, with its proper official seal, being given to Tadun and the other chiefs. This is another and conclusive proof that these men were aborigines, for only the Hiwngnoo, or Huns, *i.e.*, the ancestors of the present Mongols, had ever adopted the title of Shanyü, which, in their language, signified exactly what *Whangdi* does to the Chinaman; for the *Shanyü* is "King of Kings."

In 204, Liaotung was equally disordered with China proper. Many officials, some lately appointed by the Emperor, others self-elected, threw off all restraint, and acted every man for himself, saying that the Emperor had ceased to be emperor; and it was true, for he could not cut off the heads of these men. From time immemorial it has been, and continues to be, believed in China, that when evils, such as were countless then, are poured out upon the country, it is because Heaven has forsaken the existing dynasty, and does not recognise the reigning Emperor as the "Son of Heaven." One of them, who said that the Emperor was no Son of Heaven, stated there were over a million of soldiers in motion in Liaotung alone, *i.e.*, in attack and defence, plundering and saving. This is not impossible, as Liaotung had then been under Han rule for three centuries; and the history of Liaotung under the present dynasty shows a similar increase of population in two centuries, having risen from a few fugitives skulking among deserted villages to be a crowded country of twenty millions of souls. Fooyu and Whimai were also under arms, which they did not allow to rust.

Over 100,000 Chinese families had fled across the border to Woohung, to escape the terrible anarchy of their native land. Woohung marched south and plundered the regions of Chüenchow.\* To stop those northern ravages, Tsao Tsao, a Han General, collected a large army; but in marching north he

\* 40 li south-east of the modern Woohing hien of Peking.



found the country so flooded by rains that no cart could move, and yet too shallow for boats to float. In the autumn of 207, he marched from Hüwo shan, 500 li, to Bailan shan by the Ping gang road, past Looloong; and in September, he passed Bailangs han \* (white-wolf mountain) in search of the foe. As soon as he came in sight of the enemy, he sent forward his van, under Jang Liao, to an immediate attack. The van pressed in with fury, and the enemy was routed with great slaughter. Tadun and some other commanding officers were slain. 200,000 men submitted; but a few under Aisiaishang, king of Woohung, fled towards Liaotung, whither they were pursued, and most of them cut down by Swunkang, who had succeeded his father as Taishow of Liaotung. Tsao returned from Liwchung in October in extremely cold weather. To add to the sufferings of his men, he had to march 200 li without water, for which he had to dig 30 feet; † and he was compelled to kill thousands of his horses for food. But when he got home, he lavishly rewarded his surviving men.

The overstrained and water-logged vessel of state had now burst up, and a *Wei* dynasty rose out of the northern portion of China, with a *Woo* to its south, ‡ reviving the Confucian kingdoms on their ancient sites. The Han, however, retained a large portion of Central and Western China. Such was the final resultant of innumerable opposite forces acting and reacting, clashing and combining for a century. And the power of each of the rival thrones proved conclusively to itself and its adherents that

\* Said to be west of Yowbeiping. Liwchung was in the neighbourhood of the modern Kingchow, whither he might be drawn in pursuit. In the Toongkien, carried down to the end of the Ming dynasty, occur the following notes by authors of the Ming dynasty. *Liwchung* was south-west of Loongshan and north-east of Beiping. *Bailan* was south of Beiping and east of Hüwoo; it was 25 li south of the modern Miyun hien. *Bailang* was in Woohung land, and north-east of Yowchow. *Looloong* was under the jurisdiction of Yowchow, and is still known as Looloong hien; in the language of the "men of the north" (Woohung), *Loo* was *black* and *loong* water; hence Looloong, the Black water. The river there is said to be very dark.

† The history says 30 *jang*, or 300 ft.; but this is absurd.

‡ Shanghai is in *Woo*.

it should reign ; but the imperial title it demanded as its own heaven-given right, it denied to its rivals, which it called rebels, as it was called by them. Thus, like the rival popes, the sole heads in the west, as the Chinese Emperor is in the east, each anathematized his rivals, and did all he could—fulfilling, of course, the will of Heaven, to bring his rivals down. The Han dynasty has now, however, to drop out of our sight, as it has nothing further to do with Corea or Liaotung.

Not so the Founder of the Woo dynasty, south of the Yangtsu ; for, in 231, he sent General Gow Ho, by sea, to Liaotung, to purchase horses from Swunyuen, who had succeeded his brother Swunkang as Taishow of Liaotung ; but Swun was now without a master. The "Emperor" of Woo had an official, Fan, who was often drunk, as was common enough among the Chinese then, and who believed in no spirits save those of the still. When drunk, he was of a violently irritable temper, and his speech was of the most bitterly sarcastic kind, and interlaced with much irreverent swearing ; yet he was an able minister. His master was, on the other hand, a firm believer in gods and genii, of which he delighted to talk. On such occasions, Fan would turn to some other minister, and make a scoffing allusion to, or irreverently question the existence of, the gods, intentionally loud enough for his majesty to hear. This conduct frequently roused the ire of the Emperor, who at last became so unbearably offended, that he banished Fan to Kiaochow.

When, in his exile, Fan heard that Ho was to be sent to Liaotung, he complained bitterly, that, at a time when the kingdom was in need of all the talent it could command, a man of first-class ability, like Ho, should be sent so far as Liaotung, on such an errand as the purchase of horses. He wrote out a memorial to that effect ; but fearing the Emperor would not look at it, he asked a friend to be sure to report his sentiments to the Emperor. This was faithfully done, with the result of sending Fan further away to Munghien (Woochow).

It was known at the court of Wei that Swunyuen was not to



be relied on ; and the northern Emperor determined to despatch an army into Liaotung, under the Governor of Tsingchow\* and the Commandant of Yowchow.† One of his ministers strongly urged him to desist from this policy, and stop the expedition ; for that even if successful, Liaotung was insufficient to form a kingdom, and its resources inadequate to make wealth ; and if it was now hostile, it was only latently so ; but it would become an open foe, as soon as it heard of active movements against it. Better first master the new and more formidable enemies, then take account of the remote ; for when the "tiger and the wolf meet one on the road, it is no time to attack the fox" ; but once remove the greater danger, the lesser will disappear of itself. To this advice the Emperor would not listen. The army was sent, for the order had been already given. It got defeated, and had to be disbanded, with the disgraceful brand of failure.

But Hiang, Governor of Tsingchow, in Shantung, knew from the force and direction of the wind that Ho, who was then leaving Liaotung, would be driven right across the Gulf, and could land only on or about Chungshan, a mountain near Laichow. He therefore planted his men behind Chungshan mountain, and had not long to wait, for the stormy waves drove Ho and his fleet right across to their feet. Ho was compelled to land, and was immediately attacked and slain with all his men. When the Woo Emperor heard of the calamity, he immediately sent for Fan to Court. But the messengers found him just dead. They brought back his body, and buried it with every mark of respect.

In spite of the catastrophe of the horse-buying expedition, Swunyuen rightly believed that Woo would not be altogether ungrateful, if he proffered his allegiance ; and, unaware of what Wei might be preparing for him, he wisely considered it prudent to make Woo his ally, even if at the cost of apparently losing his independence. The messengers tendering his allegiance were right royally received by Woo, who, in the warmth of his pleasure, sent Jang Ur the Taichang, one of his

\* In Shantung.

† The modern Peking.

best men, with costly presents, to confer on Swunyuen the title of *Yen Wang*. He was in this step opposed by almost all his ministers, from Goong Yoong down, who persisted that Swunyuen should not be trusted; for though he was aggrieved with Wei now, Wei was near and Woo far; he would therefore in time turn round again, and Woo would become the laughing-stock of the world; it was therefore impolitic to create him a vassal king, though it was quite proper to regard him as a friend. Woo was angry; but he hesitated and vacillated as the remonstrances continued to be pressed, but not sufficiently so, however, to recall the embassy which had already gone.

When Woo's mother was on her death-bed, she called old Jao to her bedside, and said to her son, who was standing near her, that for external affairs he must listen to the advice of Jang Ur, and for internal to that of Jang Jao. In the present emergency old Jao wept because his advice was not listened to; and Woo, remembering the death-bed scene, wept also, and dropt to the ground the sword which he had taken up. When Jao retired, he was so offended at the rejection of his advice, that he, feigning illness, ceased attendance at court. The Emperor was angry at Jao's disappearance, and as commands to appear were of no avail, he sent men who broke in the old man's door; but they found it barricaded inside with a heap of earth.

The messengers of Woo started in the spring of 233. Yuen reasoned that as Woo was far, and troops difficult to move thence, he was absolute master of the persons of the embassy, and could act towards them as was most conducive to his own advantage. Therefore, in the January of the following year, he had the chief members of the embassy beheaded, and their heads sent to Wei as a peace offering. This offering Wei gladly received, conferring upon the donor the title of Duke (*Goong*) of Liaotung.

The Emperor of Woo was sixty years old when he received the news of the treachery of Yuen. He was terribly enraged, and would have an army sent on at once to revenge the death of his messengers, and the insult to himself. Again was he



vehemently opposed by his ministers. One President presented a memorial, stating that the *Yoongmai* (savages) of Liaotung formed but a small kingdom without cities; if, therefore, an enemy of superior numbers attacked them, they had only to retire inland, and the enemy would have to march through an empty country. He recalled the fate of Ho, and urged, as the Wei minister had done, the importance of attending to the nearer and greater dangers, when the remote would take care of themselves. The long paper, of which that was the substance, together with the longer discussions which followed, had the desired effect, and Liaotung was left unmolested.

Woo, now laying aside his warlike intentions, summoned Jao, to speak kindly to the old man. But Jao was lying down and could not move—so reported the messenger. Woo then went himself to Jao's door, where he called out the old man's name repeatedly and loudly; Jao at last replied, but said that he was too weak to get up, and it would be a crime to receive his Emperor except with the proper etiquette, which his weakness made it impossible for him to perform. The Emperor still refused to go, and Jao would not come out. Believing that Jao was, as formerly, feigning illness, Woo had the door set on fire to frighten him out. But the crackling of the burning wood, with the smell of it, had no influence on the sick man. The fire was therefore extinguished, and as the Emperor would not go, Jao's sons supported the old man, so that he could properly receive his sovereign. He felt he could not but do so, as Woo was unceasing in his self-reproaches for his former conduct towards the old minister.

As soon as Jang Ur and his companions got to Hiangping of Liaotung, Yuen at once saw his way, by sacrificing them, to make his peace with Wei. He set about his object early but cautiously. He first separated the men. He sent Dan, Chun, Dua, Kiang, with over sixty men, to Hüentoo, 200 li east of Liaotung, on pretence of helping to govern and garrison that place. They were, by the Commandant, and doubtless under orders, boarded apart among the citizens. Dan and Chun got

opportunities of consulting together. Exile was becoming intolerable to them. The city was but small, and by a united, sudden stroke they might put to death the Commandant, and avenge their insulted country. All their comrades were gradually brought into confidence, and all heartily acquiesced in a plan, in the execution of which they were willing to die, rather than live any longer away from their friends.

They had fixed the night of the 19th of 8th moon (Sept.) for their rising. But on that same evening one of the number gave information to the Commandant, and the gates were instantly closed. All those named above, however, leapt over the wall, and fled eastwards among the hills 600 or 700 li. Chun got very unwell, and had to be assisted along. At last, when hiding by day among the tall grass, they wept from sheer fatigue. The sick man said that, as he was so weak that he might die at any moment, he would infinitely prefer if they went on and left him to die where he was. To this they would not listen, declaring that they must live or die together; Dua saying that if they had travelled together a myriad li they were not now to separate. Dan and Kiang were at last prevailed upon to go on before, Dua remaining with the invalid to pick herbs and wild fruits for him to eat. In a few days Dan and his companions reached Gaogowli, 1,000 li east of Liaotung. The king, Weigoong, and his minister, Jooba, received them with great hospitality. The grandfather of this Weigoong was of wonderful intelligence, able to notice even at his birth. He became a powerful king; and was an unusually brave man, and frequently pillaged the borders of the Han country. When his grandson was born, he was observed to be exactly like his grandfather in feature, as well as in the ability to take notice at his birth; he therefore received his grandfather's name, Weigoong. He gladly furnished Dan with a number of men, with whose aid to search out and bring back his sick companion. The rovers all got safely back to their native land; and Emperor Woo was so overcome, at once with grief and joy, that he was



unable to control himself, but shed tears profusely; a most notable and noteworthy matter for a Chinaman.

Before leaving Woo, we may note here that cash of 16 *joo* weight, and one and a half inch wide, each counting 1000 small cash, were cast by this dynasty. The Han dynasty had frequently cast *woo joo*, or 5 *joo* cash. There are 24 *joo* to the Chinese *liang* or oz., which is now equal to 1.33 oz. avoirdupois. Each *joo* was subdivided into 20 equal *fun* or parts. From the specimens of those cash still in existence, we find that good copper was then used instead of the inferior brass metal of modern times.\*

Though Yuen had sent to Wei the heads of Woo ministers, he had not given his own heart, which was considered of more consequence. Therefore, in 237, Wei despatched an army of 40,000 men from Changan, the capital, towards Liaotung,—the commander in chief of Wei forces being left in charge of Changan against the possible attack of the kingdom of Tsu.

During the preceding year the *Tsushu* of Yowchow, Ma Chiwjien, was ordered against Yuen to chastise him for the insolently independent language he was always uttering. This expedition was sent, like the first, against the earnest remonstrances of the best ministers, who considered it both impolitic and imprudent to notice Yuen, when the powerful states of Woo and Tsu were butting the southern side of Wei. Jien, however, got to Yowchow, raised an army, and summoned Hienbi and Woohung to his side. Reinforced by these, he marched eastwards and camped south of the city of Liaotung. In reply to the message sent him to yield, Yuen marched out, and drew up over against Jien at *Liaoswi* † *hien*, at the junction of the great and small Liao rivers. It was August, and the rainy season of Liaotung. It had rained for ten days, and rained as it only can where it rains but seldom, and has to make up for

\* The kingdom of Woo included the modern Kiangsu and Chikiang provinces, in the south of China.

† This must have been on the east side of the river, at the present *Sancha ho*, west of Newchwang, where the "outer" and "inner" Liao unite.

lost time. The Liao, never a small river, was therefore a mighty one; and the current and tide, never weak, were very powerful. Jien had, therefore, to retire; all his battling being in vain. Thereupon Yuen set himself up as Yen Wang, and assumed the title of *Shanyu* of the Hienbi, whom he summoned to his standard to march with him to plunder Wei. Hence the present expedition, which was now certainly justifiable; but was as much as ever opposed by the Wei ministers. The emperor, however, was inflexible. The opposition against this expedition arose chiefly from the difficulty of transporting grain and other necessaries from the capital, Loyang,\* 4000 li to Liaotung.

The emperor, in reply to their arguments, simply asked what line of defence Yuen was likely to adopt. They said he had three courses. His best plan would be to forsake his walls, retire into the wilds, and thus weary the army before striking a blow; his second best plan was to contest the crossing of the Liao river; and his third and worst, to stake the issue on holding the city. The emperor agreed, and then asked the time necessary for the successful termination of the war. To this they replied, that in the most untoward circumstances a year would suffice.

Yuen heard of the formidable preparations made against him, and in his terror sent messengers to implore the aid of Woo. So bitter was still the feeling against his former treachery, that many demanded the heads of these messengers in revenge for Jang Ur. But minister Yang urged that though this would be good revenge, it would be bad policy; and at his recommendation the messengers were sent home again.

It was July when the Wei army got to the Liao river. They found that Yuen had prepared for them, having sent an army of several myriad men to fortify themselves, with an earthen rampart 20 † li north to south, along the river bank. The various generals, second in command, urged an instant crossing

\* Near the modern Kaifung foo, in Honan, which province, with Shantung, formed the best part of the Wei kingdom.

† Yuen history. *Tsin* history has 70 li, but this seems too long a line, unless there were detached bodies spread over so great a distance.



and attack. Su Ma, the commander, reasoned with them that the main object of the rampart was to provoke attack, and wear out the army; and concluded, that as so large an army held the ramparts, there must be few left to garrison the city. He, therefore, gave the order to outflank the ramparts, and march direct on the city.

He flied his banners to the south of the ramparts, as if he intended to cross there; compelling Yuen's men, under Bi, a Hienbi man, to issue southwards, beyond their fortifications, to prevent his landing. But while carrying on this manœuvre, his chief object was accomplished; for the main body of the Chinese army crossed the river to the north of the ramparts, and marched straight for the capital, Hiangping.\* Bi soon discovered his mistake; and, in great alarm, hastened on after the army which had already pitched camp under Showshan. His furious attack was easily repelled. He had to retreat, and found no resource except to enter the city, which was then besieged. For two months rain fell in torrents, and the land was deluged. Boats came overland from the ferry to the very walls of Hiangping. The Wei army was in terror, and began to move away, for the water was three † feet deep on the level ground. The commander threatened to behead the first man who spoke of moving from the ranks,—a threat which he executed on the person of a superior officer. In discussing the matter with his generals, Ma said that they were few, and the foe numerous; they had provisions in superabundance, the besieged must be already in a famishing state; before leaving Changan they were afraid the enemy would fly and not fight, and now they themselves talked of retreat; and concluded saying that a short time must now bring the siege to an end. This speech rallied the spirits of his men.

The besieged were indeed in great straits; for two months within closely invested walls had reduced them to live by

\* Where Liaoyang now is.

† In Aug.-Sept., 1878, the country of Liaotung was exactly similar. In some places, for nearly a month, boats were sailing over the fields to save the windings of the river.

cannibalism. Yuen sent an ambassador to bargain terms of surrender. That ambassador was beheaded by Ma's orders, who said there were five courses open to a soldier. He could fight; if he could not fight, he could hold his fort; if he could not hold his fort, he could flee; beyond these were the alternatives, unconditional surrender or death. A few days more reduced the besieged to desperation, and all discipline was lost. Yuen and his son, with a few hundred men, burst through the besiegers, and fled northwards. They were overtaken and slain at the Daliang\* river.

Su Ma now entered the city, and put to death all under the rank of *Goong* and *Ching*, 7000 soldiers. The whole of Liaotung, with Huentoo and Lolang, gave in their allegiance.

During the period of unbridled anarchy between A.D. 220 and 420, scores of kingdoms rose and fell; and war seems to have been the pastime of the broken up Chinese empire and its neighbours. But among them all, perhaps the history of the Hienbi, a small Mongolic or Hunnish tribe in the north of Liaotung, is the most remarkable, both in its speedy elevation and its sudden collapse. In the year 337, it had a tussle with Gaogowli and others in Liaotung, in which it snatched victory more by stratagem than by numbers. But on its fall Gaogowli could boast of an empire, for it embraced all Liaotung and some of Liaosi. As the history of the Hienbi gives as good a picture of the times as anything can, it is given below, though it has not always a direct bearing on our proper field. But the reader, interested only in Corea, may pass it over and go on to Ch. V.

\* A note to the original says that "The Siao (small) Liao" flows from Huentoo, Gaogowli hien, the mountain of Liaoshau, flowing south-west, passing Hiangping, joining the Daliang, which comes from beyond the northern borders; the united river flowing south-west, and falling into the Da Liao. The small Liao is, therefore, the Taidu or Teksa, the Daliang the Hwun, and the Da Liao, the outer Liao from Mongolia.





## CHAPTER II.

### H I E N B I .

FROM time immemorial the military affairs of China have been bound up with the history of her nomadic neighbours. And of all the many empires founded on her northern frontiers, not the least terrible was that of *Hiwngnoo*, or Huns as they are more generally called. With the interesting early history of Huns we have, however, nothing to do here, as they were far removed from our country of Liaotung. Suffice it to say, that they were the bitter scourge of the Han dynasty from its commencement to its close; frequently penetrating far into China, ravaging its country, sacking its cities, putting to death countless numbers of its people, and oftentimes becoming virtual masters of the empire. For some time after the Han dynasty was founded, it resisted with youthful vigour the plundering hordes of its northern borderers. But, as in all the dynasties of China, that vigour was short-lived. Even before the Christian era, the senility of a long-established government clouded the faculties and weakened the hands of the Han rulers. So much so that in A.D. 51, when British savages were occupying the attention of Cesar's successors in London, a minister of the Han emperor urged his master to summon the forces of Hienbi and Gaogowli to attack the eastern flank of the Hiwngnoo; the Chiang Hoo or barbarians of Tibet to march against the western portion of their dominions; while a Chinese army should march north, and attack them in what is now the north of Chihli. The plan was urged just at that time, because of the frightful famine and pestilence devastating the Hiwngnoo, and carrying off all their cattle, and was hoped to be successful in completely breaking up the Huns in a few years. The emperor, however, did not act on the suggestion.



We are chiefly concerned with this abortive proposal of the then weakened Han, because it shows that Hienbi was already a power worthy to be ranked with Gaogowli, which was east of Hienbi, and occupying the north of the present Corea and Liaotung. This Hienbi, an "east Hoo" tribe, had arisen from very small beginnings. They lived on the borders of the present Yichow and Kingchow of Liaosi, among the mountains and glens of south-eastern Mongolia. Because of Hiwngnoo troubles, they rapidly increased in number and daring; and in 109 A.D. we get another glimpse of them falling upon Liaosi, but they got defeated, ere they retired, by the Liaosi army, assisted by a contingent of Woohung men. In that battle the Hienbi lost 1300 men, which shows them possessed of a respectable army. This check was not lasting, for in the autumn of next year they were again plundering the country round the city of Yüyang. Jang, the taishow, or commandant and magistrate of that city, drove them off, and pursued them among the mountains beyond the frontier. In looking for them next morning, he saw their camp smokeless, and ordered an immediate advance, lest, in their hasty flight, they should escape him. He pushed rapidly on, when, all of a sudden, he found himself completely surrounded and vehemently attacked on all sides; for the Hienbi army had retired only to lie in ambush. Notwithstanding the wildest valour, Jang was slain and his army shivered to pieces. As there was now no obstacle before them, the Hienbi army marched far inland, and got to Shanggoo,\* where they broke up the army set in array to oppose them. They still advanced—20,000 strong—carrying fire and destruction in their path; almost exterminating the population of the cities and villages in their line of march. They passed through Yoongwan, 35 li north-west of the present Changping of Peking, bearing down all opposition up to the gates of Machung city; called Sochow by the Sung and recent dynasties. The commandant of Machung

\* Which some authorities make the modern Paoting; but the Chinese Imperial Directory makes it Huenhwa,—the more probable position, as it is in the far north.

was slain by them; and they threatened to do further damage, but were, in August 111, defeated by Commander Dung at the head of an army of Shanyü soldiers,—proving the demoralization of the Chinese soldiery.

Ever since Chaosien was broken up, the old lands known under that name were, up till this period, more or less closely bound to China proper. This Chinese portion would stretch along the west of the present Kingchow and Kwangning, east to the Liao, and run along the south side of the Taidsu river to the hills on the east; including all the plain south of Liaoyang to the sea, and the southern portion of eastern Liaotung up to the Yaloo; perhaps to the Ping river. The country was not well cultivated; nor was the land crowded with large villages, and defended by many walled cities, as it now is. The inhabitants were Chinese in only a very small proportion; though the few forts erected after the conquest of Chaosien, east and west of the Liao, were garrisoned by Chinese soldiers. Skirting the west, north-west, and north sides of Liaosi was Hienbi, from Yoongping on the south to Kaiyuen on the north; and Gaogowli bordered the north-east and north of Liaotung. Both powers grew in importance yearly. In 121 A.D., a combined Hienbi and Gaogowli army broke into Liaotung, and drove the Liaotung army before them south to Sinchung,\* where it was defeated with great slaughter,—the Chinese leaders all falling in the van of battle. The Gaogowli seem to have been satisfied with what they attained; but Hienbi pushed westwards, again penetrated into and plundered Yoongwan, and defeated the commandant of Yunjoong.† They were, however, driven eastwards by the combined forces of Yowchow (Peking) and other commandants. They ravaged Hüentoo, the south-eastern portion of Liaotung, in December of the same year; and several myriads of them penetrated to Taiyuen in the following year. As proof that the governmental machine of the Han was loosely jointed together, we find that the commandant of Hanyang city joined the Hienbi. The Hienbi victories were both the result

\* South of the modern Kaichow. † Modern Tatung o Shansi.



and cause of a more compacted state, and a more civilized community. They were, however, far from being able to cope with their powerful cousins the Hiwngnoo, part of whose people then occupied the north of Shansi; for they got worsted in a tussle with them while on that Taiyuen raid. They found it easier and more profitable to make yearly incursions into northern China and Hüentoo.

Corruptions and necessary weakness within the Chinese Court invited encroachments from without. The cleaving open of many hills, and the twenty-three earthquakes in the Han capital and provinces, indicated the anger of Heaven against the reigning dynasty, and were ominous of great evils about to fall upon the empire. And more serious than the earthquakes, was the succession of famine years in several provinces;—which moral fear and physical sufferings made easy the active aggressions of the Hienbi, whose troops, combined now with those of Whimai, now with those of Woohung, and again alone, penetrated far into Chinese soil. The condition and resources of Liaotung may be judged from the fact that Soo Booyen proclaimed himself its king at the head of 1,000 men, at the same time as Woohung moved southwards with 8,000 men and occupied the north of Liaosi. One, Woo Yen, with 800 men, assumed similar rank at Yowbeiping.\* But of all the eagles hovering over the dying body of the Han, Hienbi was the strongest, most active, and daring, ranging, almost at will, for nearly a century, over the north of China.

Their power had gradually assumed such proportions, and the troubles caused by them were becoming so alarmingly serious along the east, north, and north-west frontiers of China, that, in 177, a great effort was made to crush them. It was not before time; for China was losing all influence over her north-eastern neighbours, and already had Huentoo Commander to acknowledge the supremacy of Gaogowli to prevent annihilation.

Jao Bao, the Chinese Commander of Liaosi, had collected an army of 20,000 men, with whom he was keeping Hienbi in check.

\* Modern Tsunhwa, north-east of Peking.

He had already sent for his mother, wife and family, from the capital, to come and join him. His family had got to the neighbourhood of the city of Liwchung,\* when they fell into the hands of a Hienbi army of 10,000 men, then ravaging that district, and against which Bao was directing his troops. As soon, therefore, as Bao came up with the enemy, they informed him that his family were prisoners, and would be put to death if he assumed the offensive. At the same time they brought his mother and wife to the front to let him see them. They desired to escape his overwhelming numbers, by giving up his family in exchange. Bao was thrown into a state of the most bitter grief, saying aloud that he was in a terrible strait; he would much rather lose his own life than be the means of his mother's death; but if he preserved his filial duty he would sacrifice his public trust. As long as he had been a private man, he had only to consider the duty involved in the relationship of mother and son, but now was superadded the relation of prince and minister; private affection would shipwreck official duty, and better a myriad deaths than permit the country to be ravaged. When he was thus cogitating with his officers, the brave mother of a brave son cried out, in a loud voice, from her distant standing-place, "Every man has his destiny, and all must once die. Why hesitate a moment, or harbour the remotest design of acting contrary to your duties of Faithfulness to your prince, and Integrity in your trust?" Bao immediately ordered an attack. The Hienbi were defeated; but, before retreating, they put to death the mother, wife, and children of Bao.

When the pursuit was brought to an end, Bao returned to the battle-field to bury his family; the Emperor, who had heard of the tragedy, having sent special messengers to condole with the mourner. While burying, the heart-broken Bao said to the villagers aiding him: "To eat the Emperor's bread and to avoid danger is to be unfaithful; to slay a mother in order to preserve integrity is to be unfilial. Whither, then, can I look?

\* North of Kingchow. (See Map I.)



For me earth affords no place of shelter." After which speech his mental strife brought on a vomiting of blood, of which he died.

This incident, occurring when the canon of the New Testament was scarcely completed, serves to illustrate the perfection of the Chinese moral system from the most ancient to the present times. The one word "duty" is the sum and essence thereof; and it is elevated to so high a rank above all other words or things as would delight the heart of the author of "Sartor Resartos." This duty not only involves self-abnegation, but even the smothering of the affections; and it confines the use of the word "love" to eatables and drinkables. It is cold, steel-hearted, inflexible duty which should rule all human relations, and not the warm, impulsive, beating heart of love. The minister and officer is bound, not to love his prince and country, but to be faithful to his trust; the child is commanded, not to love his parents, but to yield them reverence and deference. Conjugal and parental relations are on precisely the same footing. This stoical teaching is perfected in the annihilation of passion of all kinds, and of warmth of feeling in all degrees. Ages of such teaching are, doubtless, the cause of the present Chinese social life, which is perfectly pictured in the case of Bao, where, theoretically, duty to parents is everything, and wife and children count for nothing; hence the universally low ebb of family affection. From the same teaching, too, has sprung the intensely conservative nature of the Chinese; for duty is negative and defensive, while love is positive and aggressive. Hence, it appears to me, the great and characteristic difference between the forwardness and ever advancing civilization of those nations which have most thoroughly received the teachings of the religion of love, and the stagnation and conservatism of those which either preach a beautiful but cold duty as the sum of morality, or fail to appropriate, in its simplicity and actively benevolent character, the religion of love.

In the general disorder and universal strife which, for scores of years, devastated China, equally with famines from flood,

drought, and locusts; in the greater movements and more terrible events further south, Hienbi was forgotten. This was not, however, because they had begun to assist their southern neighbours, nor because of peaceful inactivity; for with the waning of the Han power grew that of Hienbi in strength and temerity, and they had made frequent raids into and ravaged the prefectures of Yowchow and Bingchow.\* They at last compelled, first the Han, then the Wei,† dynasty to purchase their forbearance, by nominating them guardians of the Borders,—for which honorary position a considerable yearly sum of money must have been given. They faithfully observed the duties of their post, and prevented all the northern peoples, whether Hiwngnoo on the west, Woohung or Gaogowli on the east, from entering in to plunder Chinese soil.

But in 233, Abinung, an independent chief of a portion of Hienbi, intrigued with, and drew from his allegiance, Boodoogun, who was then the Hienbi Guardian of the Border. He had married a daughter of Boodoogun's, and the latter had given him pasture lands on the Chinese side of the Border. The Wei dynasty, which ruled in the north of divided China, had sent two generals in succession against Abinung in his original independent seat, and both were defeated. Hence the general desertion of Boodoogun and all his men, who first crossed the border to join Abinung, and then, with and under the independent chief, re-crossed the border to harry and destroy what they had been paid to protect. A third general ordered against them was more successful. He attacked and defeated the Hienbi; and Abinung, seeing there was no escape from the close pursuit, murdered his father-in-law, and submitted with all his men. Next year the commander of Yowchow engaged the celebrated warrior Han Loong to cut down Abinung. The terror of this warrior's name went before him, and this portion of the Hienbi scattered ere he had time to strike a blow.

\*The modern Taiyuen.

†As noticed above, the Wei, founded in the north of China by Tsao Tsao, was one of the powerful kingdoms formed out of the disrupted Han empire.



While Chiang or Tibet on the west, and Hienbi on the north-east, continually harassed their Chinese neighbours, many individuals and families from both states crossed, for reasons of their own, into Chinese territory, acknowledging the sway over them of first the Han and then the Wei emperors. They were granted lands on the Chinese side of the border, and gradually became an important factor in the political game. They proved that "blood was thicker than water" by keeping up communications, generation after generation, with the free descendants of their ancestors; and many a plundering horde, at the proper time, was guided into the proper route by these refugees and their descendants. The Wei dynasty had fallen into the shade before the rising star of the dynasty of Tsin (Jin), which assumed imperial style in A.D. 265, having sprung from the seat of the ancient Tsin kingdom in the south of Shansi. In 280, its census embraced two and a half million families, or about twenty million souls. The Hienbi immigrants had proved so vexatious a portion of Chinese people, that the advisers of the Tsin Emperor urged him to drive them all beyond the border, back to their original home. But, notwithstanding their oft-proved treachery, he refused meantime to meddle with them.

The Hienbi were spread over a great extent of country, all along the western border of the present Liaosi, and were divided under a number of chiefs; one of whom, Mohoo, moved southwards, and, after some fighting, established a separate kingdom, making a capital in the neighbourhood of Changli, which is now 110 li west of Shanhaigwan in Chihli, but which was then included in Liaosi. He added Loongchunghien soon thereafter, but died without accomplishing anything great; succeeded by his son Mooyen, and he by his son Boogwei, who attacked the northern parts of Liaotung, and, in 281, ravaged the Chinese neighbourhood of Changli. Moyoong Shan, his brother, succeeded him two years after, and sought to put to death Hwi, or Kwei, the son of the deceased king. Kwei, having got timely warning, fled into Liaotung, whence he was summoned, in 286, to take his father's throne, for the people had risen

against and put Shan to death. The kingdom over which Kwei was now elected king was known by the dynastic title of Moyoong,—the surname assumed by the reigning family. A second Hienbi kingdom was set up to the north and West of Moyoong, with the dynastic title of Dwan; while the original Hienbi, west of Kaiyuen, took the distinctive name of Yüwun, because it had in its possession the imperial despatches, letters, presents and seals of office granted to the Hienbi by the Chinese emperors for several generations. The Hienbi were bounded on the north-east by the kingdom of Fooyü, whose southern border touched the present Kaiyuen.

Kwei was ambitious and eager again to amalgamate all the Hienbi, over whom he desired to be king. He petitioned the Tsin emperor for permission to march against and annex Yüwun. He was then quite a young man just raised to the throne; but his aggressive nature was plainly enough manifested in this one ambitious desire; and even were no other evidences of his ambition forthcoming, the Tsin emperor judged wisely, that a divided Hienbi was a much more agreeable neighbour than a united one would be. But this refusal to countenance him in his ambitious projects, roused the anger of the young barbarian, who let loose on Liaosi the armies he had collected against Yüwun. His rage found expression in indiscriminate slaughter, and his troops seized great quantities of spoil. But in his westward march of blood and rapine, he was encountered by the commandant of Yowchow, and completely defeated at Feiyoo.\* His defeat was only a temporary check however; for he made yearly inroads into China, east, west, and south of him.

Liaotung seems to have been unable to offer him any resistance, for he repeatedly attacked the kingdom of Fooyü, which he could attack only from the south, as its west was defended from him by the other Hienbi kingdoms. Liaotung was indeed then little better than a desert, for it seems to have had not a single city, while all the Hienbi and Fooyü had

\* The modern Looloonghien.



strong forts. Fooyü was reduced, in one of these campaigns, to so low an ebb, that its king, Yiloo, committed suicide, and his sons fled eastwards into the kingdom of Wojoo. Kwei took several cities, and retired to his own country with 10,000 captives. On his departure, Yilo, son of the dead king, returned to Fooyü to assume the government; and as numbers of those who had fled beyond the frontier now desired to return to their native land, Yilo asked Hokan, a chief of the Eastern Hoo barbarians of Liaotung, to escort the Fooyü men scattered south and east in Liaotung. Hokan sent one of his officers to lead home the fugitives, but, while on the way, Kwei pounced upon and defeated him, again sacked Fooyü, and then wheeled round and drove home a quantity of spoil out of Liaosi.

Some time after, he sent messengers to the Chinese court to tender his allegiance, which was gladly accepted; and he was nominated, by the emperor, Doodoo of Hienbi. The commandant of Yowchow was also a Doodoo, so that the rank at that time implied a combination of civil authority with the military rank of Lieutenant-General. The rank was what is now called Dootoong, or Military Lieutenant-Governor. To be formally invested with his new rank, it was necessary to go to court; and as he learned that Hokan and all the ministers were to receive him in state, he appeared in his best official robes. But finding, on arrival at the palace gate, a band of soldiers drawn up, not in the attitude of welcome to a guest, but of caution, as if to receive an enemy, he retired immediately, quickly changed his apparel, and presented himself in ordinary garments. He was asked why he had thus acted, and replied that, when received as a guest, he desired to act the guest; but if the host forgot to act the host, what could the guest do? Instead of anger, his reply gained him much credit—as such replies do in China to this day; for nowhere is etiquette better understood than in China, and no people are so sensitive to criticism on their etiquette as the Chinese. Kwei had already married a daughter of King Dwan, and with her he took up his abode at

Chingshan \* 190 li east of Yingchow. But he stayed there only a short time, retiring to Jichung (Tsichung), which he made his capital.

In the convulsive anarchy within the Chinese empire and the distraction caused by the constant floods of the fierce Huns and the wild Hienbi from without, the Doodoo of Yowchow found himself compelled to form treaties of alliance on his own account. He made an alliance with the Dwan Hienbi, by giving one of his daughters to wife to the chief; and he gave another daughter to the chief of Yüwun. This was much as if a British General were compelled to sell his daughter, for peace, to a New Zealand chief or the leader of a Kaffir tribe. He also nominated the Dwan chief, Duke (*Goong*) of Liaosi. The Hienbi must have had large accessions from the Huns prior to this date, for Liangchow was plundered by Yolobanung, a chief of an independent branch of Hienbi, whose following was so large, that when he was ultimately driven back, over 100,000 of his people were taken captive.

In this same year, 304, Liwyuen, whose surname was Hooyen, chief of the Huns, who had some time before been nominated Doodoo by the Tsin Emperor, assumed the more honourable title of Shanyü, the Hunnish equivalent of the Turkish Khan, or, more properly, Kokan. Shanyü, or Kokan, in Mongol is the same as "Whangdi" in China; for the Shanyü is the "King of Kings." The emperors of the Han dynasty had for generations been compelled, in order to save themselves, to give the most beautiful of their imperial daughters to be the wives of the wild Shanyüs of the Huns. Hence this Liwyuen had in his veins not a little of the blood of the imperial house of Han. He therefore added to his native title the Chinese one of Han Wang (king, prince). He desired to attack the Hienbi, and desisted

\* Chingshan was north-east of Yingchow, and Jichung must have been south-west of Yingchow, though the Toongkien places it 170 li south-east; and the Gangkien, calling it also Dajichung, sites it in Honan, in the present Ninglinghien. But as Chinese geography is not always correct when treating of places outside China, we must grope our own way out of the darkness. (See note p. 47.)



only when his ministers told him that these *Hoo* were his own relations, who should be employed and not attacked; and instead of attacking them, he ravaged north-western China up to the walls of Taiyuen. In this army of his were numbers of Hienbi, who had enlisted under him. But the Chinese, themselves unable to cope with him, employed a Hienbi contingent to aid them; and, in Dec. 308, the Huns were completely defeated and driven back by Hienbi,—whose fellow-countrymen in the Hun army deserted to them during the action. It was in the beginning of this year that Liwyuen, the Han Wang, proclaimed himself Whangdi—Emperor; Kwei also then assumed the rank and style of Great Shanyü of Hienbi, and was acknowledged as such by the governors of the three northern Chinese provinces.

Every man at that time did what was right in his own eyes, for there was no real “king in Israel.” And every man acted on the “simple rule, the good old plan”; for it was right that any man should, if he could, rob every other man. Among other incidents showing the collapse of authority may be related the following. Li, the Wang or Feudal King of Bohai,\* hated bitterly Wang Chinyo, one of the principal ministers of the Tsin Emperor. Wang Ting, the Prince-Wang of Changli, sided with Prince Li, and urged him to send an army against Chinyo. The advice was acted upon, and Li’s son marched against the minister of his own master. Bun, the Governor of Liaotung, knowing that the best of Bohai’s troops were gone, immediately set out with his army against Bohai, to take up the quarrel in behalf of Chinyo. Li was not able to prepare against this sudden inbreak, and he was soon taken and put to death. Another army of Bun’s fell upon a Bohai army which had been sent against Liaotung, and had penetrated to Woolü hien of Liaotung (now Liaosi). This city and fort was at the foot of the temple-crowded Yiwoolü mountains, whose beautiful shadows are thrown over the present city of Kwangning. The Bohai army was completely defeated; and Prince Ting, whose men formed part of it, fled to Kwei for vengeance. Bun, elated with his

\* North-west of Shantung and south-east of Chihli.

success, was eager to gain possession of Li's successor. The latter pretended to be willing to acknowledge Bun his superior; but while he sent friendly messages, he set an ambush. Bun was gladly advancing to receive the submission of that official, when he was pounced upon by this ambush, seized and put to death, along with all his family.

Chinyo had more important matters to attend to than avenging the death of his self-constituted, ambitious protector. For the internal anarchy of China had reached a climax, and the power and terror of the Huns increased in proportion. Chinyo was in such straits for men that he applied for a Hienbi army to revenge the death of the imperial commander, Li Jwun, who had been defeated by the Hun chief Shulua, taken and beheaded. The Dwan Hienbi, to whom he first applied, were in no hurry to go to the appointed rendezvous; and Chinyo, in his anger, commanded Kwei to raise the neighbourhood, and chastise Dwan. Kwei was only too ready to do what he was ordered to, and immediately sent off his son Han with an army, which defeated that of Dwan; pursuing the latter from Hosinchung to Yanglo, an ancient city in the neighbourhood of the present Kingchow. But Han, hearing of the defeat of a Chinese contingent sent to second him, retired, leaving a garrison in Chingshan, whose site was near the present Yichow of Liaosi.\*

The success of Han increased the renown of his father Kwei, who was already famous as a warrior and as a ruler, and especially celebrated as a refuge and hospitable entertainer of all fleeing from the anarchy inside the Chinese borders. At first, Chinyo was the centre to which literates, and people with much to lose, were attracted from northern China. But when he himself was struggling in deep waters, they began to look elsewhere for shelter. They first tried Dwan, both in Liaosi and Liaotung;

\* As Dwan was north of Moyoong, it is most likely that Hosinchung was south or south-west of Yanglo, and Yanglo was apparently north or east of Chingshan; for as Han ultimately "retired" to the latter, from which (or Toohe) he was summoned to his father's aid, all these places were to the north of the modern Kingchow.



but as they were not very cordially received, they essayed Kwei, who welcomed them with open arms, giving the more eminent literates posts of importance. Among the Chinese—in all generations the generous patrons of learning—this conduct raised at once the fame and the power of Kwei.

The governor of Huentoo died in 313; and his son had to go to court, as usual, to receive investiture, for the office was then, and long after, hereditary. His road led him through the jurisdiction of Kwei, who treated him with the greatest respect, and escorted him part of his way when he took his departure. When the young man was taking leave, he said that going into China at present was like running into a tiger's mouth; for though there were roads enough, not a single step was safe by any one of them; considering this state of affairs, and that the rule of Kwei was just, benevolent, and everything a good king's should be, he urged him to extend that rule over the Dwan tribe. Still another flattering proof of his fame came to Kwei by messengers from Daifang and Lolang, east of the Yaloo, praying for his aid against the king of Gaogowli, with whom they had fought a losing battle for many years. But this very fame, and the power accompanying it, made Chinyo jealous; for he saw the people of the Chinese provinces, which were under his own care, fleeing to Kwei for a shelter which he was himself unable to give; his weakness, like a cancer, thus increasing itself.

The Dwan Duke of Liaosi died in 318, and was succeeded by his son, who was immediately murdered in a revolt, whose leader became chief of Dwan. In January 320, the governor in Pingchow\* sent men to enquire into the condition of Liaotung; and the report they gave of the numbers flocking to Kwei alarmed him. He sent messengers to those fugitives, ordering them to their homes; but not one would return. Believing that Kwei's power was becoming dangerous, he made overtures to Gaogowli, † Dwan,

\* Yoongping, in the north-east of Chihli.

† This is the original form of the name Corea; it was afterwards abbreviated to Gaoli or Gori, whence Corée or Corea. (See below Gaogowli.)

and Yüwun to combine, march against, ruin Kwei, and divide his lands among them. This plan the three powers were only too willing to carry out; for not only were the dominions of Kwei conterminous with the Hienbi—south and south-west of them—but the other two portions of Hienbi were as eager as the imperial agent to crush the ever-growing power of Kwei, which threatened them all; and Gaogowli—small, but compact and ambitious—was eager for spoil. The three, therefore, forthwith formed an alliance, summoned their clans, and marched to a common rendezvous in Liaosi.

Knowing it would be madness to think of facing the combined army of the three kingdoms—any one of which had more men than he—Kwei had recourse to stratagem. He provided a great and splendid feast; for which he got ready an unlimited supply of beef and spirits.\* He then gave the warmest invitation to the Yüwun army, officers, and men, to come and partake of the feast provided for them; the invitation being given as if he and they were on the most friendly terms. The trick had the desired effect; for Dwan and Gaogowli at once suspected Yüwun of playing them false, and of waiting only till actual fighting had begun, to join Kwei and turn against them. Knowing that the odds—with Kwei's generalship and Yüwun's numbers—would then be against them, Dwan and Gaogowli armies believed it most prudent to retreat to a distance. The Yüwun chiefs were indignant at this imputation on their honour; and in their angry vexation, swore they would advance alone, if their allies would not second them. This they did; for several hundred thousands of them (so says history) marched and camped 40 li from Jichung, his capital, where Kwei awaited the storm.

As soon as Yüwun began their independent march, Kwei despatched a summons for Han from Toohe † in the north, where he had been stationed ever since his victory over

\* The Chinese largely use both distilled and brewed liquors. The distilled is very strong, but more resembles Irish than Scotch whisky, for it retains the *fusel* oil.

† As Han had camped at Chingshan, south of the present Yichow, this Toohe is likely to be Siaoliangho. It was within the bounds of the modern Kingchow.



Dwan. Han was informed of the advance of Yüwun, under command of Si Doogwan, to plunder the land of Moyoong; and ordered to fall on the rear of Yüwun from the north, while Jichung garrison rallied to attack them in front; for that such attack would throw Yüwun into disorder, as they could not suspect an enemy from their rear. But Doogwan had heard of the summons to Han, and, believing that Han's design would be to enter the city and strengthen the garrison, he sent off several thousand picked horse to intercept him. Han, having put his troops in motion immediately on receipt of his father's urgent message, was well on his march when that detachment had gone to meet him, and his scouts informed him of its approach. He continued his march, sending on messengers ahead to this army sent against him, to report himself as a contingent of the Dwan men, on the way to join the Yüwun to take vengeance on Kwei for the numerous insults suffered by Dwan at his hands. The Yüwun cavalry division went on their way, rejoicing to find a friend where they were looking for a foe; and in their eagerness to meet and welcome this unexpected reinforcement, they hastened rapidly past a place where Han had already laid an ambush, which rose and rushed upon the rear of this cavalry. Han immediately hemmed them in on three sides before they could recover from their confusion, and not a horse escaped. Han sent forthwith on fleet messengers to his father, asking him to attack Yüwun at once, while stunned by this sudden and unlooked-for blow. He ordered one of his sons, along with the former chief of Lolang, to advance in the van while he himself led on the main army. As Doogwan had not placed, nor deemed necessary to set, sentries, Kwei's men in person were the first to make him aware of an aggressive attack from the garrison. But hearing that Kwei was upon them, the Dwan army ran out of their camp in the hurry of fear, thinking of nothing else. Just after the last soldier had left the camp, the Dwan men looked round and were completely bewildered by seeing their camp one blaze of fire; for they had barely issued out of the south end of it

ere a thousand of Han's horse galloped in by the north end, and set it on fire. As they were wholly unable to account for the attack in that quarter, they became stupified and were easily defeated and broken up. Doogwan escaped alone, and most of his men fell into the hands of Kwei, who found among the spoils the three seals of office given by former Chinese dynasties to the chiefs of Hienbi,—from which seals they took the distinctive name of Yüwun, when Hienbi was divided into three. The allied army had its eyes opened now when too late; for the moral effect of that battle, and the skilful stratagems by which it was gained, made it impossible for Dwan and Gaogowli to hope for any success, and they hastily withdrew. The instigator of the war was also terrified, and sent a nephew to Jichung, to act as mediator between Kwei and the three kingdoms, to overture peace in their name, and to declare, on the part of the Chinese commander, that this war was none of his private seeking; for that it was only the urgent appeals of the people of Pingchow which had constrained him to act as he had done. Kwei sent the nephew back with a message, declaring to the Governor that surrender was his wisest policy, and flight his next best. Kwei followed this messenger with his army; and the governor, choosing the second suggestion as his best plan, fled, with a few dozen horse, to Gaogowli.\* As he was unable to remove his family out of Pingchow, they fell into Kwei's hands, along with the city and all its inhabitants.

Kwei appointed his son, Yin, Governor over Liaotung, leaving officials, markets, and everything else as he found them. The Gaogowli army, seeing Kwei now encroaching on their borders, drew up their army, but with the spirit "of slaves," and Yin's army completely routed them; while Jang, the former Governor

\* This would seem to imply that Kwei advanced against Pingchow from the west or north-west, in a way rendering it impossible for Pingchow Commandant to retreat into China. This would place Pingchow very much to the east of Yoongping; perhaps in the neighbourhood of Shanhaigwan, or between that and Ningyuen. Shanhaigwan is now under the jurisdiction of Yoongping; and if Pingchow were located on any portion of the soil now subject to Yoongping, it would be said to be in Yoongping foo.



of Liaotung, now serving under Kwei, took many prisoners. Of the captive officials, Kwei made a number officers of his own, after he returned to Jichung. One of them, faithful to the old state of matters, died of grief, showing that the ancient Corea had now adopted Chinese governmental ethics. As soon as the terrible Kwei removed his army westwards to his capital, the Gaogowli men prepared to drive out the new governor; but Han and Yin successfully resisted every expedition, and at last the Gaoli King was compelled to sue for peace.

At that time, one Pung was Commandant of Laichow, on the north coast of Shantung. He was fiercely attacked by the Commandant of Tsingchow to the south-west of him; but as he defended himself with spirit, the assault failed. The two combatants found themselves equally matched, and neither would yield to the other. At last Pung said, with a sigh of grief, "Why, in the present distracted state of the country, should we two fight and make bad worse?" He ended his speech by proposing that he should abandon his post, and, for the sake of his country, become an exile. At the head of over 1,000 families, he embarked for Liaotung, and, for patriotism, forsook his country. His original design was to make for Pingchow, which he believed to be still Chinese soil. By the way, he came in contact with General Jung Lin, whom he suspected of designs upon him; and, to prepare against these, he drew up his men in battle order. But before actually beginning the fight, Lin said that they should not suspect, but trust each other; and the result of his speech was that they combined their forces, and went over to Kwei, who gave them a hearty welcome, and offered each an important post in the country. This they declined, preferring to go further on into Liaotung and break up the unoccupied grounds there. This was perhaps the largest Chinese immigration into Liaotung at that early period, but it was not the only one.

In January, 321, Kwei was nominated Doodoo of Yowchow and Pingchow, Goong of Liaotung and Shanyü. This was the manner in which the feeble Emperor revenged the defeat and

flight of his own officials, who had held those places, now placed under the orders of Kwei. Kwei made his son Han Governor of Liaotung, and Yin of Pinggwo,—which was known afterwards, during the Sung dynasty, as the city of Jienan\* of Gaoli. These made excellent governors. But in 333, Kwei died full of honours and of years, having established an independent, compact, and formidable kingdom, consisting of the north-east corner of Chihli, all Liaosi, and most of Liaotung up to the Gaoli borders.

Kwei was succeeded by his third son, Whang, who began his reign by enacting severe laws, which alienated many of his people, and caused general uneasiness. This apparently means that, hitherto, laws and modes of life were of a somewhat rude and misshapen kind, and that Whang began a system of civilization, approaching the Chinese form of life and government, which was as uncomfortable to the wild sons of the mountains, as western tights would be to the loosely clothed Chinaman. His brothers Han and Yin, who had already proved themselves able rulers, were much beloved by the soldiers, whom they had so often led to victory, and, doubtless, to booty; and another brother, Li, was equal in sagacity to the father. It is said, and we can readily believe, that Whang was jealous of them, especially as they were all in a state of society where Whang's assassin would become his successor; and they were aware of Whang's jealousy. Han said, with a sigh, that, during the time of his father, the first duke, he did his duty to the best of his ability, but that he could no longer remain where he was. Taking his son with him, he therefore fled to the Dwan Hienbi, as did his brother Yin from Pinggwo. Having been taught, by bitter experience, the ability of these men, the Dwan rulers received them with open arms, and were prepared to act generously towards them. Li and Yin, however, plotted to recover their proper position in their own land. The former urged Yin to compel Whang, by force of arms, to deal generously by them; and Yin went to Pinggwo, raised forces, and marched westwards.

\* See Map I.



Whang heard of the plot, but did not believe it. He sent messengers, however, to make enquiry. They got to Hwangshwi\* (river), to which Yin had already marched. Yin had these spies seized and put to death; but he himself fell back on Pinggwo, apparently not meeting the encouragement he had expected by the way. As soon as Whang discovered the truth, he sent off several of his generals against the revolted Yin, who, however, completely defeated them. The result of this victory was that the commandant of Liaotung city—the chief fort of Liaotung, and not far from the present Liaoyang—declared for Yin. Many men from the defeated army joined him; and the remainder, faithful to Whang, were therefore unable to enter the city. The other officials, scattered over Liaotung, followed the example of the chief city, and all the former province of Han was now united to that of Yin. Liao, King of Dwan, rejoiced in Yin's good fortune; and his northern neighbour, Yüwun, was none the less pleased with this blow to Moyoong.

Liao, Shanyu of Dwan, to take advantage of the strain on Whang, had an army sent against Tooho, which, however, had to retire. He then sent Lan, his younger brother, with one of Han's men as guide, to attack the city of Liwchung, which was north of Yingchow. But the city was well defended, and again Lan had to retire. Liao upbraided him for his inefficiency, and ordered him back. For twenty days and nights he rested not from his works, raising mounds to overtop the walls, and preparing scaling ladders. The repeated sallies of the besieged cost him over 1,000 men; but in spite of all he could do, the city was as strong as ever.

Whang at length sent his brother Kan to raise the siege,

\* North-east of Jichung and 400 li from Yingchow, and in the neighbourhood of Hiendoo, a city of the Han dynasty. Apparently the Liao west of Kaiyuen, which is even now called the *Sira* or "Yellow" River by the Mongols. The river 400 li from Yingchow, or the modern Kingchow, would be either the Outer Liao to the east of Sinmintwun, a region then under Dwan; or the united Liao at Sanchabo near Newchwang, which is the more likely position, as it was in the direct line between Pinggwo or Kaichow and Yingchow.

ordering him to send a body of a thousand horse in advance to scout, and to discover the position of the enemy. This he failed to do; and as he entered the gully of *Niw wei goo*,—"Ox-tail Valley,"—he was suddenly attacked, and completely defeated, with half his men slain. Hereupon Yin felt secure in his new dominions, and therefore styled himself Prefect of Pingchow and Duke of Liaotung. He also seized and retained Wang Chi and other officials, whom the Tsin Emperor had sent across the sea, to take command of and in Liaotung, and who were then on their way to Whang to pay their respects, and to deliver to him an order from the Tsin Emperor to march upon Liaotung, along with the Chinese officials named in the imperial document, which they were to deliver.

Whang did not receive the message; but he was not dilatory in making formidable preparations on his own account. For though he was the vassal of the Emperor, the fealty due was a merely nominal one; and Liaotung was of much more consequence to him than to the Chinese Emperor. The Commandant of Hiangping\* opened its gates to the large army of Whang, and his example was again followed by all the fortified cities of Liaotung. Whang was eager for vengeance on Hiangping because of its desertion, and desired to put the entire city to the sword. His advisers, however, proved that this would be bad policy; and his anger was satisfied by having the inhabitants all moved to the west of the Liao river. This example of wholesale transportation was followed by the Manchus, thirteen hundred years later, at that same river, and still more extensively on the Liaotung, Fukien, and Kwangtung sea-coasts. It would appear as if Yin had retired before Whang into his own province of Pinggwo, among the numerous mountains of the Liaotung peninsula, and that Whang was not prepared to pursue him further; for the armies of the two brothers did not come into collision.

In 335, Yin dismissed the imperial messengers, Wang Chi and his companions, to find their way home by sea. But, once

\* Called above "Liaotung city."



at sea, they steered westwards instead of southwards, and made for Whang, who then, for the first time, was made aware of the imperial commands. This was in January, 336, two years after the messengers had touched Liaotung shores. The character of the message was soon known to both Dwan and Yüwun; and both, jealous of the power of Whang, and desirous, therefore, to support and prepare Yin, sent on messengers to let him know the nature of the embassy he had detained and let go. Whang heard of their interference, sent a band, in hot haste, after the Yüwun messengers, and killed ten of them. Whang, now assured of imperial sanction to his enterprise, hurried on large preparations to crush his brother, and had his plans ready by February, 337. One of his ministers said that the gods were in league with him against Yin; for that ever since by his rebellion Yin had deserted his country and betrayed his friends, the sea had been frozen over every winter,—a thing unheard of to such an extent before. Such a portent was, manifestly, a declaration of the mind of the gods, and, doubtless, meant urgency to punish the rebel; for the road thus provided for the faithful people was a direct one across the sea. Other ministers objected to making use of the ice as a road, and expressed doubts as to its safety. But Whang received the supernatural explanation with great gladness; and when several of the councillors still urged the use of the land road, which, if longer, was perfectly safe, Whang angrily declared that his plans were formed, and the daring man would be slain who would venture to oppose them. He ordered his younger brother to march on the ice from Changli to Lilin Kow,\* also called Haipo Kow, a distance of 300 li.

Yin was unaware of the march of this army till it got within

\* 300 li east of Changli, if measured across the sea, would point to the modern Newchwang or Yingsu, as the destination of the daring adventurers; or, better still, to the mouth of the Kaichow river, whence the distance to Pinggwo would not be great, and the route taken would account for the ignorance of Yin. The sea is now frozen every winter along the shore of Liaotung between Kingchow and Kaichow, and the winters were necessarily more severe when a sparse population was unable to contend with the forests and marshes of the plains.

seven li of Pinggwo city, when he apprehended two scouts. He immediately drew up his army at the north-west of the city, and waited the arrival of his brother. But the Moyoong men in his army deserted to their fellow-countrymen under Whang, and Yin, with his Liaotung men, was totally defeated. The men of his own tent revolted after the battle, seized and brought him a prisoner to the victors. His most trusty friends and advisers were slain, and he himself permitted to commit suicide; for, unlike the Turks, no member of any royal or imperial family in China can be executed, but one may be ordered to execute himself. Many of Yin's men, who at first fled, returned and joined the conqueror; and, of all the officers, only two fled into Gaogowli. Gao, the general of this successful expedition, was created a Duke by Whang.

To keep Dwan in check, Whang now built the city of Haochung,\* to the east of Yilien,—the easternmost city of Dwan. Bo was made commandant, with a force sufficient to keep a sharp look-out on both Dwan and Yuwun. Next month after the city was finished, some thousands of Dwan men approached to ascertain whether they could not pull it down. Bo drove them off; and the Dwan commander of a second larger army was afterwards seized.

King Liao of Dwan was, however, not to be beaten, but sent yet a third army, numbering fifty thousand men, which camped at Hwishwi † river, west of Liwchung. The commander of this army hearing that Whang was marching against him with an equal number of men, retreated quickly without striking a blow. Whang, therefore, marched northwards to a city he had built some years before. A general of Yuwun, who had set out for

\* This city would needs be somewhere in the vicinity of Kwangning.

† In early Chinese history "river" is always translated "*Shwi*" or water,—*Ho* being a modern generic name, it having been anciently applied to the *Ho*, the Yellow River. This Hwi river is also called the Chü Shwi, north-west of Haochung coming from Mongol land, passing *Yijunchung* in a north-west direction, then north-east passing *Gooshan*, then south-east,—so says a note to the original history. Liwchung was north of the present Kingchow, so the river must have been the Daliang.



the south with another army, also hastily withdrew, abandoning his heavy baggage and waggons. Whang was, however, not at all satisfied at the bloodless character of his victories. He set an ambush, therefore, of some thousand men among the hills, which fell in with, and completely defeated an army of some thousands of Dwan men, who were stealing in to plunder. The commander of the Dwan army was slain. Dwan, nothing daunted, and wild for revenge, sent still another army against Tswun, son of Whang, at Hinggwo chung. This, too, had to beat a retreat; and the chief of Beiping\* clan of the Dwan, grieving over the fratricidal strife, pleaded against this ceaseless bloodshed, saying that marriage alliances, benevolence, and virtue were the most precious gems of a government; and that, as the Dwan family had for generations intermarried with the Moyoong, he did not see why they should not all agree to restore peace to the kingdoms, and rest to the people, by ending this ceaseless war. King Liao refused to listen to this advice, which is very unpalatable to some kinds of rulers, ancient and modern.

\* The modern Tsuhwa, only recently in possession of the Chinese.

### CHAPTER III.

## YEN WANG.

WHANG was now as much feared, as strong, and in the east more powerful than his father had ever been. His success in crushing all internal strife, and defeating all external attack, had been complete; and, as yet, he had the full approbation of the Chinese emperor, which freed him from anxiety as to the attitude towards him of the higher authorities in the northern provinces of China, bordering his own territory. His dependence on the Chinese court of Tsin was, however, a very slight one; and he revived for himself the ancient title of Yen Wang. Indeed, by this time the court of Tsin was real master of only a fourth of China, and the new Yen Wang simply added a fifth to the number of virtually independent kingdoms into which China was divided. His southern neighbour was Shu Hoo ("Stone Tiger"), Prince Wang of the ancient kingdom of Jao (Chao). King Liao of Dwan was unceasingly sending armed bands into Whang's borders to plunder; and in order to put an end to the nuisance, Whang sent General Soong Whi to his southern neighbours to ask their assistance in chastising the common robber: for we have seen that Whang had established laws, and, doubtless, urged the cultivation of the land; so that he differed less from the Chinese than from the original Hienbi, who were still, for the most part, apparently nomadic, as are their descendants to this day. "Stone Tiger" responded to the summons with an army of 30,000 men to march by land, and 10,000 more to embark at *Piaoyüjin*, which is apparently the mouth of the Tsing ho in Shantung, the Whang ho, then flowing east. The commander-in-chief of the combined army would thus have 70,000 men under him. The "Tiger," as we shall see, had his own reasons for assisting Whang.



In May, 338, Han, who was still at the court of Dwan, urged King Liao to take advantage of the isolation of the 30,000 men ere reinforced by the other contingents, and at once attack them. But Lan, who had been so often defeated, was angry at this interference, and refused to act on that suggestion, choosing to go his own way, which led him into an ambush prepared for him by Whang. There he had several thousands of his men slain, and five thousand families taken captive; which, with similar hints, goes to show that Dwan was still at least partially nomadic. Much spoil also fell to the conqueror.

Jao Wang then marched in with his army and camped at Jintai. Yüyang and over forty other fortified cities of Dwan opened their gates to him. Yang, chief of Beiping,\* retired with several thousand families to Yenshan,† where he strongly fortified himself. The various generals, fearing that, if left in their rear, he might cause trouble, urged the necessity of rooting him out before advancing further. But the Stone Tiger did not think it was worth the trouble. He therefore ordered a march past; and the army went by Yüwoo hien, the Yütien hien of Kichow of Tang. Because Lan had been so often defeated, Liao dared not risk all to the chance of one battle. Instead of fighting, he took one thousand families, his wife and relations, and made for *Miyun shan*, which afterwards became Miyun hien. Han, of whom he took leave in tears, fled north to Yüwun. The various other officers left behind made their submission, and Jao and Yen Wangs sent a combined force of 20,000 men against Miyun, which took Liao's wife and mother, slew over 3,000 men, and scattered the rest. A son of Liao, riding a famous horse, prayed to be received, and was. Over 20,000 Dwan families were transported to Suchow, Yoongchow—the ancient name of Singan, &c. Seeing no help for him,

\* Now Tsunhwa.

† Near Peking, anciently called Yen King. From the position of Tsunhwa, Yutien, and Miyun, I prefer to locate Yenshan east or north-east of Peking, rather than in Sishan, where Dr. Bretschneider sites it; for in Sishan, Yang would be far removed from the scene of action, and would have caused no uneasiness.

Yang also tendered his submission, and was received by Hoo at his tent door, who said to him, "You were formerly a slave; you are now a free soldier."

Whang was nominated Mooling—"Shaper and Guide"—of Yowchow and Prefect of Pingchow. But Jao Wang was jealous of the reputation of Whang. He was now aware of the number of his forces, his resources, and the extent of his country. Dwan, the nearest neighbour and relation of Moyoong, was all but annihilated, and Jao Wang saw his way clear to extend his own dominions. His first step was to separate his men from those of Yen Wang, who, however, was aware, long before this step was taken, of the real sentiments of Jao Wang. He, too, had prepared, on his side, for the struggle which he had seen coming. He first of all dismissed all questionable officers. He then asked Commander Gao as to the condition and spirits of the army. Gao replied that the city must be kept to the death; implying that the city was more reliable than the army. And while internal China was lorded over by misrule, every man's hand against every other, Jao Wang began his march against Yen Wang.

This duel, like that of Prussia and Austria after Denmark's defeat, was not entered upon without careful preparation; both sides not only straining their own resources, but striving on all hands for allies. Jao Wang's kingdom at that time contained the original kingdom or "Empire" of the earliest Chinese. He had seven chow cities—Suchow, Yichow, Tsingchow, Küchow, Yowchow, Bingchow, and Yoongchow. It extended from the west of Shantung inclusive, and included the southern half of Chihli, and the central portions of Shensi and Shansi. As it was the oldest, it was, as now, also the most wealthy and thickly peopled portion of the empire. It was, therefore, no matter for surprise that when, instead of, as hitherto, supporting the power of Whang and the house of Moyoong, the resources of that populous and wealthy land were to be hurled on the head of the doomed Yen Wang, many of his followers believed it best to make sure of the friendship of the Stone Tiger, rather than encounter the avalanche which was being let loose to



overwhelm them. Hence thirty-six cities belonging to Yen Wang opened their gates at the summons of Jao Wang. Few, on the other hand, replied to the invitation which Yen Wang had sent to all the neighbouring tribes to join him. And Gaogowli prepared for the inevitable destruction of Whang, and the certain dissolution of his power, by marching in force into Lolang to defend themselves against Jao Wang, after he should have crushed Yen Wang. Swun Yoong, Whang's commandant in the fortified city of Changli, discovered a plot by some of his officers—Lolang men—to open the gates to Jao Wang. The conspirators he put to death, freeing those who had confessed their crime.

Our old friend Pung, now a Taishow, hurried with 200 men into Jichung when he heard of Jao Wang's sudden march against it; for the latter believed he could take it with a spring. The city was soon completely invested. A brief but successful sally of a few hundred men raised the spirits of the garrison. "Stone Tiger" closely pressed the siege on all sides; but the spirit of the besieged was as desperate as Gao could wish it. So incessant and daring were their sallies for ten days running, that the siege had to be raised. The rear of the retreating army was so mercilessly cut up by 2,000 of the best horse in Whang's army, which hung upon it like hornets, that the retreat became a rout, and the assailants, every moment becoming more numerous, threw the troops of Jao Wang into such disorder, that 30,000 (?) of them became prisoners or were slain.

All fear of any damage from Jao Wang being now at an end, the victorious and jubilant Whang marched at once against the revolted cities, all of which fell in a brief space. The principal agents in the revolt fled to Gaogowli. The revolted soldiers Whang put to death, and handsomely rewarded his army. But though defeated in his first attempt, Stone Tiger was by no means at the end of his resources, nor would his grand design fall to the ground because of one failure. He sent his men across the gulf to Liaotung; sent three million

*hoo*\* of grain for their use by road, and as much more, in three hundred vessels, to Gaogowli.† These preparations point to a rear attack from Liaotung, which could be only by vessels; and a front attack by the modern Tientsin, whither the grain must have been sent by land. He also ordered Tsingchow to provide a thousand vessels to march on Yen kingdom. His son, with 20,000 horse and foot, made an expedition, in which he took, or slew, 40,000 Hienbi.

In the following January, King Liao, still at *Miyun* shan, sent messengers, imploring Jao Wang to help him; and Ma Chiu was sent to receive his submission with 30,000 troops. Chiu said that men surrendering should be received, like an open enemy, with caution. He was to prove the wisdom of his observation; for Yen Wang Whang marched out with all his men to intercept his army, and Liao forwarded messengers to Whang, telling how Jao Wang's army could be ruined. Whang sent 7,000 horse as ambush to *Miyun* shan; and when Chiu got to *Sandsangkow*,—the meeting of the "Three Waters" in *Anchow* and *Miyun*,—he got involved, attacked, and defeated. Six-tenths of his men were cut to pieces. Chiu escaped almost alone, and one of his generals, *Yang Goo*, was left a prisoner in Whang's hands. He was a *Shangshoo*, or President of one of the Boards; for Jao Wang had, ere this time, assumed the title of Whangdi. *Yang Goo* was made a general by Whang; and the last of *Dwan Hienbi* became the subjects of *Moyoong Whang*. Jao Wang lost another battle next year, and his two commanders were slain by *Moyoong Ping*; but, to be revenged, he sent 30,000 men against *Fanchung* of Yen Wang. Whang hurriedly threw a thousand men into the city under *Gwan*. This small garrison trembled at the approach of Jao

\* *Hoo* is a variable measure, the common one being 2 pecks of about (of millet) 40 lbs. each. This would give an average of 800,000 lbs. per vessel, which is out of the question. If we divide by ten, and make the *hoo* two pints or 8 lb., it gives us a more reasonable quantity; and this is the actual *hoo* in use at Shanghai now. Shanghai is therefore highly conservative! The imperial or standard *hoo* consists of 5 pecks.

† The peninsula of Liaotung, then under Gaogowli.



Wang's army, and pleaded to be allowed to withdraw, for the odds were so enormously against them. Whatever he felt, Gwan became very angry at this demand, saying, "Who does not know that, in holding a city, one man is equal to a hundred assailants." And he threatened instant beheading as the fate of the man first to move. Under this bold speech the garrison rallied; and, to encourage his men, Gwan himself stood in the thickest of the arrows and ballista stones which came showering in. A vigorous defence of ten days compelled Jao Wang to raise the siege; and, as he might now fear an aggressive movement on the part of Whang, he had the men of Liaosi moved to the south of Yichow to prevent them falling under the power of Yen Wang.

For the title of Yen Wang, Whang had not yet received imperial sanction; and he believed his victory over Jao Wang would be a good opportunity for pressing his claim to the title; for the Tsin Emperor could dispense titles and names, if he could not wield authority. As proofs of his right to the title, Whang recited at length, by his ambassador, all he had ever done in support of the majesty of the empire! But he was unsuccessful, whether because the Emperor believed all that he had done was rather for the majesty and grandeur of Whang, or for some other reason, does not appear. But after other victories, he sent another embassy in 341. The Emperor, in consultation with his ministers, again declined to bestow the title, for the characteristically Chinese reason, that no such title had been bestowed on any stranger (*i.e.*, foreigner) since the periods of Han and Wei. The lengthy and persistent remonstrances of the embassy were at length successful, and the imperial patent was made out, conferring the title of Yen Wang with other high-sounding names upon Whang; his son was nominated Governor of the Eastern Hoo, and appropriate titles were conferred on all the superior officers who had behaved well under Whang—even though these honours were gained in wars against the lieges of the Emperor conferring the titles. But the policy of the weak, tottering, decrepit Tsin has been, in every

particular, the policy of every weak, tottering government in China from the first to the present.

The first capital of Moyoong was Chingshan on the Toohe river, where was the ancient kingdom of *Goojoo* of the Chow dynasty, and the kingdom of *Shangwoo* and *Feidsu* of the Spring and Autumn Annals. Chingshan was 190 li east of Kunchung, south-east of which, 170 li, was Jichung, the second capital. After the first successful raid into Jao Wang's land (see p. 76), Whang built a new city, which he called Loongchung,\* to the

\*There is, at first, some difficulty in determining the site of Yingchow and Liwchung, on whose position depends the site of the capital of the Moyoong Family. The natives of Yoongping foo in Chihli point out the street named after, and which was anciently the property of, the two famous brothers of Goojoo kingdom. The kingdom they also locate in the same place; and, according to the Tang history, Goojoo was, during the Shang dynasty, where Yingchow was afterwards built; and the After *Wei* built Yingchow on the grounds of Holoongchung. The literates of Yoongping point out a *Langshan*, 40 li north-west of their city, on which Loongchung was built. The historians of the Sung dynasty also located Loongchung within the bounds of Pingchow, an ancient name for Yoongping.

Yingchow was first of all called Liaosi Kun by the *Tsin* dynasty, before the Christian era. The first *Wei* dynasty had a Yingchow over the six *Kun* of Changli, Jiendua, Lolang, Yiyang, Yingkiw. *Szei* dynasty again called it Liaosi Kun. *Tang* renominated it Yingchow, and placed Liwchung Kun under it. This Liwchung was originated by *Han*, but had fallen in abeyance. The After *Wei* placed under Yingchow, the *Kun* of Jiendua, Liaotung, and Lolang, the *kien* of Hiangping, Sinchang, and Liwchung. In the beginning of the *Swi* dynasty. Liaosi Kun was established where had been the ancient city of Yoolo, and it was over the *kien* of Liaosi, Looho, and Hwaiyuen, where the *Swi* garnered grain for their expedition against Gaoli. In the beginning of the Tang dynasty, but after the conquest of Gaoli, there were only the cities of Jiendua and Loongchung, Liwchung was soon after re-established and taken by the Kitan during the reign of the Tang Empress Woo. They, however, soon lost it again. In A.D. 786, the Tang dynasty established Junan Kun on the site of the ancient Yenkun city; Yenkun was 80 li north-east of Yingchow. Under Yingchow were placed Woolü, Hiangping, Yoolo, and Hwaiyuen. Woolü was at the eastern foot of the Yiwoolu mountains, which are near Kwangning; and Hiangping was east of the Liao river. All these names, as far as they are known, belong to Liaosi and Liaotung; and Lolang was in Korea. Changli is an exception, for it is somewhat to the west of Shanhaigwan; but the following figures, also from Tang history, are conclusive. To the north-west, 100 li from Yingchow, was Soongjing, which was on the eastern border of the people called *Si*, who were then in what is now south-eastern Mongolia. They would thus be north, and not west, of Yoongping. Again, Yingchow was 400 li south from the *Whangshwi*, on which the Kitan then lived. This is the Siramuren as it flows eastwards towards Kaiyuen. The road from



north of Liwchung, and west of Loong shan mountains. Just then he was successful in extorting from the Tsin Emperor the legal and legitimate use of his assumed rank of Yen Wang; and he built a royal ancestral temple, with palaces and government offices, in his new capital, whither he removed from Jichung, as soon as the imperial warrant arrived. Loongchung was therefore in the land which had belonged to Dwan Hienbi, and Whang was moving northwards as if to command the Yüwun, and to occupy a centre whence to unite all Hienbi into one kingdom.

Whang was meantime engaged in the more congenial air of the battle-field. He had marched eastwards to attack Sinchung, the Gaogowli city nearest his Liaotung border, and which lay south of the present Kaichow. Gaogowli, believing itself scarcely a match for the powerful Whang, made a treaty acknowledging its own subjection, instead of fighting over a city. The army was therefore sent north against Yüwun, the original division of the Hienbi, under a son of Whang's, then thirteen years old.

But a tremendous storm was brewing against Whang, of which he was not aware when re-opening the old strife with

Yingchow to the capital of Manchuria, *Andoong doohoo foo*, went through Yenkun, distant 80 li, and Yoolo, near the Liao river. The *foo* was 500 li distant; and from the *foo* Pingyang was 800 li. Now, Pingyang, in Corea, is 500 li east from the Yaloo at Aichow, which is nearly 100 li from Funghwangchung, which, again, is nearly 500 from Liaoyang. The *foo*, then, had control of over all Gaoli, as well as Liaotung. The modern Kingchow is more than 400 li west of Liaoyang, and Yoongping is more than double that from the Liao river. This is sufficiently conclusive; but one other figure should decide beyond a doubt the site of Yingchow. Yügwan was 480 li "west" of Yingchow; and Yügwan is in the neighbourhood of the modern Linyü hien, 40 li west of Shanhaigwan. The middle of the road between Yügwan and Hiangping (or Liaoyang) cannot be anywhere near Yoongping, which was west of Yügwan, but it must be very near Kingchow. Again, the History of Liaotung places *Langshan* 20 li north-east of Kwangning, and says it is now called Hoolangshan. All which is decisive in favour of the neighbourhood of the modern Kingchow, where we have sited Loongchung, &c., in Map II. This question is perhaps of no interest to any one but the writer; but we like to locate the headquarters of our worthies as far as this can be done. And it is perhaps necessary to give proof for locating cities in Liaosi, which many Chinese scholars locate in the centre of northern Chihli.

Yüwun. China has always been divided, and its census always been taken from a military point of view. Its census-unit is the able-bodied man capable of bearing arms in defence of the state. This unit is called a *Ding*, every ten of whom, in ordinary wars, are supposed to supply and support one of their own number as an active soldier. But in the end of the harvest of 340, Jao Wang summoned all the chow cities to send to an appointed rendezvous three out of five, and two out of four *Ding*, thus collecting half the able-bodied men of his kingdom, then in good health and able to carry arms. This enormous conscription brought together 500,000 men, for whom he provided eleven million Hoo\* of grain, stowed away in ten thousand vessels, to start from Longan chung.† He removed over ten thousand families from Yüyang and Beiping, and other districts of Liaosi, which he had taken from Dwan, to replace the men taken from Yoong and other chows to the south. There, too, they would be out of the way of temptation from Whang. He then marched eastwards from Yowchow, by Tahing and Tuntien to Bailang river, appropriating, on his march, 40,000 horses from the people, for the use of his army. He hoped thus to sweep Yen off the face of the earth. But he knew he had to deal with a skilful foe.

In consultation with his ministers, Whang said that the Stone Tiger was in great force at Longan, where he had set the most careful watch and kept the most strict discipline, but that both the south and the north of Kichung‡ were most likely left unguarded; and as that city was therefore most vulnerable, and an attack thereon gave promise of the greatest success, he gave orders for an immediate attack. He marched by the western route past Loongchung, seized a good many of Jao Wang's men by the way, and got to Kichung, whose

\* This, at two pints, would give each man four *dos*, or Chinese pecks, for two months; an ample allowance; which again goes to prove two pints the proper quantity of the Hoo. It gives over 8000 lbs. to each boat.

† 80 li east of Linchi of Tsinan foo in Shantung.

‡ There are three *Kichow* cities in Chihli; but this is, doubtless, the city east of Peking, which would be nearest Whang, for he marches west to it.



commandant, though at the head of some myriads of men, did not dare to make even a sally, for Whang's was a dreaded name. Yen men then attacked and broke down the fort at the ford of Woosong,\* entered Gaoyang, burning and destroying all round, and taking back with them 30,000 captive families. This clever stroke compelled the huge army of Jao Wang to move west from Longan to save the bare country from destruction.

Jao Wang was apparently unable to make use of the tremendous army which he had banded together; and the sudden move of Whang, destroying so much of his stores, opened his eyes to the damage, incalculable, which a sudden inroad of Whang might cause by a flank movement, especially as the defensive resources of his kingdom were almost all collected for that enormous offensive weapon. Had he been as good a general as Whang, he could have quickly settled the matter; but his knowledge that his own powers were insufficient to cope with the ability of Whang, on anything like equal terms, made him nervous. Hence we learn that even then, when bows and arrows were the artillery, and javelins the rifles of fifteen centuries ago, generalship—that is, mental power—ability to intuitively see the best move, and to see it at a glance; ability to work out in theory, and carry out in practice, the most probably successful of all possible plans—was then as important a factor in gaining a victory, as when the tactics of Napoleon dumbfounded the Austrians, or the movements of Von Moltke disconcerted the French. It was in all ages the wise general, rather than the brave soldier, who won the day. Or perhaps it would be more proper to say that it was the wise general who made the brave soldier, by inspiring confidence, and compelling unity and obedience. History never shows that "Providence is on the side of the biggest battalions"; but it does show that, as a rule, the general, though at the head of the smaller army, who is able to concentrate a greater number of men on a given point, who therefore attacks and pierces through the weak point,

\* 25 li west of Ansoohien of Paoting.

which his less able adversary presents him—who, by stratagem or forethought, can surprise and disconcert his enemy—is as sure of victory when fighting with swords and javelins, as when concentrating the fire of parks of artillery. The few soldiers of Fanchung, referred to above, would have fled, but, by a sentence or two from their undaunted commander, they fell into their places, were obedient, and therefore successful. So of the large armies. Whang could judge the best point, the most expeditious manner, and the most critical time, for setting his troops in motion; and a smaller number of troops counted for more in his hands, than a larger under any of his adversaries. The warfare of the "Middle" and of the "Former" ages was, in this respect, what the warfare of the "Latter" ages is. *Mind* has always been, *mind* will always be, master, whether the age is Gold, Silver, or Iron. Jao Wang could easily have collected an army of half a million men, as the servant of the magician summoned the Spirit, but it is another matter to command an army of that number; and it depends on the head of that army whether it is to be an army—a well knit, compact, and workable unit—carrying all before it, or a disorderly rabble, more dangerous to itself and its friends than to its foes. It is more easy to collect half a million men than to command them. Jao Wang's army, from these or whatever reasons, did not sweep Whang and his soldiers into the Gulf of Liaotung, nor even drive them out of Loongchung; though we shall meet it again.

But he sent a fleet across the gulf to Anping of Yen in Liaotung. The men who manned this fleet were Tsingchow men, with the addition of men taken off the island of Woo when passing it. These took the city of Anping; and to prevent the loss of Liaotung from that quarter, Mo Yoong Go was ordered to hurry on and take Pinggwo, where Yin had been governor, but which had been abandoned since. Go had already been successful as a commander, and it was believed he could spring into Pinggwo. And he did; and protected the old residents, and welcomed all new comers; while he so belaboured the various Gaogowli armies, which had come to retake the city, that they ceased marching his way.



Whang had sometime before sent a messenger, in the guise of a merchant, to Yuwun, to invite his brother Han to return. The invitation was accepted, and Han was welcomed with demonstrations of the greatest joy. As the Yen kingdom had then its hands free, Han, now a general, advised Whang to take the offensive against one or other of his northern neighbours. He said that Yuwun was again very powerful, and might march in at any moment; while Gaogowli was constantly prying into the eastern borders, and would be certain to take advantage of an inroad from the Yuwun side on the north, to push in and cut off Liaotung on the east. This was well on in the spring of 341; but there is no reference to any threatened danger from the unwieldy host of Jao Wang. Whang believed the advice a good one; and determined to anticipate danger, by at once marching in upon Gaogowli, into which there were two routes,—the northern being the easier; the southern, by Moodichung,\* difficult and very hilly. Thus we learn that war was then waged by those belligerents, without any apparent *casus belli*, other than the opportunity and the ability by one power to damage another power, which might possibly at some future period attack it. So that, as in the case of some more recent wars, or war-cries, might was all, and right nothing.

The Gaogowli men were expected to mass their troops on the north route, as that by which the Yen men would be sure to attack them. Whang, therefore, marched 40,000 of his best troops by the hilly south route, where the Koreans or Gaogowli were certain to be weakest; sending only 15,000 men by the north route. The Gaogowli had 50,000 men on the north route;

\*As Moodi was in the neighbourhood of Kaichow, and then a Korean or Gaogowli city, the southern route must have been that via Siwyen, which certainly is the most mountainous, among the sources of the Yang river. The northern must therefore have been that from Liaoyang by Saimaji and Kwandien, which is all but level, though winding out and in among mountain ranges passing east and south along the Taidu; for the route through Moukden, by the Hwun river, is too far north and more difficult, and was indeed unknown then. Loongchung, besides, was right west of Liaoyang, and the Saimaji route was the most direct as well as the most level.

while the south one was occupied by the Gaogowli king, who kept the passes with some thousands of old and decrepit men, just as Whang had expected. It was Han again who proposed this mode of attack; knowing that if the army pushed through in force to Wandoo, the capital of Gaogowli, it must open its gates at once, the heart of the country would be laid bare, the northern Gaogowli army would be too late on the scene of action, and no serious opposition could be apprehended. Han himself, with Moyoong Ba, was in the van of this southern army. He attacked the Coreans as soon as he came in sight of them; his vigorous attack being seconded by Whang with the main body. But old though they were, the Coreans fought with the valour of despair, knowing that all was lost if they were forced. They fought so bravely, that notwithstanding a general assault by Whang's army, they obstinately held their own. Yüliang, an officer of Whang's, said that he had received many favours at the hands of his sovereign, and now had come the opportunity of showing his gratitude by his death. Taking with him a few resolute horsemen, he plunged into the Gaogowli ranks. This sudden shock staggered them a little; and as soon as the momentary movement slightly opened their ranks, the main body of Whang's troops pressed in, threw the Corean ranks into utter disorder, and their defeat was almost instantaneous, with a frightful slaughter necessarily ensuing from such close quarters. One of the Gaogowli generals was slain; and Whang pursued the fugitives even into the city of Wandoo, where he took prisoners the mother and wife of the Gaogowli king. This news soon reached the northern army; and the moral effects of it defeated them with ease, and Whang did not need to press the pursuit. Jao, the Gaogowli king, was now a homeless fugitive, without any central point of government. Whang sent messengers after him to treat of peace, but he would not see them. But when Whang would have retired, General Han declared that without some guarantees, the campaign would turn out a barren one; for the Gaogowli men would again re-appear from among the mountain gullies, where they were hiding, and cause much mischief. He, therefore, advised to



open the grave of the late king, take the dead body\* and the living mother of the king, and then return; this plan, together with the plunder of every specially valuable public article and ensign of government, would bring King Jao to his senses. This was done. The dead king was disentombed, and brought away along with his living widow; together with all the palace valuables, and 50,000 men and women captives. The palace was then burnt, the city walls levelled with the ground and Whang returned. The plan was successful; for King Jao sent his younger brother, early next spring, with the largest and finest pearls, praying for a treaty. Yen Wang sent back the coffin along with the messenger, but retained the queen mother as a hostage; and she was retained for long.

The enormous army of Jao Wang had long set sail. The long camping had, doubtless, debilitated many of his huge host, and made a bad preparation for a stormy passage of several days across the Gulf of Liaotung. Two-thirds of his 500,000 soldiers and 170,000 sailors perished without striking a blow,—most of them at sea. After he landed, his rear was hunted down at every step by an army of a thousand or more wolves and foxes, aided by some tigers; no bad representatives of the human armies and their officers. He was therefore unable to face Whang, and did not attempt a westward march. But his son and heir marched against the north Hienbi under Hoogooti, whom he defeated, slaying 30,000 men. He must therefore have marched north through the present Liaoyang and Mukden, to the north of which was the seat of the Yüwun Hienbi.

A curious family incident occurred at this time. Shu Yijien also a Hoo "barbarian," but a Hiwngnoo, or Hun, was then

\* A knowledge—imparted by a R. C. priest—of the extreme value attached by the present reigning house of Corea to the dust of their dead ancestors, led to a disgraceful attempt at body-snatching, to hold to ransom, by a young American citizen, which, fortunately for so-called civilization, signally failed—the resurrectionists being driven away by an outraged people, ere they could complete their designs.

Wang of Dai\* in the west. He sought, a second time, a relation of Yen Wang's in marriage; probably because the Moyoong family had become so powerful, and marriage alliances counted then for much, if not for all. Yen Wang sent a messenger to receive 1000 horses as a present in exchange for the bride; but Dai Wang refused to give such present. As this refusal was regarded not only as a breach of etiquette, but as a defiance, Whang sent his heir westwards with an army to meet any possible attack by Dai Wang. The latter had not intended to fight; but hearing of the march of the Moyoong men, he hastened on with his army. He met no enemy, and returned home again. The true reason appears to have been, that the powerful Hunnish Dai Wang regarded it as a great honour done the Moyoong family to take a bride out of it, and never thought of making the usual present.

Whang was not needlessly early in his desire to break up the Gaogowli power, if he desired to prepare for eventualities; for scarcely were the Gaogowli messengers gone with the coffin, ere Yüwun marched southwards in great force. The Yen men were eager to go to meet the foe, and give immediate battle; but Whang, fearing they might be overpowered by numbers, forbade it. Yüwun army, seeing no foe, and believing Whang therefore afraid, became careless, wandered about, and neither set a guard over the camp, nor sent scouts to feel for the enemy. Whang was not the man to let slip such an opportunity; but sent out Han, who fell upon the disorganised Yüwun. The commander escaped alone; most of his men falling an easy prey to Han. This battle must have taken place not much north of Loongchung, and on the west of the Liao river.

The kingdom of Fooyü, the original home of Gaogowli, had Hüentoo on its south-west, Yilow on the east, and Hienbi on the west. Baiji, the kingdom east of Gaogowli, made a raid northwards into Fooyü, breaking it up completely. The Fooyü people fled hither and thither, but mostly westwards, where

\* On the banks of the Yellow River, in the north of Shansi. He had made *Yunjoong* his capital some time before.



they nearly touched the lands of Yen. There they dwelt negligently, thinking of no evil. Whang, therefore, sent 17,000 cavalry, which attacked them suddenly; and took captive their King Hüen, and 50,000 of his people. Whang made Hüen a chief commander; giving him one of his own daughters in marriage.

We now turn again from these Liaotung digressions to Jao Wang, in the north of China proper, who had long assumed the imperial title, and whose family was said to be the chief cause of the miseries which were then rending China in pieces. The Tsin Emperor, himself utterly unable to cope with his difficulties, sought the aid of Whang in the east, and of Jang Jwun in the west, at once to put down the arrogant Jao Wang, and to drive the Hiwngnoo out of Chungtu, which they had taken. He also nominated a day and place for the junction of their troops with those of the empire. But the proposal came to nothing at that time.

In Feb. 349, Jao Wang, the "Stone Tiger," took unwell in the midst of preparations against a proposed attack by Jwun, son and heir of Whang. In May he died, and was buried with imperial pomp. Jwun was urged to march in upon Jao Wang's land; the distracted state of the empire being pressed upon him as a reason. He was not unwilling, now that the man chiefly to be feared was gone; and he got ready 200,000 men under his well tried generals, Ba, Ping, and Go. Jwun was now lord of Yen; for his father, the talented Whang, died before Jao Wang; both thus leaving their respective heirs to fight out their strife. The Tsin Emperor nominated Jwun also governor of Yowchow and Pingchow. And all his councillors urged him to war; placing the imperial crown before his eyes as an easy prize. He laughed; but made his arrangements in earnest: for if the dragon throne was at the top of an arduous climb, it did seem nearer than ordinary, and its attainment appeared not at all impossible, for the kingdom of Jao was bled almost to death, and Moyoong had been steadily growing. He also made an alliance with Jang Joonghwa of Liangchow in Shensi, who joined

him with all his men. He was freed from alarm from his eastern frontier; for just then the king of Gaogowli, probably to curry favour with the now powerful Yen Wang, sent on as prisoner one who was formerly a commander of Liaotung Hoo barbarians, who had fled into Gaogowli when Whang marched eastwards. Jwun freed and made this prisoner an officer.

We have already incidentally seen that many Hienbi and Chiang families took up their abode on Chinese soil from the time of Han down, and that many more were carried thither captive by Jao Wang. There were, doubtless, also not a few Hiwngnoo families. These had caused trouble in the early days of the Tsin empire, acting as spies and guides to their plundering relations from beyond the border. Jao Wang began to prepare for the coming storm by ordering all the "Hoo"\* within his territories to be put to death. Over 200,000 families were thus put to the sword to prevent their becoming traitors in the hour of danger. The work of slaughter had to be done speedily, like another St. Bartholomew massacre, else many would escape. As all those people spoke Chinese like the original natives, their tongue could betray only very recent arrivals. Hence the marks given by which a Hoo could be discovered were, "Much hair on the face and a high nose." Every man possessing these unlucky marks was cut down, be he what he might, and in spite of his strongest asseverations, often doubtless true, that he was no Hoo, but a real Chinaman. Thus many Chinese perished among the Hoo; for the Chinese wore better beards then than they do now. Having thus put to death a whole army of civilians, Jao Wang had a brief breathing space before the storm burst upon him. But that frightful butchery would, doubtless, hurry on the northern preparations, and steel the hearts of Jwun's men with a cry of revenge. If Britain went mad for blood over the atrocities of the brutal Sepoys, what would she have done if so many of her children were cut down and maltreated as only Asiatics and Turks know how to do!

\* Thus the term will be seen to embrace all the strangers resident among the Chinese, from whatever tribe of nomads.



In March, 350, Yen Wang ordered General Ba to start with 20,000 men by the east route via Tooho. He would, therefore, march south along the sea shore through the modern Shanhaigwan. Moyü was sent by the west route through Yiwung border, and Jwun marched at the head of the main body by the central route through Looloong\* (which was 200 li north-west of Pingchow). Go and Yüliang commanded the van of this army. And Loongchung was left in charge of the Heir-Apparent.

As soon as Commander Ba got to the neighbourhood of Sanhing, Dung, the Commandant of Anlo, or Longan, abandoned the city, after setting fire to the heaps of stores. He then joined Wang Woo, Commandant of Yowchow, to protect Kichow, which had been formerly plundered by Whang's forces. This Kichow is now called Tahing hien, in the neighbourhood of Peking. He had fled too soon, however; for Swun, the *Dooyü* of South Tooho, entered Longan, extinguished the fires, and saved enormous stores of grain and silk,—all the grain of Beiping and Anlo having been stored up there. Swun then joined Jwun at Linju city,—now called Sanho, full thirty miles east of Peking.

The Yen men got to Woodsoong in April, and Wang Woo, leaving Wang Two with a few thousand men in Kichow, hastened, with Dung in retreat, to protect Lookow.† Kichow was assaulted in a few days and taken by storm. Wang Two was seized and beheaded,—a fate which Wang Woo and his second wisely avoided, by seeking to fight another day. Jwun, like his father at Hiangping, but with less provocation, was about to order a massacre of all the soldiers of Two, but Ba reasoned with him that it was just such conduct which prevented Stone Tiger from becoming Emperor of China. Soldiers who will not fight for their incapable rulers will fight to save their

\* These two would enter China from the north-east and north of the modern Peking, through those main gullies which resounded so many centuries later to the Mongol hordes of Genghis Khan and the Banners of the Liaotung Manchus.

† The modern Tingchow.

lives. This is but another form of the Golden Bridge. Not a soul in Kichow was put to death; and the wisdom of this step was immediately apparent, for the literates and women (curious combination!) crowded out of their hiding places, far and near, for protection.

When Yen men got to Fanyang,\* its commandant was eager and determined to hold the place to the death. His men, however, refused to fight, compelled him to open his gates, and gave Jwun another proof of the wisdom of Ba's advice. The Taishow was still retained in his old post, but his son fled to Wang Woo, urging him to recede further. The advice was not very well received, and Woo sent the youth back to his father; and Jwun made him an officer.

Leaving a garrison in Kichow under Moyü, Jwun pressed on to attack Lookow, hoping to pierce through to Chingliangchung. When the Yen army was nearing, Dung threw out a few thousand men by night, half of whom, as no proper watch was set, got into the vanguard camp. The noise which they made when pushing into Ba's tent aroused him out of his slumbers. He seized a weapon, and with his own hands killed a dozen men. The alarm then became general, and Dsao with his men had to beat a retreat. The general disturbance roused Jwun out of his sleep, and the surprise made him nervously uneasy. Commander Yügun, to whom he expressed his uneasiness, told him that the enemy had taken advantage of a time when they believed there would be no watch; but that as they (Yen) had come looking out for the enemy, they should be glad they had found him. But Jwun did not look the least glad. Yügun therefore advised him to lie down again and rest, while he would act the king for the night, and guarantee no further molestation. But Jwun continued ill at ease; and, instead of lying down, went outside the camp, and, surrounded by a few hundred men, stood on a high grave to look out as far as he could see. He gave orders that Dsao should be pursued; and so thoroughly were they carried out, that Dsao joined Dung

\* The modern Shwunyi hien.



alone,—his followers all scattered or slain. Jwun, however, having tasted the sweets, as well as the cares, of regal life, had no ambition to add to them those of the soldier; he therefore returned to Kichow. He is but another example of every conquering house in the east. The founder of the house must be a man of extraordinary military and political abilities, his successor must be not an unworthy second; but, as a rule, that exhausts the hereditary ability in the direct line. It is difficult to harmonize history and Darwin.

Lan\* of Dwan, the Commandant of Lingju, died in July, and his successor, Ho, seeing the universal anarchy prevailing throughout the kingdom of Jao, and in the other Chinese neighbouring states, marched southwards to Gwanggoo with his men, and there assumed the rank of *Chi* Wang,—the ancient Shantung kingdom. Some districts of Chinafied Hienbi came under Jwun's power; and one, Jao Gai, after professing to submit to Yen, fled back with 300 families into the country of Jao. Fearing that other Hienbi chieftains might also return to their Chinese homes at the first opportunity, Jwun sent the companies (Boo) from Kwangning and Shanggoo† to the districts of Hü and Woo, and those of Dai east to Wanchung, removing all temptation for a homeward march.

Sinhing Wang was created Emperor of Jao in his capital of Hianggwo‡ in the early summer. But while his attention was directed to the ravages by Yen on his north, the gradually growing power of Min, king of Wei, suddenly attacked and took Hianggwo with 100,000 men in it. This was in December; but in the following April, Jao again marched in force against Min in

\*This Lan had sent a present of 10,000 horses, and fugitive Yüwun, to Jao Wang, when the latter was attacking Liaotung. Lan was therefore made Commandant of Lingju, with a garrison of his own Hienbi men under him.

†Shanggoo is said by one authority to be the ancient name of Paotingfoo of the present Chihli. But the Chinese Directory makes Huenhwafoo the ancient Shanggoo, and makes the present Huenhwa hien to be Gwangning. Woo is Woojoong afterwards, and now the Yütien hien of Chihli.

‡The modern Shwunte foo.

Hianggwo, completely defeated him, slew over 100,000 men, and broke up his army.

Jao enacted very severe laws, which drove large numbers of Chiang and Hoo (Tibet and Hunnish) families out of the country; for, notwithstanding the massacre, many had again collected. As these were on their way to their respective countries they heard that their native lands were at war. They "fell out by the way," and scarcely a fifth of those departing ever saw their native country. But if Jao's laws were severe, the power to equally and justly enforce them was gone. And it was not severe laws, but anarchy, which drove Bohai into making an alliance with Wei, which power was making great preparations to restore its lost prestige. And, in the following spring, General Hoong started as Chin (Shensi) Wang, thus making another ominous gap in the defensive power of Jao.

After the precautions taken to prevent desertion of Hienbi (p. 78), the Yen General Ping marched south, and captured Yichow, then took Changan, whose Commandant had fled. Jwun returned thence to Loongchung, where he, by sacrifice, informed his ancestors of the extension of the Yen power. After Ping, at Nanan, defeated a force sent against him by the Commander of Lookow, he pressed on to Lookow. Kooyoo, with its magistrate, opened its gates; and General Yiyoong, seeing that the power of Jao was about to gasp its last, made his peace with Jwun, and was made Great Doodoo of the Six Yi (barbarians of the west), his son being made a Commander. Bohai was also hesitating whether it should not join Yen; while Joongshan\* had fallen before General Go, who sent many of its ministers and people to Kichow.

It was now evident that the absorption of the rich country of Jao into the poor country of Yen was only a matter of a few months, and as there was no Congress of Berlin to compel an unscrupulous Power to disgorge, Wei rushed in to scramble for a share of the spoil. The attack was again directed on the Capital, and, as might be expected, with more complete success

\* The present Tingchow.



than formerly; for as this spring found Jao everywhere exhausted, Hianggwo easily fell, after the defeat of an army marching to its relief; and in it were captured a hundred nobles. The palace was burnt down, and the young "Emperor" taken, with his wives and concubines. They were all beheaded. The family of Stone Tiger, who was within sight of the Dragon throne of all China, was exterminated; and the whole of the kingdom of Jao was divided between Yen and Wei, each taking what he could.

Now that Jao kingdom was gone, Yen and Wei became neighbours. The advice of his councillors to the king of Wei to be satisfied with his condition, and not meet Yen in battle, only angered him; and he declared he would not only defeat Yen, but take Yowchow, thus showing that he believed himself able to annex all the lands which had formed the kingdom of Jao to his own. He camped at Ansi of Jingchow, whither Go was pressing upon him. He went to Changshan; Go keeping close in his rear, and camping at Weichang hien\* of Joongshan. They had meantime engaged ten times; but as both were excellent generals, neither gained any advantage. Go had a considerable advantage over his opponent, inasmuch as his men were all mounted; but the forests which covered the country were in favour of the infantry of Wei. Wei withdrew to the forests whenever Go got to any place where his horse could be employed to advantage; and Go took the advice of those who urged him not to pursue into the woods, but to patiently wait till this military chess-play gave him a chance opportunity on the open plain. When they at length did get into the level country, Go divided his men into three; two divisions to remain inactive till he, with 5000 horse, drew the entire attention of the enemy, when they would attack, one each flank of Wei, and secure the victory. Go himself led the attack, at the head of 5000 capital archers, mounted on horses, which he clad in chain armour.

\* The present Woochi hien was anciently called Weichang; but we have seen that Joongshan is now Tingchow.

Min was mounted on a splendid charger named Jooloong, which could run 1000 li a day! In his right hand he held a double-edged sword; and in his left a long spear, hooked and barbed at the point. With these weapons he slew over 300 Yen men. Seeing the Yen standard floating before him, and making sure it covered the Yen commander, he dashed his horse at it. When he was thus hotly engaged, apparently much more than a match for Go in single combat,—surrounded by enemies, and closely followed by his own men, all of whom had their eyes and attention eagerly directed to their Homeric chief—the reserve divisions of Go flew upon his flanks, and with the first charge threw them into disorder, and drove them into a disastrous flight. Another victory of brain over bravery. Wei was soon surrounded by a deep circle of foes; through which, however, he cleft his way, and fled eastwards for twenty li, when the gallant and faithful Jooloong sickened and died. He was then seized, and with other commanders sent on to Kichow. Tsao, one of his sons, got to Lookow. Jwun saved the prince of Wei alive; but asked him how he had dared assume the title of emperor. He replied that the empire was in utter confusion. "And if," he continued, "a barbarian like you, who are as ignorant as the birds and beasts,\* can assume that title, how much more a brave Chinaman." The reply gained him the anger of Jwun, and three hundred lashes, with transportation to Loongchung, where he was shortly after put to death. But as the summer set in with a great drought, followed by swarms of locusts, which ate up everything, Jwun believed it was the spirit of Min taking revenge, and therefore built a sacrificial temple for him! He offered sacrifice to the departed and troublesome spirit, and gave him the posthumous title of "The Brave Warrior, the Heavenly King."

Almost all the cities of Wei now acknowledged Yen except

\* "Like the birds and beasts" is a common Chinese simile for barbarians, and means that, like the animals, there is no knowledge of etiquette or propriety. Min would not have used that simile had the Yen men been the equals of Chinese in literature and civilization, and we must infer that they were still semi-barbarous.



the capital, Ye,\* which was so closely and long invested, that the besieged ate human flesh. The new Wei emperor was here along with Jiang Gan, one of the Wei ministers, who had chief command. After they had eaten up every soul taken in Hianggwo, the capital of Jao, Gan sent out men to make overtures of peace; but chiefly to see whether no help could be found. Ping had an additional 20,000 men sent him to make sure the fall of Ye; and as the Tsin Emperor failed to forward a relieving army, Gan made a sally at the head of 5000 men. Desperate was his condition, and he fought desperately, but in vain; for he escaped within the city almost alone, leaving 4000 of his men dead or prisoners. The army, which was at length sent to aid the gallant city, was defeated, and Jwun went to Joongshan to be near his expected prey. After sufferings within more cruel, and sights more terrible than the battle-field in August,—when the garrison had been three months living on human flesh, Ma Yuen, an inferior officer, opened the gates to Yen men. Gan let himself down the wall by a rope. Ping got possession of the heir apparent—not yet enthroned—of the empress, the chief officials, the imperial carriage, raiment, and all the official paraphernalia; all of which he sent to Ki. Some of the officials, however, carried out the Chinese idea of faithfulness, and committed suicide rather than live after their empire.

Go had, meantime, gone to Changshan and directed his attention to Wang Woo, who, since he heard of Wei's destruction, had assumed the title of Angwo Wang. Go pressed hard upon him. But he was murdered by one of his own commanders, who was, in his turn, slain by the officer of Woo's body guard; and this latter took the reins of power. Go defeated and slew Ji Lin of Joongshan, another aspirant to imperial honours, at Woochi hien, having marched from Lookow against him.

The following incident gives an accurate representation of

\* Ye or Nie, the present Linchang hien of Changte foo in Honan. It had been the capital of Jao (Chao) in 335. In 352, Wei annexed Hianggwo and occupied Ye. In the autumn of the same year Go crushed Wei, ended his dynasty, and, in 357, Ye was the Capital of the Yen "Empire." So rapid was the march of successive armies, and the rise and fall of rival kingdoms.



Chinese ideas regarding faithfulness to one's prince and obedience to parents, as acted out by the common-class people, who are not enthusiastic enough to be ready to sacrifice themselves, nor base enough to sell themselves to the highest bidder; but who strive to carry out duty as far as self-interest will permit them: the majority of educated Chinese, it need scarcely be added, being of this description. Yijoong was one of the brave men who had done their best to set Stone Tiger on the throne of China. His life was valued chiefly because he could, by his deeds in the field, prove his gratitude to the master who had been so generous to him and his. He had, with eager bravery, done what he could to stem the overwhelming flood of Yen's power, and to save his country. He was unsuccessful. His country was gone, and, with it, the main object of his life. In the same spring, when the capital of his country became Yen property, he took unwell, and lay down on his dying bed. He summoned his forty-two sons to his bedside, and, after recapitulating the favours bestowed by Stone Tiger, and confessing his inability to repay them, he ordered his sons to make their way, with their army, to the aid of the Tsin Emperor in the south, who was not only threatened by Chin and Yen from his west and north, but was struggling with formidable rebellions in his own lands; one rebel, with 40,000 men, being at that moment master of the road to the large and important city of Woochang. Yijoong died soon after giving this charge; and after his dutiful sons saw him decently buried and properly mourned for, they moved southwards at the head of 60,000 families. They besieged and took the cities of Yangping, Yuenchung, and Faping; then camped at the ford of Gaonao, near Tsiyangkun, on the Yellow River, where they were fiercely attacked by the forces of *Chin* (Shensi), and 30,000 of them were slain in the terrible battle. The survivors, under Hiang, one of the brothers, marched southwards to Soongyang; and had to fight another serious battle at Matien, where they bootlessly threw themselves on death, and the commander was compelled to send his fifth brother to the Tsin Emperor to profess his goodwill, and to leave hostages as



proof thereof; for he found it impossible to cut his way across the Yellow River to the court of Tsin. Thus we can easily perceive that China was then wholly cut up, and its available resources absorbed by conflicting camps, all having one object, though of all dimensions; from that styled imperial—fighting to retain the power of taxation—to the small band of petty robbers plundering the poor of the nearest villages.

## CHAPTER IV.

### IMPERIAL YEN.

AFTER the absorption of the Kingdom of Wei, Jwun felt himself warranted in assuming the rank of Emperor, which he received from his supporters, with many other honorary titles. He also bestowed, according to Chinese custom, imperial rank on several generations of his predecessors. In 353, his queen was proclaimed Empress, and removed to Kichow, which, as the capital, was known simply as Ki. Go opened Lookow for him after a three months' siege. In the spring of 354, Hoo Wang submitted, and was made Governor of Honei, or "inside" the Yellow River, which name was given to the lands east of the river on its southern stretch along Shensi. Yen empire would, therefore, embrace all Chihli and Honan, with some of Shansi, besides Liaosi, Liaotung and a portion of south eastern Mongolia.

Yen was, however, not free from trouble, for the great extent of its empire, and the heterogeneous character of its political elements, made a consolidated peace all but impossible. One of the first to make trouble within was Gow, son of the brave Han, and Governor of Loling, who believed himself as worthy of the name of Emperor as Jwun. His ambition was short lived however; for, in autumn, he was murdered, and his murderer fled to Kan of Dwan. Jwun was urged to crush the evil spirit of disaffection which was suspected to exist in the important cities of Yowchow and Yichow, ere it developed into strife for independence; but he refused to move, as it would be impolitic to attack cities whose submission had been accepted. Kan, king of Dwan, next roused the ire of Jwun by refusing to style him Emperor, and Go was sent north to bring him to reason. Go feared that Kan would meet him at the river bank, and



prevent him from crossing. Kan's younger brother, a wise and brave youth, declaring his belief that, as Go was so able a man, the people, if he were allowed to approach, would open the gates of the city to him, proposed to take the step which Go feared. He offered himself to march to the river bank and prevent the crossing, while Kan should firmly hold the city. Kan would not agree to that plan; and as his brother persisted in urging it, Kan got angry and slew him. The way was therefore open to Go, who crossed the river in February 356. Kan, with 30,000 men, marched out 100 li from Gwanggoo, his capital, to oppose him, but was defeated, and had to retire. Go sent messengers after the retreating army to state that as many as submitted would be received into his own ranks; and several thousands joined him. Kan therefore hurried into the city, which was soon besieged, while all the other cities under his rule opened their gates to the summons of Go. Seeing no way of escape, Kan threw himself on the Tsin Emperor, who sent a General into the southern frontier of Yen's lands, and took two cities, but did not do sufficient damage to divert Go to the south. In November, Go was recommended by his officers to carry the city by escalade. He agreed that this would be the proper plan, if he could make sure of preserving all his men, and said he had long known of a plan which would inevitably have taken the city, but at the loss of too many of his own men. This reply soon spread over his camp, and gave universal satisfaction.

The garrison was now compelled to eat human flesh, and Kan made a bold and desperate sally with a large force, which, however, was repulsed; and, meantime, Go had bodies of men posted outside each gate. In his retreat, Kan had to cut through these, and he had to enter the city with the loss of the greater number of his men, who were slain or taken. He was compelled to open his gates in December; and was sent with 3,000 Hienbi families to Ki. The original inhabitants and strangers in Gwanggoo were well treated, and Kan was employed as a commander elsewhere; but he seems again to have given dissatisfaction; for, in the following spring, he and 3,000 of his



immediate followers were put to death. Thus the Dwan division of the Hienbi became finally incorporated in the Yen kingdom, originated by the Moyoong, the smallest of the Hienbi tribes. And if Yen was absorbing its barbarous cousins in the north, it was pushing down among the Chinese in the south; for the Yen men had cleft their way, like a trap dyke in granite, between Chin on their west and Tsin on their east and south.

The kingdom of Chin in Shensi had been all these years at war, chiefly with the yet imperial house of Tsin (or Jin). In 354, a great battle had been fought, in which the Tsin General, Wun, gained a complete victory over Chin's forces. Just about the time when the battle was fought, the prince of Chin lost one of his best generals by death; and, in mourning over him, he complained that Heaven did not desire him to restore peace within the "Four Seas." His idea of peace was that which all warriors have always desired,—peace, after war had utterly rooted up every existing government, he himself to be the Rooter up. He had one general, Yonur, who was extremely obstinate, and latterly roused his ire so that he gnashed his teeth every time he saw him. At last his rage became so great, that he put to death the general, his nine sons, and his twenty-seven grandsons. As Yonur was a Chiang (Tibet) man, all the Chiang men in Chin, and they were many, became uneasy; for there was no crime assigned, nor state reason given, for the execution.

In 356, the prince of Chin was in great straits for money, because of the drains of his ceaseless wars; but in his rage he put to death a minister who recommended peace, and counselled him to have some regard for the good of the people, as well as for his own interests. Just then Wun gained another signal victory over him; but Jang Ping, one of his generals, defeated Hiang. The conqueror and his defeated foe became sworn brothers, and made an oath not to fight each other any more! One day the prince of Chin ate quantities of dates (*dsao*), and became very unwell. His principal physician was summoned, who frankly told him there was nothing seriously wrong; that his trouble sprang



entirely from his having eaten too many dates, and from his hasty temper. Chin became very angry; giving proof of his hasty temper, or, as we might call it, of his violent passion, for saying: "Are you a prophet? How did you know I had eaten dates?" he ordered the physician to be led out to instant execution. He was known as a ferociously cruel monarch, and was very frequently drunk. These instances suffice to prove it, and also to show the condition of law and order. In 358, he had to carry on an unequal contest against both Tsin and Yen; the latter of which powers seized much of his land. In 359, he nominated his General Wang Mung, "Kingdom-Separating Commander." We shall meet him again.

In the spring of 358, the Tsin commandant of Taishan,\* in the west of Shantung, attacked the eastern flank of Yen; but Go compelled him to beat a hasty retreat, crossed the river in pursuit, and ravaged the southern banks. When General Ping was marching south (p. 79), between the rivers Jang (Chang) and Woo, he summoned old Chief Jien and his Bohai † men to submit. These had seceded from Jao, on the defeat of the latter by the rising Wei, and had not yet acknowledged any master. Old Jien compelled the Yen army to fight for mastery; but he was easily overpowered. Jien was seized; and the bravery, skill, ability, and the strength of the old man of sixty were highly praised. General Go set an ox as a target for the old man, at a hundred paces ‡ distance. Jien said that "when young he could at that distance hit without wounding; but he was afraid his eye was now uncertain, and his hand unsteady;"—at the same moment letting fly an arrow which grazed the shoulder of the ox, and in an instant, another arrow grazed the belly. Each arrow cut away the hair, but left the skin unhurt; both marks

\* The famous mountain south of Tsinan, the Capital of Shantung.

† The modern Nanpi hien, south-east of Chihli, was the centre of Bohai.

‡ A Chinese pace is 5 ft., a step being taken by each foot to make a pace. Froude, in his History of England, was staggered at the 220 yards demanded by law as the nearest target for manly archery in Old England. But as he found that the English archer was certainly ordered to hit at over 600 ft., we may allow 500 ft. as a not impossible distance for Jien.



being exactly the same. A loud burst of admiration from all beholders rewarded the old man's skill. He was made commandant of a frontier station in the neighbourhood of Taishan; his garrison consisting of only 700 men. He was attacked from the east by an army ten times as numerous, under Tsu, a Tsin commander; yet he ventured battle, in spite of remonstrances that so small a force was suited only to act on the defensive within the walls of their fort. He, however, believed it was better to assume a bold face; and fight in the open, rather than defend well a place out of which there was no hope of escape. He himself marched at the head of his men; but though they fought furiously, they were driven within their ramparts, after having slain a thousand of the enemy. Tsu then besieged the fort; his lines being several deep all around. Jien sighed, and said there was no hope. He urged his men to submit, and save themselves; that he would remain alone, and die inside. The men, bursting into tears, swore they would not part from him; but would do whatever he did, and live or die with him. He replied that it was better to march out and die in battle, than be strangled in their hold. He, therefore, rode out at the head of his men; but though he bravely pushed against the foe, his men, in spite of their own bravery and his magnificent archery, could not cut their way through the thick set, deep lines before them. He and his band were soon surrounded and taken. Tsu admired the old man's courage, and asked why he was not serving the true emperor. He replied that it was through no fault of his that Tsin had lost the empire, and that there was then no real emperor. He was again and again urged to revolt; and he at length angrily asked if he were taken for a child. The sneer in this reply offended Tsu, who ordered him to be chained up. After a few days he died of indignation.\*

It is a very common belief that the Chinese are a dull, phlegmatic, passionless race. Neither acquaintance with their history nor knowledge of their family and social life gives any countenance to such belief. Many die from the effects of a fit of passion like old Jien; numerous suicides, murders, and dangerous and bloody attacks arise from the same cause. Their usual nonchalance springs partly from their national education inculcating strict self-control, and partly from the selfishness which so strongly pervades their life and principles of action, leading to a careless indifference regarding either the welfare or the sufferings of others.



Tsu had to repent the death; for the Yen men demanded vengeance, poured upon him, retook the citadel, and drove him off. Jien's son was ennobled for his father's sake.

Soon after the defeat of Tsu, Jwun, feeling infirmities approach, and observing that his hair was becoming grey, was anxious for the future of his kingdom. His heir was constantly and loudly praised for the excellent qualities already developed, or beginning to show themselves; but he continued ill at ease. He dreamed that Jao Wang was gnawing his elbow,—a dream, doubtless, arising from his anxiety, connected with his conquests, which he had wrenched out of Jao Wang's hands. The dream made so profound an impression upon him, that he sent to have the body searched out, but he was unsuccessful. He then offered the reward of a hundred ounces (*liang*) of gold (there was no silver in use then) to the person who should find the body. This reward brought forward an old woman, who pointed out the grave to the south of the city. When the body was disinterred, it was found stiff and uncorrupted. Jwun stamped his feet in anger, reviled the body, and said, "How dare a dead Hoo frighten the living 'Son of Heaven!'" and then ordered the body to be whipped, and thrown into the river Jang. But the body stuck against one of the pillars of the bridge, and would not float away! Afterwards, when the Chin empire was overturned, the poor woman Too, who had discovered the body, was executed, and the body buried. So much for the curious mixture of superstition and bravery; seen not in China alone, and seen even more recently than fifteen centuries ago.

Jwun had, in 356, sent an army of 80,000 men against the Huns, on the north of his kingdom, which defeated their army, slew over a hundred thousand men, took over a million of horses, over ten million of sheep and oxen, and 35,000 Hunnish families, who, with their Shanyü chief, gave in their allegiance. These were all sent to Bohai in Shantung, where land was given them. It may not be out of place here to draw attention to the constant influx of strange blood into China. The Miao and Man, the inhabitants of China preceding the Chinese, could not fail to mix



largely with their conquerors; and in the present history we have noted large immigrations, or bands of captives, from Tibet on the west, the Huns on the north, and Hienbi on the north-east. All these amalgamated with the Chinese, whose blood, as a people, cannot by any means be considered pure. Are the physical and mental differences between the short, small, 'cute south Chinaman, and the tall, stout, solid, and slow inhabitants of northern China, to be ascribed to these admixtures of blood, which have been going on in all ages?

The Tsin emperor was seriously alarmed at the rapidity and greatness of the Yen conquests. He issued a proclamation, calling upon his people to rise *en masse* and hurl back the northern barbarian. Yen, meantime, with a force of 50,000 men drove back the governor of Taishan, who had advanced with 20,000 men; and elsewhere city after city fell before Yen troops, which added district after district to their southern frontier. But Jwun was still disquieted for the future, as the conquest was not yet rounded off completely, nor were the conquered districts firmly welded together. Go tried to pacify him, by showing him the support which his son and heir would have after he was gone. This seemed to raise his spirits, as if he had been formerly suspicious of the designs of Go; for he said, "If my brother's mind be so, why should I grieve?" Chooi the Woo Wang was then recalled from Liaotung, where he was governor for Yen.

In February, 360, while in the midst of preparations for a large expedition, Jwun fell ill, and died on the following day. His son Wei, only eleven years of age, was made emperor; Go was nominated prime minister; and among others, Gun received high honours and place. But he was discontented, and advised Go to assume the imperial rank, which step, he assured him, would delight all the people. His expressed reason was perhaps not far wrong; but Go severely condemned the suggestion, and the spirit which gave it birth. He also declared that it would save much future trouble if the discontented, intriguing Gun were executed, as he deserved to be. Gun, to be revenged, then



tried to poison the boy emperor's mind against Go, accusing him of plotting for the empire. The young "emperor" refused to believe, but urged the two chief ministers, left by his father, to peace and friendship.

When Go discovered Gun's double dealing he was very angry; and especially so when Gun recommended the Court to retire to Loongchung, for there he could be master, as Go must necessarily remain in the south with the main army, which was then stationed at the modern Kweite foo in the north of Honan, where it had to watch Tsin on its south and Chin on its west. Go therefore set forth, in a formal memorial, the crimes of Gun, and prayed for the execution of him and his clique to prevent the evils which his agitations must inevitably produce. It was certainly no time then for disunion; for the Tsin emperor, rejoicing that Jwun was gone, was determined to raise his people *en masse* against Yen. But the Tsin General Wun, who seems to have been a better politician, as well as an abler general, than his lord, said that if Jwun was dead, Go was living; and the living brother would be as formidable an enemy as the dead one had been.

The internal dissention at Court soon became known to the Yen people, and large numbers of the soldiers retired, each his several way. But Go restored order by posting an army of 20,000 men at Lin and Whi to watch the southern border against the known designs of the empire of Tsin; though Chin, which, if small, was united—was reinforced by many myriads of Hienbi, who feared the unquiet future which court intrigues and selfishness threatened to bring upon their own country, as they do upon every country under the sun. These and others who followed their example greatly influenced the destinies of Chin, as we shall see below. Chin, though the smallest, was the most compact and united, of all the rival kingdoms struggling for mastery in disrupted China. Hence this influx, as well as the professed submission of large numbers of Huns from the north of Chin, who entered the "Inner Land" in spring and returned to their home in autumn; thus appearing to have entered China to hire themselves out as agricultural labourers. Some of these were



seized when passing Yen lands; but the Yen General released them in response to the angry messages of the Prince of Chin.

Pingyang, garrisoned by Yen, was attacked by Jang Ping, who had several times crossed and re-crossed between Chin and Yen, and was now in the Chin interest. But he behaved so ill to his own men, some of whom he put to death for a whim, and acted altogether in such a manner that Chin felt compelled to punish him. An army was sent against him; and again, when in straits, he prayed for Yen's interference, offering his allegiance. But as he had turned coat so often, they left him to his fate, and he was destroyed,—a military Vicar of Bray, who got his proper reward.

In March 362 Lü Hoo, who had rebelled against Yen in Honei, been defeated, and restored to another but inferior office, attacked Loyang.\* In August he had to fall back and hold the ford of Siaopingjin. In July of next year, Go marched against the city, calling to his standard all the people whom he passed. He was well received everywhere. He could have taken Loyang by assault, but the walls were high, and an escalade would cost too many men, while by a regular siege he could starve out the garrison. Meantime Yoongyang city had opened its gates, and Michung of Honan had long been taken. Numbers of Honan cities fell before the Yen armies, but still Loyang held out. In April 364, Go discovered that, from want of provisions, the commandant of Loyang had already forsaken the enormous city, with most of his troops. As he was aware of the weakness in number and physique of the garrison, he made an attack, and easily carried the place by storm. The chief defender was Ying, a literary man, whom Go highly esteemed for his abilities, and whom he would have employed. But his officers said that, though a brave man, his countenance gave rise to suspicions of future trouble,—and he was put to death. Go permitted all the people to go whither they would,—a "barbarian" virtue, for the Chinese delight to sack cities and murder their inhabitants; invariably so when a city is taken after a stubborn resistance.

\* One of the Capitals of Tsin, and in the neighbourhood of the modern Kaifung foo. It was for centuries one of the finest, if not the best city in China.



He then marched his army to the passes of Yao and Mien rivers; and all the interior of the Tsin dominions was in terror.

But Yen was surrounded on all sides by enemies ready to take advantage of any slip. On the north-west, Dai\* Wang was himself a "Hoo," or a man of Hunnish descent, and married to a daughter of Jwun; but none the less ready and eager to plunder the lands of his matrimonial relations. Dai Wang had twice attacked the Hun chief Gaochua, so called because he went to battle in a high chariot. Yen men were, in 367, returning from a successful expedition against the same Huns, and when passing by Dai Wang's fields, wantonly destroyed quantities of his standing corn. The angry Dai Wang marched eastwards against the General of Yowchow, who was posted at Yunjoong† to be prepared for any possible attack from the west, and completely defeated him, annihilating the division of Mo Yüjia, another Yen general. The Yen men were being taught what defeat was in the south as well; and their prosperity had already reached its zenith when Go felt the advance of age and weakness creeping over him, and indicating the approach of his end.

As commander, he was never severe; but was just, merciful, truthful; and delighted rather in conferring favours on the worthy than in inflicting punishment upon the guilty. But if he was beloved by his men, the chiefs had, one by one, slunk from his side; the result, doubtless, of court cabals, or of envy. He was compelled, sometime before, to return to Ye, leaving the army in the hands of Woo Wang, who was a worthy substitute. He said to the young emperor, that Woo Wang was a much abler man, and a much safer guide in policy than himself; and warmly recommended the emperor to place him at the head of affairs, when the time came to nominate a Prime Minister. Two or three months afterwards he took unwell, and was frequently visited

\* The region known as *Dai* was on the borders of that portion of the Yellow River, west of Peking, which runs through the Mongol territory now called *Ortous*. The prince, or Wang, was, as in the Chinese kingdoms, and like Scotch "lairds," called after the land over which he ruled.

† The modern *Tatung foo* of *Shansi*.

by the Young "Emperor" Wei, who was deeply grieved on account of his uncle's severe illness; for he had learned to love him as a man, as well as to trust him as a counsellor. He was also greatly alarmed for the future of his kingdom, which had been hitherto so ably sustained against numerous and powerful foes, by the vigorous and wise administration of the dying Prime Minister. He, therefore, enquired minutely as to the proper mode of carrying on the Government, when he should be left entirely to his own guidance. Go answered as minutely; and drew attention to the fact, that not internal administration alone, however excellent, was needful; for both Tsin and Chin were constantly spying out the frontier, and making ready for territorial aggrandisement. This able man and good soldier then passed away, leaving no successor. For Ping assumed the control of affairs, and the young Wei was apparently of too weak a mind to carry out the measures proposed by Go. Prince Woo was left at the head of his army as before, ignored by Ping. This conduct of Ping gave rise to some unpleasantness; and if there was strife at court before, the selfish conduct of Ping, and the apparent weakness of the young ruler, greatly exaggerated the confusion. Tsang, Longan Prince, well aware that Ping was weak, jealous, and unfit for the position he had assumed, at a time when all the resources of the kingdom would be strained to meet the attacks of Tsin on the east and south, and Chin on the west,—formally memorialised the throne, praying that Go's counsel should be carried out, and Prince Woo recalled from the camp to take the helm of state. Ping refused to listen; but shortly thereafter got Joong, younger brother of the emperor, nominated *Dasuma*, or Prime Minister; thus securing to himself the real if not the nominal power.

Just then the Emperor of Tsin was under the spell of a literary man, Fang, who was giving him a medicine, the eating of which would ensure him life for ever. He daily ate the medicine, which so stupefied him, that he could not attend to business, which had to be transacted by his mother. Was this opium? The Chinese in Manchuria began opium under the



delusion that it would lengthen life ; and opium has for centuries been in use in the pharmacy of Corea, and applied in much the same cases as it is used now with us. And if the Tsin Emperor stupefied himself out of business power, the drunken lord of Chin had at last brought his kingdom into almost that same state of anarchy, which the Tsin Emperor was lamenting as the normal condition of things in China. This anarchy had indeed continued to exist for sixty years,—ever since Stone Tiger began his independent career. A revolt had sprung up in the Chin palace, which was put down only by the promptitude and bravery of Tiensi, who was rewarded with an immediate promotion. A certain official, Jang, sought the death of Tiensi as well as of the lady who was recently elevated to be “Empress” of Chin. Tiensi was again too quick for the traitors, and had all the agents of Jang put to death. Jang himself was in terror, and offered to retire in favour of Tiensi, who refused to have anything to do with him. Jang then employed a General to instigate Tiensi to revolt for independence and imperial power. But Tiensi ordered the same General to the house of Jang, and the latter was murdered that night. Both the states of Tsin and Chin were pure Chinese, and though Yen men had learned civilization from their Chinese subjects of Chihli and Honan, China was then certainly no desirable place of residence !

On the death of Go, Chin messengers were sent, nominally, to deplore the loss of Go, but really to discover the exact condition of affairs. The report given by these messengers of Ping’s character and conduct delighted the Court of Chin, and an immediate levy of troops was ordered. During these years Tiensi had to face and to crush several insurrectionary movements in Chin. But just as the above levy was being drawn out, Wei Wang, of the city of Shenchung in Shensi, revolted from Chin, and prayed for Yen help. This frightened Chin ; and Jien, who had by this time succeeded to the Chin throne, reinforced the army at Hwayin, to the west of Shen, in a pass as strong and difficult as the famous Toongwan. In his eagerness to strike Yen, during the feebleness in which it was left

by the death of Go and the weakness of Ping, he sent another army under General Goong, who, however, was defeated by Duke Woo, the Yen General; and a second division was defeated by Hing. Duke Woo pressed on after his victory, his van being led by Hing. Though the latter exposed himself several times, Gwang, who now commanded the Chin troops, declined taking advantage of the false moves, preferring to draw the Yen men after him away from the base of their supplies, and to wheel round upon them only when the failure of their provisions compelled them to retire. Twenty days' march exhausted Hing's provisions, and he was forced to retreat. Gwang now faced round and so warmly pressed this retreat that it became a rout, and Hing's army was completely broken up. Duke Woo, with the main army, was immediately attacked and defeated, losing 15,000 men. He abandoned the city of Anding;\* and his flight to Shangwei did not save him, for the city was taken and he slain.

While Chin was thus pushing back the Yen power from its eastern frontier, Wang Mung, already mentioned, was fighting against the empire of Tsin in the south. He was defeated by Duke Liw of Tsin, who eagerly pursued him. He watched his opportunity, wheeled round and utterly defeated Liw, pressing after him up to Pooban, which city he attacked and took, with Liw, whom he put to death. He sent Dung and a force from Pooban to Shenchung, which fell before him, and the revolted Wei Wang was at last seized and sent to Jien, who asked him why he had revolted. He pleaded necessity; for that his brothers were plotting in the city, and had he not revolted, the city would have become a battle field and a charnel house. The king wept at his sad fate, and gave him his own choice as to the mode of his death, promising to give his sons office.

Wun had by this time climbed to the summit of his ambition, and was *Dasuma*, or Minister of War, to the Tsin Empire. He was now eager for a general rising of the people against Yen in its weakness, to break its power and seize its lands. His design

\*The modern Pingliang foo of Shansi.



was to go in overwhelming force, flood everything before him, and suddenly fall on and take Ye, the Yen capital. He was all the more in earnest as he foresaw that, if Yen got control of the Yellow River, on which Tsin was dependent for supplies, the days of Tsin were numbered. As a preparatory step, he had his Tsingho\* river fleet embarked on the Whangho, or Yellow River. His counsel to rise *en masse* was, however, not adopted; but all the troops he could muster he sent on to Hooloo city, which he seized, with its commandant, Moyoong Joong. He also defeated a force of 20,000 Yen men, though they fought desperately at Whangchung. Li, with his defeated army, fled to Gaoping, whose Taishow, however, revolted to Tsin; and Dung Dwan, with Tsin vanguard, defeated another Yen army. The Yen *arms* were as strong as ever, but the *mind* was gone.

Tsang exerted himself to the utmost to stop Wun, but found his crippled resources utterly inadequate. He therefore sent urgent messengers to Chin for instant aid. Wun continued to press on, and, in July, got to Wooyang or Chaochang, receiving into his ranks one of Yen's generals, with all his division. On approaching Fangtow, both emperor Wei and prime minister Ping proposed, in their terror, to retire at once on Loongchung. But Woo Wang objected stoutly, protesting that it was time enough to think of retreat when they found it impossible to stem the advancing tide. Just before this storm burst so furiously, in 369, two hundred thousand Yen families retired to their northern homes because of the weakness of the central government; for there was no strong man at the helm. They gave as their reason that the imperial family was so small in numbers and so limited in resources. This exodus from the far south, which shows how rapidly and largely the Yen population had grown, so affected the minister Gwan, who was unwell before, that he died. Thus, one by one, the true pillars of the Yen State were being removed, when only a regular succession of such men could have upheld the incohesive structure. Though there were still good men among the Yen people, the mean minds in power preferred

\* This Tsing river will be that of Kiangsoo, not the Shantung river.

to stake the wellbeing of the State rather than, by yielding up the power they wielded so inefficiently, to sink into their proper insignificance.

Yen had 50,000 men in the field; but as these were considered insufficient to stop Wun, a messenger was sent to Chin from the Court to make the same request made by Tsang from the army. King Jien summoned a council of his ministers to consider what should be done in the exceptional circumstances. The general concensus of opinion was decidedly opposed to giving any help, but to let Yen stand or fall, as Yen had left them in similar circumstances. But Mung gave a totally different advice in private, saying that though Yen was inherently powerful, Ping was no fit opponent for Wun, who, by summoning Shantung in the east, could swamp Yen; which result would have serious consequences for Chin; for it could scarcely hold out against Tsin, if the latter were enlarged by all the lands and power of Yen. His advice, therefore, was to support Yen so far as to prevent its becoming the prey of Wun; and after the Tsin army was driven away, Chin could move in and take easy possession of the Yen lands. Jien agreed that the suggested plan was the best; and was so highly gratified with the wisdom of the advice, that Mung was nominated a *Shangshoo*, or President of a Board. Dung was therefore sent on with 20,000 troops to Loyang to help in turning back Wun, who was rapidly advancing under the guidance of Yen deserters; just as any conquering army has been, and will be, conducted by any number of Chinese, if the reward is sufficiently tempting.

In October, a body of 5,000 Yen men was sent from Yüchow to make a flank movement, and cut off Wun's supplies. Dua, the Yen prince of Fanyang, sent forward 1,000 of his 10,000 men as his van. The commander of the thousand sent ahead 200, dividing the 800 into three ambushes. The 200 fell in with the van of the enemy, and, after a feigned defeat, began to flee, enticing Wun's van after them into the ambush; and most of those who pursued were slain. From that moment Wun had to march, fighting in a desultory manner but gaining no decided



advantage. Hearing that Chin was in league with Yen, he burnt his stores and vessels, and returned. In his retreat, he had to dig wells for water, the supply of which had failed. This delayed and occupied him; and the Yen men hung by his rear and on his flank, giving him no rest. Most of the Yen generals urged a closer engagement; but Woo Wang objected, preferring to harass the retreat, giving the enemy no breathing space, himself risking nothing. He kept a body of 8,000 capital horse always on Wun's rear, thus pursuing him for seven hundred li; but at length, when, by incessant marching, Wun's army was thoroughly worn out, he ordered up the main army to close quarters for a general assault. Wun was then at Hiangyi hien. Dua laid an ambush of 4,000 excellent horse east of Hiangyi. In the succeeding battle Wun was frightfully defeated, losing 30,000 men. The Chin men now came up, gave chase, and cut down 10,000 more. Wun got to Shanyang in November with the scattered remains of his army. He ascribed his disaster to the lack of provisions, laying the blame on Jun, the Commandant of Shumun\* (Stone-Gate). Jun was well aware of the fate in store for him, in being made the scapegoat of the failure, and fled to Yen, sending friendly messages at the same time to Chin, thus securing a double retreat. This conduct would not, just then, be displeasing to Yen, which was on the best of terms with Chin, messengers of peace and good will constantly coming and going. Chin's friendship, as is understood, was by-play,—all the while serious preparations were being made for a crushing assault on Yen.

As the men at the Court of Yen were unfit for their post, the women assumed the guidance of affairs; and, as is common in such circumstances, they were actuated by private feelings rather than by the common weal. The "Empress" hated Woo and loved Ping. Therefore, all the glory of the victory over Wun belonged to Ping. She was eager, also, to have Woo removed by murder,—whether or not instigated thereto by Ping is left to conjecture. As Woo was still out in the cold,

\* The ancient name of Sanshwi hien.

notwithstanding Go's dying advice and his own proved abilities, he was unaware of the plot against his life till told of it by a son of Go. Such base ingratitude so disgusted and grieved him, that he was ready, by suicide, to grant the eager wish of his enemies. His friends, however, urged him to save himself by flight. With a number of his own men, he therefore set out for Loongchung, but was pursued, and most of his men, by force or argument, were got back to Ye. He however escaped, probably with the connivance of his enemies; and after much wandering, found himself at the Court of Chin, whose lord gave a right royal welcome to the one man of Yen of whom he was afraid. Both he and his son were ennobled on the spot. Mung, whether from jealousy of a man who might be his rival, or, as he pretended, from fear that Woo Wang would return to his native land and give trouble to Chin,—quietly hinted that the Woo, father and son, were dragon and tiger, and the sooner they were out of the way the better. Jien refused to act so base a part, after the warm welcome he had given them, declaring it was far better to employ their bravery in acquiring peace for the Four\* Seas.

Ping, the absolute controller of the Yen court, was daily reminded of the bravery of the men whom first to last his jealousy had driven from court and country. Rumours were also ceaseless of the accumulation by Chin of stores on the border, east of Shenchung, on the south-western frontier of Yen; and he was told that peace would not be of long standing. But, like all inferior men, neither Ping nor his lord was capable of seeing anything great or formidable in either Mung or his lord. And when urged to make some preparation, he refused to act, because of the present good relations subsisting between the two countries, which could not but be immediately broken if he began active war preparations. Besides, he angrily said, that he did not think it proper to hazard the rupture of their present amity at the suggestion of a stranger; for the fugitive Jun was his chief adviser.

\* A common name for China, which is the "Middle Land" between the Four Seas, these being the barbarians east, west, north, and south of her.



Yen men were always boasting of the defeat of Wun as their own unaided work ; and expressed their regret for the amount of territory which they had to sacrifice as the price of Chin aid. They were right as to the actual fighting, but they forgot the moral power which the league had given them ; and Jien was much offended at the Yen taunts. He made this the excuse, as soon as he was ready, for sending off an army of 30,000 men, under Mung, to Loyang. But in his eastward march this general was repulsed. More bitter to him than his defeat, however, was the presence of the living Woo at his master's court, and he could have suffered anything to have him out of the way. On his return to the capital, he invited Woo to a feast, plied him with spirits to intoxication, and then reviled him in mocking language. Angry words passed between them ; and when Woo cooled down, he determined to escape to his own country. On pretence of going out to hunt, he made off ; but was overtaken, and brought back. Jien, naturally enough, upbraided him with ingratitude ; but instead of taking his life as Mung desired, he banished him to Shachung, 600 li north-east of Loongchung. The banished man must have gone there on parole ; for Chin had no authority over any place within hundreds of miles of that remote city, which was in the north of Liaotung.

Mung soon after gained a victory over the Yen ; and probably to appease him for keeping Woo alive, he was created a Marquis (*How*), and other honorary titles were conferred upon him ; all of which he declined. His first victory over Yen men was, however, considered of such consequence, that he had the command of 60,000 men given him. The effect produced on the court of Yen, by this investment of command, may be judged of from the fact that one of the Yen imperial family, Moyoong Ling, thought it his best plan to bribe a few thousand soldiers, with whom to make off for Shachung. He never got there, however ; for he was pursued, his men slain or scattered, he taken, afterwards put to death, and his body sent to Loongchung. These and other symptoms so alarmed Wei, that he at last

ordered Ping to get 300,000 men under arms, and crush the now advancing Mung. He also summoned a Council of State to advise upon the matter. Li Fung, one of the ministers, said that the men of Chin were few and poor, and in no respect a foe worthy of the Yen power. Ping might have used the same words. Gao, another minister, replied that the safety of a state did not so much consist in the number of its soldiers, as in the quality of its generals; that not numbers but strategy secured victory; and that if Mung was to be prevented from advancing, strategy \* alone could do it.

But while Yen officials were speaking, Mung was acting; and as they were deliberating, he entered the city of Hoogwun, taken after a storm. And the estimation in which Ping was held by the country, may be inferred from the fact that every city of every district, through or by which Mung was passing, opened its gates. And, at last, Yen Court was aroused to a sense of danger; one minister being bold enough to declare that Ye itself could not stand. Yang An was besieging Kinyang; but as it was well stocked with provisions, it defied him. Mung left a garrison in Pooban, and went himself to the assistance of An. A local country magistrate entered the city with a few hundred countrymen, pretending to be a friend; but once inside, he fell upon the guard with a great shout. He opened the gates to Mung, whose army marched in, took possession, and seized the chief officers in command. To partially account for this and similar incidents, let it be remembered that the Chinese hate the rule of any other monarch than one of their own people; and would gladly exchange the rule of outer barbarians, even if the better rulers, for a native dynasty of China, which was Chinese, if it was but poor; they would joyfully see the forces of the northern Yen barbarians driven back into their native wilds, and would hail with delight a native dynasty.

\* It is unnecessary to say that this opinion was that of all the able men then, before that time, or since in China. Nor can we well understand how able modern writers bring themselves to believe that brute strength decided all the wars of the middle ages.



Wun had sometime ago marched into the field again from the south, had defeated the Yen army before Showchwun, and besieged the city. Mung Gao was on his way to raise the siege, when the floods of Chin, pouring in from the west, recalled him; and to add to the Yen difficulties, local rebellions rose up on all hands.

Ping, now that matters had come to this push, manifested his knowledge of his own incapacity, by showing the greatest terror, though at the head of an army immensely larger than that of Mung. He dared not remain in Loochuen, but began a retreat thence. But if Ping was terrified, Mung was cautious; for he knew what the descendants of the Hienbi could do, if irritated. Dung, his impetuous second in command, urged an immediate attack, and was quite angry at the delays of Mung, who refused to risk all in a single battle. Mung said to him that he did deserve to die; but as his fault was eagerness to fight, his life would be spared. Dung returned to his own quarters in high dudgeon, and prepared to attack Mung as a traitor, saying, "Did we not receive orders to fight the far rebels; and now that they are near, should we lie here permitting them to escape?" But he was finally pacified by Mung.

The cowardice and incapacity of Ping were severely censured by his lord Wei; and he was driven, against his will, to face Mung in the neighbourhood of the modern Taiyuen hien, close to the capital of Shansi. When Mung saw the numbers of his opponents, and their well-kept ranks, he sent a message to Dung, saying: "Without your excellency's assistance, I cannot break through these; and you know it is from no fault of mine that we are brought into this pass,"—he had evidently pushed ahead to please Dung, farther than his better judgment recommended. But Dung boldly took all the responsibility upon himself. As soon as the Yen men came near enough, Dung charged them furiously, breaking through and through their ranks; now in, now out, just as he pleased. The few hundreds he slew were nothing to the havoc he made of the enemy's line, which he threw into the utmost confusion. Yen had no head, though arms enough.

They therefore, for the first time in their history in such circumstances, began to retreat: first slowly and orderly; but the vigorous arm of Dung, with his body of horse, thrust so forcibly at their rear, that the retreat became a rout, and a scene of slaughter ensued such as Yen men had often inflicted but never before endured; for 50,000 men were taken or slain, and as many more deserted. So much for generalship. Ping fled alone on his horse to Ye, which was immediately besieged, and Mung sent a hurried message to summon an immediate large muster of Chin forces; and in response Jien left his capitals, Changan and Loyang,\* in charge of garrisons, and marched east with a hundred thousand men. He reached Anyang,† in the north of Honan, in seven days. Dung attacked the city of Sindoo; and five thousand Hienbi rats fled the sinking ship, and made for Loongchung.

In the city of Ye were the Corean hostages sent when their queen was restored, some years before, and hostages from Shangdang; ‡ in all, with an addition of Fooyü men, about five hundred men, who got a vice-president to head them, and opened the north gate to Mung. When Wei and his officials heard of it, in the early morning, they fled towards Loongchung, followed by a few thousand men. These gradually dropped of, till at last he had only ten men left. At Fooloo he fell in with a band of robbers much stronger than his own, who attacked the fugitives. Gao, his former trusty general, was still at his side, and fought valiantly with the robbers; but though he killed several with his own hand, he saw it was impossible to get away. He therefore pinned one robber to the ground, thus drawing around him the whole band, who let fly their arrows at him alone. Wei thus got

\* Loyang was the name of the present District city of Changtsu hien in the south-east of Shansi; the characters being different from the Loyang of Kaifung.

† The Yen Capital, Ye, stood where now stands the District city of Linchang, or Linjang, in the north-east of Honan, bordering Chihli. Anyang is but a short distance to its south-west, and Taiyuen is north-west of where the large city of Ye was.

‡ Loongan foo of Shansi.



a breathing space and fled, getting off his horse and running on foot till he got to Gaoyang, where one of a band of men from Gao Ching, who had been sent in pursuit, overtook the fugitive, and laid hold of him. He spoke out loftily:—"How dare a mean man like you lay your hands on the Son of Heaven?" The soldier replied that he had imperial orders to seize a rebel, and asked who was that Son of Heaven. Every competitor for the imperial crown was of course *the* Son of Heaven, and every other competitor a rebel and traitor. Wei had proved himself a usurper; for he was weak and unfortunate—a proof that Heaven had forsaken him. Failure is the Criminal, and Success the Honest Man. When he was brought before King Jien, whom a few days ago he regarded with contempt as a petty chief, he refused to acknowledge him as emperor. Whereupon Jien angrily said, "You solitary dead head, do you so eagerly long for the grave of your forefathers?" But he had pity on the youth, and ordered him to be restored to the palace of his father. This he could afford to do; for not only was the youth weak, but all the officials of the city at once acknowledged Chin as their liege lord. Thus the power of Yen, left by Go so strong that it was more than a match for Tsin and Chin, is now crumpled up by a power in numbers and resources no proper competitor, but which had a man at the head of affairs. Chin was therefore master of all Yen lands, the Chow cities and the "Six Barbarians" having acknowledged his sway. In all, he made an addition to his kingdom of one hundred and fifty-seven Prefectures (*Boo*), two and a half million families, and nine million, nine hundred and ninety thousand head of people. All Wei's officials were retained in their posts, the only difference made being one of master. Wei was sent to Changan with 40,000 Hienbi families, which would join those who had already fled westward, from the destruction which they had foreseen. (p. 92).

So complete was the collapse of Yen, that Gao Ching went on his way to Loongchung without encountering the slightest opposition. Before he got to Loongchung, dastard Ping fled to Gaogowli, by whom he was, however, handed over to Chin,

who had good reason to regard the contemptible with friendly feelings;—for Ping was the real author of Chin's greatness. Another fugitive, who had murdered Bohai Wang, had fled with his men to Liaotung; but Liaotung had declared for the winner, and would not open the gates to the fugitive, who therefore laid siege to the city. But Gao Ching marched eastwards, drove off the assailant, pursued, overtook, and slew him.

In 372, Woo Wang is still at the court of Chin; his Wangship gone, but trusted as a great commander. Ping was also there, with the rank of Taishow of Fanyang, to the great disgust of all the Yen men, who wished the author of their disgrace in his grave. Next year the original Hienbi of west of Kaiyuen heard that Chin was making preparations to march against them; but they prevented the expedition by sending in their messengers proffering allegiance. Woo lived in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust. His old enemies were never weary of attempts to have him slain; but Jien refused to listen, believing he would be useful in carrying out his plans against Tsin. But Woo was exposed to the greater danger, that the entire confidence of all the Yen men was reposed on him; and as there were the materials for a large army in the neighbourhood of Changan, he was invited to set up for himself. He was, however, deaf to such temptations, which appealed more powerfully to others. The Yowchow commandant started a kingship in 380, and summoned all post-holders in the north to his standard. He was doomed to disappointment; for from Ki in the west to Sinlo on the Japan sea, a unanimous reply was sent, that they were the servants of the emperor, and would have no connection with rebels. He was frightened, and sought to draw back; but he was too late, for Gwang was already upon him; his men were defeated, some hundreds slain, he himself seized and banished.

Sinlo, along with Gaogowli, had acknowledged the supremacy of Chin three years previously, by sending in presents, which were, as now, counted tribute; so that, with the exception of Shantung, the empire, of which Changan was the capital, embraced all China north of the Yellow River, and extended



over Liaotung and the three Korean kingdoms. It was now so powerful, and its lord so ambitious, that he longed at once to let slip his "million soldiers" on Tsin,—sure of swamping that power, and again re-uniting all China under his own rule. He was, therefore, mortified at the firm opposition of his ministers, who declared that the soldiers were worn down by their past exertions, and unfit for so arduous a task; while the people were restless under their heavy taxation. He waited for two years, when his heart was made as proud as Nebuchadnezzar's ever was; for sixty-two independent tribes, from the east of Mongolia to the west of Turkestan, acknowledged him their lord, by sending embassies and presenting tribute. This was proof sufficient that others as well as himself regarded him as virtually the Master of China. To gain the actual mastery, he would delay no more than one other year; and therefore, in 383, he collected an army at Changan of 600,000 foot, and 270,000 horse, determined to strike a bold and terrific blow for universal empire. Before this army started, many of his ministers again conspired to have Woo Wang dismissed from all office, because they knew not how he would act. They were never sure of his allegiance, though always sure of their own jealousy of him. But spite of all, Woo Wang was placed over the van of 250,000 men, along with Yangping Duke; but Wang Mung was not there. The line of march covered by this army, from the head of the van to the tail of the rear, was over a thousand li, or three hundred miles.

Woo Wang was successful in taking a number of cities; but in December he was overwhelmed by the crowds of fugitives rushing into his camp from another portion of the army, which had crossed the Whi river, got defeated, lost 15,000 men, and fled across the river, hotly pursued by the power of Tsin. For, though Tsin was full of internal trouble and never ending wars, it made a mighty heave to throw off these invaders from without. Tsin now got to Chinggang, thirty li east of Showchwun, where a terrific battle took place, and Chin power was shattered to fragments. Broken up as they were, scarcely a third of that

vast host survived the bitter cold. When the day was lost, the king of Chin leapt off his chariot, mounted a horse, and galloped off; and if the Tsin Court had bit its fingers over the clever stroke by which Mung had outflanked them in taking Yen, they could now rejoice in having checkmated this momentous move; which they would have found more difficult had Mung been living, but he had been dead eight years.

Woo was the only general who had kept his men together; and he had 30,000 men unhurt, and in good order. He was now again urged to independence, as his was the only army then in Chin; and again he declined to be ungrateful to the prince who had treated him so well. The lord of Chin retired into Loyang, and soon found himself at the head of 100,000,—the remains of his million men. So terrible a disaster—similar to that inflicted by his lost General Mung on Yen—affected him so much, that he took unwell and died.

Three years after, in 386, Woo Wang, whom we shall have to call by his name of Chooi, was ordered northwards to look after the borders. He was too powerful, since the great defeat, to be again molested by the Chin ministers, who, however, now believed that he could not but desert, as King Jien was gone. Their belief was justified; for he felt that he was indebted to the individual king who was gone, and not to the court, which would have had him slain a thousand times over. He, therefore, set up an independent kingdom, making his capital at Joongshan,\* where Yen had begun its meteoric career.

There was, as we have seen (pp. 92, 106), a large number of Yen men located and scattered in the neighbourhood of Changan. As Chin was now so utterly paralysed, they declared their independence, calling themselves the West Yen; naming Joong Wang their king, under the title of Yoong, dropping the first syllable of Moyoong. Chin was still in possession of the cities, and Changan was still the capital. But it was in such a riotously disordered state—fightings and murders being of daily occurrence—that Joong Wang believed he could easily pass east beyond

\* The modern Tingchow of Chihli.



the city; so with 40,000 Hienbi and Moyoong men he moved eastwards. However, Lü Gwang pursued with 20,000 men from Changan, and defeated him. This experience was not lost on Joong Wang; for though defeated, he saw that he could easily force his way. All the West Yen men, therefore, moved eastwards; and when they came before Changan, sent in a humble supplication to be permitted to pass the city, and go through Chin territory. For reply, Chin marched out against them with a large army, which was utterly defeated; the Chin new king was slain, and his heir taken.

Some of Chin's generals survived the wreck, with a few myriad men, but were utterly unable, even if willing, to uphold the house of Chin. Thus Chin got broken up, in its turn, by the men whom it had overthrown. And Yoong proclaimed his own eldest son "Emperor" instead of Chin, taking the Empress Yang of Chin for his chief wife. She, however, was not well pleased with the change, and sought to murder her new lord, but got killed herself instead. Though Chin was thus broken up, fragments yet remained. One set himself up at Anting, calling himself the After-Chin; but Dung set up a scion of the "Imperial" house, to whom the Nanan barbarians and 30,000 Chinese families gave in their adhesion. The two Chins strove for supremacy; and After-Chin was wounded on a battle-field by Dung, who remained conqueror. Gwang also assumed imperial style, adding a seventh to the number of competing "Emperors." A few years before, China was reeking all over with the bloodshed caused by seventeen independent Emperors, each of whom had his court, his army, and his day.

After Yoong entered Changan, his men marched on to Tsingho, whence Chooi's troops, which had gone south from Joongshan, ineffectually attempted to drive them out. As years rolled on, the two Yen powers became bitter rivals; and Yoong converted rivalry into deadly hate, by putting to death a number of the chief men of Yen, who probably believed it would have been better to have a united Yen under Chooi. Among those killed were sons and grandsons of Chooi. He was

therefore eager for instant vengeance ; and though there had been, as yet, not a year of peace, he marched, in 391, to Lookow. He could do nothing then but look on and prepare ; but even three years later, his impatient spirit had still to chafe in vain against the remonstrances of his ministers, who objected to a general war against West Yen, as the men were over fatigued. Here he was joined by Nung, the Liaosi Wang ; and as this accession made him feel morally as well as numerically stronger, he marched through Shating, south-west of Ye, in the north of Honan, to attack West Yen, which waited for him at Taibi. West Yen was defeated in two battles, and Taibi besieged. Yoong himself marched at the head of 50,000 choice troops to raise the siege ; but many of his men deserted to Chooi. He prevented similar desertions, by putting to death the wives and families of those who had gone over. Chooi was on the south of the city ; but when Yoong approached he retired several li, planting an ambush. When he had drawn Yoong after him, beyond the ambush, he wheeled round and furiously attacked him ; while the ambush rose in the rear, as soon as the tumult of battle roused it to action. Yoong was defeated with great slaughter ; and as he was hard pressed, he prayed for succour from the new kingdom of WEI, which sent him 50,000 men ; but too late, for he was taken and slain before that army arrived.

In 376, a few years after the collapse of the Yen empire, and when Chin was at its strongest, Dai Wang,\* Shuyijien, attacked Liw Weichun, who appealed to Chin for an army, which was sent, Liw acting as guide. Dai Wang was defeated, and his kingdom fell into disorder. His son, whom he had nominated heir, had already died, leaving a young child, Jubagwei. A son of Dai Wang's, by the Moyoong wife, killed his brothers, had his father murdered, and would have slain the infant, had not the mother fled and concealed him. The Chin army had remained in Yunjoong (Tatung), and was now again appealed to by the ministers of Dai, who deplored the change. It appeared on the scene, and easily took the parricide, who was sent a prisoner to

\* See pp. 72, 73, 94.



Changan, along with his ministers, now his accusers. Chin Wang asked what should be done; and the latter said there was only one way of dealing with the case. The parricide was therefore broken to death, and the kingdom of Dai divided into two Provinces,—East of the (Yellow) River under the rule of Liw Kooyin, and West of the River under Weichun. The mother of the child Gwei turned up, and craved the protection of Kooyin, who was a faithful official. The boy was much admired, and favourable prognostications were made of his future. But a Yen man murdered Kooyin, and ran away with his horses. A younger brother succeeded Kooyin in the government, and three years after, in 387, Juba Gwei was enthroned as Dai Wang, when the Yen power was again rising and throwing its shadow over the north. Moyoong Liw Hien was commander of an army in the north; and as it was in disorder in that year, Gwei believed it was best to attack it, lest, after a time, it came down upon him. He did, and defeated it, driving Hien to take refuge with the West Yen. The god of war now summoned Dai Wang into the arena of competing emperors, who were cutting and hacking all China within and without. That he did, assuming the imperial style of WEI. But he was not to be permitted to march further south while Chooi lived; for Lin, the Jao Wang, and one of Chooi's commanders, drove him back again into his northern quarters.

With the defeat of West Yen, Chooi was now face to face with Wei, whose kingdom, taking advantage of the civil strife among the Yen, had spread itself over the north of Shansi, and west of Chihli. For two years Chooi slowly fought his way, from victory to victory, up to the walls of Ye; but one defeat there so thoroughly upset him, that he had to retire to Joongshan, where he died, and his body was buried in Loongchung. Wei next defeated Liaosi Wang at Yangchu of Taiyuen; and in the flight, several thousand men were scattered, while the Yen commander, his wife and children, fell into the hands of Wei. In 397, Wei pressed the siege of Ye so closely, that the Yen men, in their fear, sought from the feeble Chin a help which never

came. A fire broke out in the camp of Wei, however; and a Yen man, who had joined the volunteer army of Wei as a spy, declared it was the act of the garrison. Wei's army, therefore, retired in confusion; afraid of further and more serious night sallies. But the Yen army which pursued was again and again defeated; and large numbers of them perished by the cold winds. Sindoo or Tahing had fallen, with other cities, to Wei; and the internal divisions and weaknesses of Yen a second time wrecked their empire; all the south of which had fallen to Wei by the year 401.

Shung, the grandson of Chooi, now reigned in Loongchung; his territory having shrunk before the fierce rays of the sun of Wei to its original barbarian extent. He had, in 400, to send an army against Gaogowli, which had renounced allegiance, and declared independence. Shung's army took Sinchung and Nansoo,\* with 5,000 families, prisoners; but had to return without making a thorough conquest. Shung was obnoxious to many of his officials, whom he believed should be executed as traitors to their country. These engaged five hundred men to murder him. They burst open the palace gate by night, and entered with a loud shout, which wakened Shung out of his sleep. He had already given proofs of uncommon bravery; and it was on these the general public rested their hopes for the welfare of their country. He got up; and, with the men near him, so vigorously belaboured the conspirators, that they were glad to find the gate still open. All except one, who hid himself in the king's bedchamber, where he lay still till the gates were all bolted, and the sound of the last footstep had died away; and when all the inmates of the palace were sound asleep, this bold conspirator stole out of his hiding place quietly, advanced to the couch, and struck the sleeping king. It was only in the morning at dawn, when going to present their respects, that the ministers found a new "emperor." This was both an evidence and a cause of weakness; a weakness of which Gaogowli took instant advantage. For, having retaken Sinchung and Nansoo,

\* South of Kaichow of Liaotung. (See Map II.)



and annexed all Liaotung, they crossed the Liao, scoured the country up to Hükun, a city north-east of Loongchung. They even terrified the commandant of Pingchow, Moyoong Gwei, into flight.

Again, in 404, the Gaogowli men repeated their western expedition, and swept the land of Yen. Next year Yen Wang made an effort, collected an army, and marched eastwards to chastise Gaogowli, and bring it back to its proper allegiance. He got to Liaotung city, which he besieged; but in vain, for he was compelled to recross the Liao and get home. Liaotung city had to stand, and stood, much more formidable sieges, as we shall see. Another expedition, in the following spring, suffered great hardships on the march; many men and horses dying from the extreme cold.\* The survivors of the army, after marching 3000 li,† got to Moodi city, which they attacked in vain; and again Yen had to beat an inglorious retreat, which was morally as injurious to the state as a great battle lost. In 408, Yun, the king of Yen, nominated Gwei Duke of Liaotung; but his was an empty title, for he was never able to occupy his dukedom. Seven years after, Yinti was made *Taishow* of Liaotung; but after collecting his army, he thought it easier to set up a kingdom for himself. He was, however, taken and slain before his measures were completed.

Thus did Yen drag out a slow existence in the land of its birth; and our old acquaintance Chin had many days of bitter fortune, sufficient to cause it to rue the day it refused to listen to Yen appeal for aid. For as soon as the Yen buffer was gone, it had to feel the full weight of the arm of Wei, which was a very rough one. In one siege of Changan, a hundred thousand persons died of famine, and the survivors lived only as cannibals. But Chin, too, existed, though in a frail condition. Wei alone

\* At present Fahrt. goes down, for a few days in the depths of winter, to 14° below zero in Liaotung, and it is now not so cold as it would have been when the mountains were forests and the plains marshy woods.

† This is ten times too much. Sung writers were ignorant of Liaotung. Moodi was near the present Kinchow in Regent's Sword of Liaotung.

was healthy, and in robust vigour; fattening on the spoils east and south of it; fighting, and successfully, against the powerful YOWYAN, which had replaced the Hiwngnoo or Hunnish power; sometimes driving its northern cousins out of its own borders, sometimes pushing far into theirs,—even up to the great sandy desert, “Shamo.”

We draw a veil over the death agonies and obsequies of the Tsin dynasty, and pass on to 435, when we find the SUNG established as *primus inter pares*; for Wei was a most formidable rival on the north and north-west, notwithstanding its gigantic struggles, alternated with intermarriages with the Yowyan. Wei marched into Liaosi; and Yen Wang, still monarching in a small way in Loongchung—or Holoongchung as it is as often called—met him, not with an army of soldiers, but with a host of oxen and waggons of spirits, and feted the army which had come to take his crown. This had been done once before; for Yen Wang could not meet him on fair terms in the field, and Wei could not take Holoongchung. The visit of 435 was important only because Gaogowli king then first acknowledged the supremacy of Wei, which was occupying the post lately filled by Chin “emperor,” and ruling over all the north of China. Gaogowli king was re-invested by Wei as king of Gaogowli and duke of Liaotung, all of which was then under Corea.

The meetings of Yen and Wei were not always as pleasant; for if there were two feasts, there were as many score of battles, in all of which Yen was worsted. But, against the advice of his ministers, the weak king obstinately held out for independence; trusting, if the worst came, he could fall back on Gaoli;—and here the *gow* is first dropped in the name, and the modern Corea has its origin. His councillors still objected, that if Wei, as looked likely, became supreme in all China, neither Gaoli, nor any other place, would dare afford shelter to an enemy of the court. But Yen Wang was obstinate; and sent Yang Yi, a president, to the Corean court, to secure a safe retreat and to smooth and prepare a way for a future refuge.



In May 436, Wei again marched in force against Holoong, and on his way took Bailangchung, an important city of Bingchow. The alliance of Gaoli was not an empty name; for the eastern king sent Goloo Munggwang with an army to the relief of his ally. They camped at Linchuen, east of Holoong. The Yen President, Shung, turned traitor, and opened the city gate for Wei, who, fearing a trap, dared not enter. Shung then attacked Yen Wang in the city. The latter had the east gate opened, and brought in the Gaoli troops, with which he defended himself. The battle was fought under the palace walls, and Shung was wounded by an arrow which took his life. After the struggle was over, the Gaoli Commander ordered his men to strip off their ragged garments, and re-clothe themselves out of the public stores of Yen. The Gaoli men continued for several days to help themselves to whatever they thought best in the city. Notwithstanding this questionable help, Yen Wang prepared to abandon the city left him by his forefathers. He set fire to the palace, which continued burning for ten days, and consuming the wealth and finery which war had taken north from Ye and Honan; he then led out the whole population, marching eastwards. The women occupied the centre of this immigration, Yang Yi led the van, and the Gaoli brought up the rear. The whole spread over a distance of 80 li.

Gao Gowdsu, a small official of Wei, collected a band of horse to pursue; but his superior officer, Goo Bi, who was drunk, drew his sword and stopped him. The Prince of Wei was extremely wroth at hearing of the escape of Yen Wang, and had Bi and Wo Ching, the commander in charge, back to Ping\* city, where he degraded them into doorkeepers. Wei demanded the surrender of Yen Wang, but Gaoli refused. Wei was very angry, and about to order an advance into Gaoli,

\* The modern Linyu, west of Shanhaigwan, in the N.E. corner of Chihli, is said, by the Imperial Directory, to be the ancient Pingchow; some authorities place it in or near the modern Yoongping further west; but either position places Loongchung in Liaosi and beyond Chihli.

but a serious engagement with Yowyan prevented him. He garrisoned Holoong in 437.

When Hoong, the fugitive Yen Wang, was yet on his way, the Gaoli King, Lien, sent messengers to Liaotung to welcome him. The fugitive was bitterly offended, however, at the taunting mockery of the words addressed to him by the messengers. They probably were unable to suppress their satisfaction at the thought that Gaoli was now revenged for the sufferings inflicted upon their country by the forefathers of Hoong. His first location was in Pinggwo. He was moved afterwards to Beifung, where he made himself most disagreeable, by the contemptible manner in which he spoke of the government and laws of Gaoli,—exhorting them to adopt those of his country. The Hienbi were themselves “barbarians” till they came in contact with the Chinese, a few generations before Hoong’s time; yet here we find him with all a Chinaman’s pride of superiority. We can also see that Gaoli had not then attained to full Chinese civilization; but the people were imbued with the pride of conquerors, and were not pleased at the airs of superiority assumed by one who was a fugitive among them. They therefore punished him by decreasing the number of his attendants, and by retaining his son and heir as a hostage for his good behaviour. It was more easy to widen the breach than to heal it; and hot blood became hotter, till his voluntary exile was hateful to Hoong. He sent messengers south to the Sung Court to plead for an asylum there. The emperor was pleased, and sent men to welcome the fugitive king. But King Lien was anything but gratified at this new insult to his hospitality, and ordered a company of soldiers to remove Hoong further south. Whether he had given them orders to have Hoong quietly put out of the way, or whether the officers, Swun and Gao, commanding the soldiers, did, on their own responsibility, what they believed would be welcome news to their master, it is difficult to determine; but Hoong was killed by these men on the way, and before they got beyond the jurisdiction of Beifung. His sons and grandsons were slain along with him; and thus



miserably perished the Moyoong family, which had risen by prudence and bravery; by their abilities had acquired an empire and shaken all China; and by imprudent selfishness had so suddenly come to this fate. Hoong was honoured after his death more than during his life,—King Lien canonizing him with the title of “Jaochung Emperor.”

The Imperial Sung Commander Baijü, sent with 7000 men to welcome Hoong, was angry at his fate, attacked the two Gaoli commanders, slew Gao and took Swun alive. A Gaoli army hastened to the rescue, seized Baijü, and threw him into prison. As Gaoli was so far away, the Sung emperor did not meddle with the matter; hence the prisoner was by and by permitted to return to his own southern home. And this was the last of Yen.

We have followed the Yen in their rise, progress, and decline; both to give a living picture of the times, and to show how an insignificant border tribe gradually increases, by wise skill rather than by bravery, into a large kingdom; and how easily a large kingdom is broken up by selfish incompetence, which keeps worth from its proper position; and calculates and works, not for country, but for the minister. When passing judgment on the facts here given, let the reader remember that they took place when Britain was divided into *Britannia Romana* and *Britannia Barbara*, when Carausius assumed imperial rank in Britain; when Constantine assumed the titles of Cæsar there, and afterwards withdrew the Roman troops, leaving the enervated south open to the ravages of the savage Picts and Scots. It was when the forefathers of the Prussians were called Goths; and when, in their southward migration, their eyes first beheld the civilization, the walled cities and the fertile fields of rich corn of Pagan Rome. Germania was then known as an extensive foraging ground for its numerous independent nomadic and savage tribes; and the Suevi, Cimbri, Alemanni, Franci, &c., were still ignorant of a world where orders could be given in writing, and thoughts and deeds preserved on skin or paper. It was before there was a Greek empire, before Russia was known to exist, and a full

century before Clovis entered Gallia. And it was not ignorance of all or any of those civilizing influences which are the glory of Ancient Greece and Rome, which caused China to be torn up and tossed about as it was; but it was the effeminacy which luxurious habits invariably and inevitably produce in spite of, nay, by means of, what is commonly called civilization; for communities must necessarily be civilized before they become luxurious; for civilization in the past, as in the present, ministers to luxury, and luxury to effeminacy, to political decay and to national destruction. If Britain is desirous to glide down the smooth slope, she requires only to be guided by her new school of namby-pamby "sweetness and light," and decry all earnestness of purpose as Philistinism. In the pulpit and in the press, in religion, in politics, and in the social circle, the leaven is already actively at work, changing our national character. It has framed our recent foreign policy, it dictates to our home authorities. It proscribes earnestness except for dinner, it denounces enthusiasm except for the fine arts. It is a universal *laissez faire* in all kinds of religious opinions, in all manner of moral conduct, in all modes of existing political government, and in all variety of existing unequal legislation. It is the essence of conservatism, of selfishness, of self-seeking, at whatever cost to others, at whatever hazard of morality. No man should be hated, but the man who stands in the way of my interests; no opinions should be despised, but those of the man of conviction, who endeavours to propagate his own; and no man should be laughed to scorn, but the bigot who is willing to sacrifice his life for his beliefs, or spend that life in endeavouring to spread them.

This spirit of easy good-will to all forms of iniquity; this smiling, dainty self-complacency, which is satisfied as long as oneself is not injuriously affected by the evils in the world, has over and over again deluged China with blood. It has brought to the dust every proud kingdom which has fallen; and it is working now in the Christian countries of Britain and America, and will, if it becomes as general among the middle classes as



we fear it is already among our higher classes, bring these countries to grief, as it has brought others. The destroyer which this luxurious selfishness raises up comes sometimes from abroad, but always exists at home. For no one powerful kingdom has ever been destroyed, till luxurious selfishness roused a hating enemy within the bosom of that kingdom. It is this internal enemy who is to be dreaded. He may be powerful enough, as once before in Europe, to overturn existing society; he may prepare the way directly or indirectly for that overturn, by opening the gates to an external foe; but he will be always sufficiently powerful to deluge the land with blood, to snatch its loved ones from the bosom of luxurious selfishness, and to give it sackcloth for its joyous robes. And the rise of this enemy is as certain as the spread of that spirit of universal *laissez faire*, and the disappearance or weakness of robust, manly, just, and active Philistinism. But if China has so frequently recovered, and will again recover herself, on account of her enormous territories, her internal self-sustaining resources, and her homogeneous population; it is no proof that Britain, lacking all those qualities, would ever again occupy her present proud position, if that growing, luxurious, easy self-indulgence, becomes as powerful as it is eager and threatening to do, so as to command her public, and sway her social life.

## CHAPTER V.

### GAOGOWLI.

THE history of the "Three Kingdoms" of China in the third century, A.C., states that 1,000 li north of Huentoo, and 1,400 li north-east of Liaotung city, (the present Liaoyang,) was the kingdom of FOOYÜ. To its north again was the kingdom of Gaoli,\* in times so ancient, that even Chinese writers mention it with a degree of scepticism. Tradition said that the first king of this northern Gaoli, had a maid slave who was found to be with child. The king desired the death of the boy who was born, but the mother said that she had conceived him by an influence which came upon her, and which she felt to be like air (*chi*), as if of the form of a hen's egg. The king, at once afraid to kill, and fearing to keep alive a prodigy like this, which boded him no good, had the child cast into the pig-yard, whereinto refuse and filth of all kinds were thrown. But the swine breathed into the boy's nostrils, and thus kept him in life. As the child still lived when he should have died, he was next banished into the stables; but the horses followed the example of the swine, and sustained him with their breath. Because he was not thus got rid of, the king ordered the mother to have him into the palace to be nourished, for the fates evidently determined to keep him in life.

The name given to the boy was *Doong Ming*, "Eastern Brightness;" and when grown, he was made Master or Feeder of the horse to his majesty. He became a most expert archer, which again made the king seek his death, lest he should revolt and take the kingdom;—so that the kingdom must have been of very inconsiderable dimensions, if one skilful archer could

\* The Chinese characters in which the name is written are wholly different from the *Gaoli* of Corea.



endanger it. Doongming was aware of the king's intentions, and fled southwards to *Shuyen shwi*,— apparently the Songari, —and with his trusty bow, so shot the waters of the river, that he formed a living bridge of fish, which crowded together to avoid his lightning arrows. He was scarcely on the other side when his pursuers came up, but the temporary bridge had again separated. He became king of Fooyü. This story, if of no other use, serves to show that both Gaoli and Fooyü were but miniature kingdoms.

Fooyü extended north to the Yao or Yuen Shwi, which is apparently the Songari on its eastern course; on the west it touched Hienbi, and Yilow on the east. It was 2,000 li in extent. The land had many mountains, though much of it was level. Its fields were rich, fertile, well watered, producing abundance of food of great variety for the people, who made and drank a great deal of spirits, of which they were very fond. They used vinegar and ate with *Kwaidsu* (chop-sticks), out of wooden bowls. They practiced the code of etiquette belonging to the *Yin* dynasty (fourteen hundred years B.C.), and made the *Yi*.<sup>\*</sup> They made polite demonstrations of resigning the post of honour to others, and used the *Yin* Rites in sacrificing to Heaven. In mourning, both men and women clothed in white, laying aside all ornament. The dead body of the king was buried in a coffin made of fish scales, prepared during his life, and sent to Huentoo, where it was kept till the king's death. When travelling, they went day and night, singing all the way. Before a battle, an ox was sacrificed to Heaven, and the hoofs afterwards examined for an omen. If the parted hoof remained open, it betokened evil fortune, if it closed of itself, victory was sure to follow.

It was a kingdom of palaces, many cities with wooden walls, houses, granaries, royal treasuries, and had public prisons. The magistrates and officials were of six grades, designated by various animals, as the Horse, the Dog order, &c. Strange to say, the

<sup>\*</sup> Chinese form of salutation, placing both closed hands together, raising them up at arms' length above the head, which is bent down with the body at the same time.

present Manchu Government shows the rank of its various civil officials by the figure of a large bird sewed in gold on both back and front of their outer robe ; while the rank of a military officer is indicated by the figure of a beast sewed in the same manner. This peculiarly Manchu custom may possibly be connected with the ancient Fooyü customs.

Fooyü produced all kinds of grain, and pulse was universally used. Their capital horses were widely famed and very numerous. Strange that the horses of its eastern neighbour should be so extremely diminutive. Every wealthy man had horses, oxen and dogs. Crimson jade was found in its borders, with pearls as large as a small gooseberry, and the finest sable was trapped in its wide forests.

Pearls are found no further south than the Songari, after its junction with the Nonni ; the sables found anywhere south of Sanhing are regarded as inferior, the best coming from the neighbourhood of the Usuri. The northern bounds of Fooyü can thus be determined. Its lands were then, as often since, better cultivated than they are now,—but promise soon to be again, if a life and death struggle for empire in China does not stop the tide of immigration, which is fast opening up an abundant food supply in the fertile plains and vallies on both banks of the Songari, to the overflowing population of the northern Chinese provinces.

The people of China must, therefore, have considered Fooyü a civilized people, as compared with its neighbours, especially with Yilow, the ancestors of the present ruling dynasty of China, whose people wore only a piece of cotton, about a foot square, on the loins, one before and one behind. In the wane of the Han dynasty, Fooyü was in the zenith of its power, Yilow being its tributary. Had the Chinese made Fooyü the scene of the civilizing influence of Kitsu, it would have been apparently more justifiable than placing him in Chaosien.

Such was the kingdom, a few families of which, moving south, laid the foundations of the kingdom of Gaogowli, sometime before the beginning of the Christian era. It received that name from



the fact that the surname of its first king was Gao; which was also the surname of the clan which founded it. This looks as if a few men had retired, or fled south from Fooyü, to secure greater independence, and thus founded Corea.

When it became more powerful, Gaogowli was said to be 1,000 \* li east of Liaotung city. Now, the road from Mukden, via Hingking right east to the Korean border on the banks of the Upper Yaloo, is in round numbers just that distance; and we cannot be far wrong in locating the original Gaogowli among the hills and rivers under the south-west shoulder of the Changbaishan, and immediately west of the river Yaloo, which now shuts in their descendants to the east of it. For the growth and operations of Gaogowli point to an origin west, and about the head waters of the Yaloo, rather than east of it,—especially as it was placed by the Han dynasty under the control of Hüentoo. We also find it stated, that it was only after the destruction of Chaosien, the Gaoli people crossed the Yaloo eastwards. At the time, therefore, when Chaosien was broken up as a decrepit old kingdom, Gaogowli was an infant in swaddling clothes.

We find the customs of Gaogowli, as described in the Han histories, diverging from those of Fooyü, and still further from those of Yilow. Instead of the Chinese mode of salutation, they bent the knee, as the Manchus still do,—possibly after their example; for the Gaogowli originally occupied purely Manchu lands. They were remarkable for extreme personal cleanliness,—a trait noticed at this day by the Chinese who have seen Coreans at home. But there were no proper “barriers” between men and women. They used to meet in midnight assemblies, and had joyous times and unlimited license.

Their chief men, in flowered robes, met in public to transact and deliberate upon national business. The bridegroom went to his father-in-law's to live, remaining till a son was born and bred to maturity, when he returned with his family to his father's house—vestiges of which custom remain even now. Each man, while living, prepared the coffin in which he was to

\* See Map I.

be buried, as we have seen country people in Scotland prepare their grave clothes.

In the third century they had three capitals; their officials were of twelve grades, the chief being *Dadooiloo* and the next *Soogoodo*. They had then the Five Classics of China; Odes, History, Changes, Rites, Spring and Autumn Annals. There is no serious argument against the possibility of this, yet I question its truth, especially as a History of the "Three Kingdoms" is also mentioned as one of their books. It seems rather too soon to have so much Chinese among them; but the question can be decided only when free access is had to Corean history on Corean soil. From its geographical position, it was, unlike Chaosien, beyond the reach of Chinese immigrants or refugees, whose roving propensities could be fully gratified and spent within the bounds of Liaotung, Chaosien, and Mahan.

In A.D. 9, Gaogowli was, politically, so insignificant that it was placed, as a small district, under the supervision of Hüentoo, one of the four divisions into which Chaosien had been broken up. But it soon manifested signs of vigorous life; for in 32, it had not only a king, but one who considered himself sufficiently important to send "tribute" to the Imperial Court of Han. And in 51, it was thought advisable by the emperor to call in his aid, with that of Hienbi, to attack the eastern flank of the all-powerful Hiwngnoo,—the scourge of his own and preceding dynasties. But the actual march westwards of Gaogowli began only in 70, when they had the audacity to plunder Liaotung, whence they were driven back by Gung, the Liaotung governor, after he had allowed them to scour the country for half a year. In the summer of 110, they harried the kingdom of *Whi*, when Hienbi, sometime their ally, was ravaging Liaosi. In 121, their power and audacity had so grown, that the governor of Yowchow was compelled to march east, to the side of him of Liaotung and Hüentoo, to compel this upstart kingdom to behave itself. The king feigned submission, sent his son to Court as guarantee of sincerity; and, as soon as the Yowchow contingent withdrew, he attacked and defeated Hüentoo and Liaotung troops, slaying



over 2000 men. He then, in conjunction with Hienbi, harried the lands of Liaotung, again putting to flight its army with great slaughter, having defeated it before the city of Sinchung, the site of which remains among the hills in the vicinity of Kaichow. All the Liaotung commanders died fighting bravely, but vainly, in the van of their army.

This rapid progress is accountable only when we reflect that great numbers of Chaosien people would have fled from the destroying forces of Han; some north, some east. These would either at once put themselves under the protection of Gaogowli, or cultivate the mountain gullies in the north of the modern Corea, and submit to Gaogowli as soon as that power crossed the river to the east. Their descendants would become wholly amalgamated into Gaogowli, and would forget the weakness of the old Chaosien in the hopeful vigour of the young state. These would have no hesitation in demanding vengeance for the destruction of their old country, especially when that vengeance could enrich themselves.

The Gaogowli king, Goong, had not only greatly enlarged his own kingdom, but gained an overwhelming influence over some of his neighbours. For the army was chiefly composed of Hwi and Mahan men, with which he had all but swallowed up Huentoo; which he failed to annex only because of the interference of the king of Fooyü, his northern cousin, and probably jealous neighbour. The Fooyü army, which thus stopped his progress, numbered 20,000 men. Goong died soon after that unsuccessful fight; and Gwang, the governor of Hüentoo, in mentioning the circumstance to his liege lord, his imperial majesty of China, prayed to be permitted to take advantage of the fact, and break up the kingdom. This request was not granted, on the ground that "propriety" forbade his fighting against a man when dead, whom he had not dared to face when living. Whether the real reason was the belief that he would not succeed, or because it was believed to be not altogether undesirable to have a power to the east, which might balance Hienbi, we cannot say; but neither then nor since would any doctrine of propriety prevent the

Chinese court from clutching an advantage of which it was certain. But if the governor did not get what he desired, he and the governor of Yowchow got what they did not want; for permission was granted them to use a sword on their own bodies.\* The young Gaogowli king, from gratitude or policy, sent to Huentoo all the Chinese prisoners in his hands.

In 169, Baigoo, the Gaogowli king, ravaged Liaotung; and the governor of Hüentoo saved his head by acknowledging the supremacy of Baigoo. Then, for the first time, the name Gaogowli embraced the lands of the much more ancient Chaosien; for with Hüentoo, most, if not all, of Liaotung was annexed by Baigoo. Yen was defeated shortly after, in their attempts to drive Gaogowli eastwards from Sinchung, etc., which was in the westernmost of the four divisions of Chaosien. Henceforth the name Chaosien does not appear again for thirteen centuries.

As Weigoong, king of Gaogowli, was never done plundering his western neighbours, the governor of Yowchow marched with all the forces he could muster across the Yaloo up to Wadoo,† the capital of Weigoong. The king was defeated in the one battle he was tempted to fight; but though over a thousand of his men were slain, he would not listen to the advice of his minister, Dualai, who urged him to submit. This minister, in his disgrace, starved himself to death, and the Chinese army was ordered to hallow his grave; and when they seized his wife and children, they escorted them safely to their home. Weigoong, with his wife and children, fled far north to Maigow, his chief city, 800 li south of *Wojoo*. The new governor of Hüentoo was sent to hunt him out; and drove him beyond the *Toomun*

\* It would be interesting to know whether the Japanese *Harikari* is not of Chinese origin. It is pretty certain that China set the example of regarding suicide as the mildest and most honourable form of capital punishment.

† "Sailing 100 li up the Yaloo, then in smaller vessels up another river; in all, 530 li was Wadoo." There is a small tributary running into the Yaloo below Aichow; but though there is a port for small vessels south-east of Aichow, I have not heard of vessels being able to go far up, though they may be able to do so in floods.



river, where he took refuge among the savage Sooshun. This governor took or slew 8000 people, and then returned.

In 435, of the many rival kingdoms into which China was divided, one of the most powerful was the Hunnish one of Wei, which had overthrown or amalgamated their relations, the Hienbi.\* To save himself from being called to account, the Korean King sent an embassy with tribute to Wei, and Wei confirmed him as (vassal) King of Gaogowli and Duke (*Goong*) of Liaotung. But when, soon after, Wei besieged the last strong city of Yen,\* Gaogowli sent a considerable army to raise the siege. But it was inadequate.

The internal troubles of China, and the never-ending wars between Wei and the new and strong Chi in Shantung, on his east, varied by wars in defence from an attack on the Yowyan,—which had arisen out of the ashes of the Huns, on his west,—made Gaoli † stronger than ever. This was, partly, because they had themselves respite from war, except in voluntary attacks on neighbours, all of whom were weaker; and partly because there were numberless fugitives from the increasing bloodshed of China, to the comparative repose of Gaoli. It found, therefore, no difficulty in stretching its border westwards, embracing the whole of Liaotung, and forming an empire. We find Gaoli in 479, in the neighbourhood of the present Yoongping, breaking up the tribe of Mohofo, the Moogan of Kitan, ‡ which numbered 10,000 (heads? or tents?). The Kitan fled southwards to crave the shelter of Wei's arm. But in 484, the Gaoli King Lien sent tribute to both Chi and Wei; for it was difficult to foresee which of the two was to become supreme in northern China. Wei created him King of Gaoli, Duke of Liaotung, and Governor of the military affairs of the Liao Sea, which title was more honorary than substantial as there was no fleet. But though on such excellent terms with

\* See Ch. IV.

† The *gou* is now dropped, and the name is generally henceforth Gaoli, which the Koreans themselves always pronounce *Gori*, whence *Corea* or *Korea*. p. 115.

‡ See Kitan, Chap. VII.

Wei, he declined to send his son to Court, sending his uncle *Shun Chien* instead, to Pingchung, then the capital of Wei.

The name of BAIJI became prominent in 345 A.D., by which time it had gradually swallowed up all its fifty-three neighbouring clans of Mahan, and it was now able to hold its own against Gaogowli. It occupied the lands east of the *Datong Gang*, and west of the *Han Gang*, its capital being in Giungi Do, in which Sheool, the modern capital, is situated. *Bien han*\* and *Cha han* were compelled to unite into one kingdom in the extreme east and south of the Korean peninsula; for otherwise they would have been wholly unable to cope with Gaoli on their north-west, or Baiji on their west. The name adopted by these two Han was SINLO, whose lands were and are the warmest and richest in the peninsula. In the year 345, Sinlo suffered severely at the hands of Baiji; but at a subsequent period of its history, it extended far north, and embraced a good deal of Baiji soil.

In the fifth century, Baiji incurred the displeasure of Wei,—probably because it dared to be independent. A large Wei army was sent to teach it proper manners; but Baiji stoutly refused it admittance, and the army had to retreat. They became better friends after the fight; for, two years after, the King of Baiji was nominated by Wei, “Great General Protector of the East.”

For over five hundred years, the affairs of China were in a most deplorable condition. There were never less than three, there were often seven, and once seventeen, self-styled Emperors, competing for power; and the “dogs of war” were never asleep. Perhaps it was not much, if any, worse than the condition of Europe at the same time; but it was anything but the picture of a well-regulated, peaceful country, such as some western writers have for their own purposes declared it to have been. In the very end of the sixth century, however, the native Swi dynasty, succeeded in trampling down the last of its competitors, and the rent garment of China was again, with bloody fingers, stitched together,—but the needle was a coarse one.

As soon as Tang, king of Gaoli, heard of the complete success

\* See Map I.



of Swi, in 587, A.D., he became alarmed for his own possessions, and began to store up grain, and to drill soldiers to be ready to defend his border. The rumour of those preparations reached the Swi court, and the emperor despatched a messenger immediately, who stated, that "the Liao river was not so wide as the Yangtsu, nor the men of Tang so numerous as were those of the recently destroyed Chun." The arrival of the messenger with so threatening a message caused Tang such terror, that he took ill and died. The Swi emperor conferred upon his son Yuen, who succeeded him, the title of Duke of Liaotung. Yuen sent messengers to court to express his gratitude, and to pray for the higher title of Wang. To this also the emperor agreed; and never, thenceforth, did he let Gaoli slip out of his thoughts, and on this rock he broke his head.

If Yuen succeeded to his father's kingdom, he did not inherit his father's fear. He believed he might as well exercise his soldiers on foreign soil, and therefore sent 10,000, chiefly Mogo men, across the Liao, who ravaged Liaosi, under which designation a large portion of the modern Chihli, was even then included. This force was ultimately driven back by the commandant Governor (Tsoongwan) of Ying-Chow.\*

This insult at once enraged the Emperor, and gave him the longed for opportunity of annexing Corea. He set about preparing an army of 300,000 men to attack Corea by land and water. The main army marching through Linyüwan, 480 li west of Liwchung,\* got to the Liao river before their provisions, with the result of thinning their ranks by a raging epidemic, for it was hot July weather. The provision carts could not wade through the mire, into which the heavy rains had converted the roads. Eight-tenths of the army are said to have died before they saw an enemy.

The navy which sailed from Laichow, under Jowlo How, fared no better; for it encountered terrific gales, which foundered a large proportion of the vessels on the way to the capital of Corea. The Corean capital then was Pingyang on the Datong, a city

\* See note, p. 65.

which was six li in length, running along the side of an inaccessible mountain. Thus Corea was saved from that overwhelming force, without striking a blow; and only one fifth of that army ever saw Chinese soil again. Wars at a distance have been always unpopular amongst the Chinese, and that war would be all the more spiritlessly entered into, because the country had not anything like recovered itself since the conclusion of its long continued civil wars. Yuen was none the less afraid; for there was the fact that a host was sent against him, so great that he could not possibly resist, if it came to his doors with hearts for its work. He therefore sent in messengers to acknowledge his crimes, and crave forgiveness; which the Emperor, calling him the "Manure and Mud minister" of Liaotung, was then glad enough to give.

Baiji had heard of the projected expedition, and as she had old scores to settle with Gaoli, she offered her alliance to the Emperor, who gladly accepted it, and gave Baiji all the war material requisite. Though Baiji had never had the opportunity to move, her proposed action came to the ears of Yuen, who therefore ravaged the western coast of his neighbour's kingdom.

The Swi first Emperor died, and was succeeded by the famous Emperor Yang. He happened to be visiting Chimin, the Kokhan\* of the Tookue, as they were called, whom we call Turks, at a time when there was a Gaoli messenger in Chimin's tent; but the latter did not dare to introduce him to the Emperor. One of the Emperor's officials saw this messenger, however, and in mentioning the circumstance, repeated the early history of Chaosien and Gaoli, as detailed above. He also informed the Emperor of the designs of the deceased Emperor on Gaoli, and urged that those designs should not be forgotten. The hot-

\* What is usually written Khan in English, or rather in French, whence it was taken, is never written so by the Chinese, from whom it was translated; it is always *Kokan*, and, to the ancestors of the Mongols, was synonymous with the Chinese *Whangdi*, "Supreme Ruler." The Tookue, successor of the Yowyan and Hiwngnoo, are generally translated "Turks," and distinguished from Mongols. But these names are only dynastic titles of the same peoples, and not distinctive names for different peoples or races of men.



tempered monarch was not slow to act on this suggestion ; and on such a scale were the preparations for war carried on, that a horse sold at 100,000 cash,\* the price of a capital horse even now. There were many murmurs in court and country against this enormous expenditure ; for the nation was still staggering under the results of its former wars, and at that moment, famine was carrying off myriads of the people in many places throughout the empire. But orders were given to have the first man beheaded, who dared oppose this war ; and in 611, all preparations were about complete. But instead of marching on Gaoli, the army had to go northwards against Choolo (or *Molo*), son and successor of Chimin, who had offended by abstaining from presenting his new year's salutations and tribute. He suffered a defeat and had to flee with a few thousand men. This brought him to reason and to Court, where the Emperor graciously received him, and the army was free to march against the east.

Shantung had been deluged on the preceding year by floods which had all but annihilated the crops, and the people were in the greatest straits for food. Notwithstanding which, an imperative mandate, admitting of no evasion or delay, was sent to the governor of that province, ordering him to fill the granaries of two given cities with grain. That grain was not only to be sent out of the famishing province, but sent by the labour and at the expense of the people. One of these stores was Loo ho, or Port of Loo, said to be in Liaosi. The other was Whaiyuen,† or Whiloo, said to be 7 li north of Loyang ; to which locality, however, it is unlikely that Shantung would be required to send grain. The Loo port is apparently to be looked for in the north-east of Chihli, on the Peiho or the Lan ho. The stores at Whaiyuen amounted to twenty-four million *Dan* ; each of about four cwt. of grain ; and Loo ho stores were to be a tithe of that quantity. This grain, and the amount

\*1,000 to a *tael* or *liang* of silver, worth about 6/.

†There was a Whaiyuen to the N.E. of Kingchow of Liaosi, which is likely the depôt referred to.

of labour required to carry it over a country lately flooded, and across roadless mountains and rivers, gave rise to misery beyond conception; and the number of those who died beneath their loads became so alarmingly great, that the emperor had six hundred thousand "Deer" or small carts provided, each of which could carry one *dan* and a half. These, too, broke down on account of the bad roads.

The terrible sufferings of the people, aggravated by the heartlessness of their "father and mother," as the emperor is called, drove numbers into rebellion. These took up their head quarters at Changbaishan, now Changshan hien of Tsinan foo. Arms of any kind were forbidden the people; but arms were soon made, and the "rebels" foraged for food to keep them from starving. Other people suffering in the same manner formed into bands and became "robbers," to save themselves from the starvation which obedience to selfish and needless whims of an absolute autocrat brought upon them. The previous campaign against Toogoohwun, in the west of China, had exhausted the treasury; and the strain on the people, by such enormous taxation, over a second year of famine, would be so terrible, that all his ministers urged the emperor to delay; but their reasons were urged in vain. When the army was collected together, the emperor proudly asked how Gaoli could oppose it. One minister, who was himself to accompany the army, replied that the army might take Gaoli, but that it would be highly advisable for the emperor to remain in his capital. The advice roused the anger of the emperor, and nearly cost the official his head.

The army consisted of twenty-four divisions; each under its own general, and with its appointed route and destination. The emperor chose Choolo and five hundred *Tookue* for his guard; proving that he was not quite sure of his own people. The army consisted of a right and left wing; each of twelve divisions. The left was to march for Lowfang, Changling, Junhai, Gaima, Jienan, Nansoo, Liaotung, Hüentoo, Fooyü, Chaosien, Wojoo, and Lolang. The first three places were under the jurisdiction



of Lolang; the others can be seen on the map. The right was to march for Hwunur, Lingsu, Lintwun, Howchung, Tisi, Sooshun, Daifang, Hiangping, and Lintwun in Liaotung. Most of these places were in Corea proper; but it is impossible now to trace them.

When this Chinese Xerxes set in motion probably the largest army ever congregated in China, it amounted to 1,133,800 men. Over a length of 960 li were heard the blast of their horns, and the roll of their drums; and the flying banners waved an unbroken line for more than three hundred miles. It took forty days for the "tail" to pass the spot where the "head" had rested. In May they got to Linso, the modern Chochow of Chihli. They thus avoided the mistake of marching in the rainy season, which had brought the former expedition to grief.

When they got to the west bank of the Liao, they found the Gaoli in force on the other side; and their attempts to cross in an easy manner failed. The president of the board of works was therefore ordered to construct three bridges, which he did; but when afloat they were short of the east bank by ten feet, for the river is little, if any, less than half a mile wide at any point where they attempted to cross. Both horse and foot crowded each other on the bridge. Both jumped off and fought in the water, and those who waded or swam to the foot of the bank fought there. But the bank was steep, the foe numerous, and the current strong, and every soul of them was swept off by the rapid river. General Mai Tiejang said to his three sons, that the "day had now come when he could manifest his gratitude to his bounteous sovereign,"—a common Chinese phrase in volunteering for the forlorn hope. He, therefore, pressed forward; and with many another brave man, he was carried away by the devouring river, in spite of his all daring valour. He was, however, ennobled on the spot; such being in strict accordance with Chinese custom: for up to the present, the crowning honours of an able minister are posthumous. His sons were also promoted to higher offices. But many myriads of the great army uselessly threw away their lives before the bridges could be

cleared; so great was the ardour of the army, and so imperfect its discipline. It took two more days to lengthen the bridges sufficiently to touch the east side; and that once done, the Chinese swarmed across, and soon compelled the Gaoli to prove their swiftness of foot.

The Gaoli left 10,000 of their men on the bank or fields before they got within the walls of Liaotung, as their city near the present Liaoyang, was called. The flying Gaoli were pursued to the very gates. But though the siege was warmly pressed, the defence was so stubborn that the spirit of the besiegers began to cool down; yet they never failed in driving back every one of the numerous sallies of the besieged. Even after some months' siege, there was no impression on the walls, nor sign of yielding in the garrison. The sarcasms of the emperor could do no more than bring the colour into the cheeks of his generals; and after a more than usually bitter inuendo on their inefficiency and want of military spirit, he retired to a city west of Liaotung, as if ashamed of his men. Some of the other divisions had gone their several ways.

One army had been sent by sea from Laichow, which city had alone to provide 300 vessels. The navy was large, as the land army was numerous; and the sea was covered with the ships on their way east to Pingyang. These ships had been built, as the grain had been stored, by compulsory labour, on the coasts of Shantung and Fukien, on the rivers Whang and Yangtsu. Both in the north and south of China myriads of lives were sacrificed in the incessant labour of the navy yards, where work did not cease with daylight. This fleet of transports, now brought together at enormous expense to the country, in life as in money, was put under the command of General Hoor; for there were no admirals, as there were no fighting ships.

Hoor landed his men 60 li south of Pingyang, on the Beishwi, where a Corean army was posted. This army he attacked immediately, defeated, and pursued. His second in command urged caution in pursuit; but Hoor was angry at the cautious counsel, pushed rapidly ahead, came again up with the Gaoli



whom he defeated, and then his pursuit became warmer than ever. But this second flight was a trap to throw him off his guard; and just when his men were in the disorder of ardent pursuit, an ambush rose on his flanks suddenly, closed, and completely defeated him. Of the large army, only a few thousand returned to their ships. But the array was still so great there, that the pursuing Gaoli dared not venture an attack.

Yü Wun had marched overland with his division far to the north, very likely by the route from Kingchow to Mukden; for he is said to have skirted the west and then the north of Gaoli land, going through Fooyü (Kaiyuen) and south-east, probably by the present Hingking and along the lovely mountain road from Hingking to Funghwang Chung and the magnificent and crystal clear Yaloo,\* on the west bank of which he joined and took command of other eight divisions; forming, in all, the large army of 305,000 men. These men had each received a hundred days' provisions, given out for man and beast, when the army got to Looho and Whaiyuen. As such a weight of grain would needs be a grievous burden, orders were given that the man should be beheaded, who was found throwing his grain away. But from whatever reason, provisions were all but exhausted when they got to the Yaloo banks.

Gaoli had sent Wundu, one of the best ministers, to pretend to desert to this Chinese army; but his real business was to spy out the state of the army. Joongwan, one of the generals, strongly suspected the designs of Wundu, and gave orders to have him apprehended as soon as he came within his ranks. This was done. But a president of one of the boards strongly objected to such treatment. Still retaining his suspicions, Joongwan was, therefore, compelled to release his prisoner; who was no sooner liberated, than he made great haste to get out of the way. This haste roused the president's suspicions also. He sent messengers after Wundu, who overtook him, and said that the president had an important communication to make, and was

\* Yaloo, originally called the *Madsu* river, and, according to *Tang* history, called *Yaloo*, because the colour of the water is that of a duck's (*Ya*) head.

anxious to see him immediately. Wundu was not at all anxious to hear the message; but made off in the wrong direction, and was soon at the head of his army on the east bank of the Yaloo. He had run great risks, and had deserved success.

The trick greatly disconcerted both Joongwan and Wun; and the former urged an instant attack with light troops, while yet their grain lasted; his object being to acquire some renown by seizing Wundu. Wun was strongly opposed to any such move in their present circumstances; but Joongwan angrily asked with what face could they again see the emperor, if with such an army they returned empty handed. From his manner, the other generals believed he had a good plan of operations, which he would develop in the face of the enemy. They, therefore, sided with him, and Wun was compelled to order the army to advance. The fact that he had judged so correctly the nature of the Korean general's visit, would tend to cause the others to lean on his judgment.

Wundu, seeing the hunger-bitten faces of the Chinese, determined to give them exercise. Instead of engaging in a pitched battle, in which he would be overwhelmed, he carried out the tactics of the petty vessels which scattered the Armada,—retreating, wheeling round, engaging, and again retreating. Seven sharp, but short, battles were fought the first day. The Chinese marched further and further away from their base; crossed the Sa river, and pitched camp on the hills 30 li from Pingyang, always closely watched by Wundu. If he thus proved himself a capable general, he must have greatly lacked experience; for he made frequent overtures to Wun to surrender with his army; and this in the then condition of Wun's forces was simply absurd. He might have done so as a coarse joke; but that he meant Wun to take his messages in good faith seems certain, from the fact that Wun found in the repeated proposals an excuse for retreating; for he would not otherwise have dared to look his passionate master in the face. Hoor, not so bold since, as before his defeat, was meantime to the south of the city no more than thirty miles from Wun; but the two commanders



seemed wholly unaware of each other's existence. They did not, at all events, open communications with each other; for if they had done so, there seems no reason why the fleet should not feed the two armies for a brief time; and the combined army, well fed, would overturn anything Corea ever could put in the field.

But Joongwan's bold language had ended in nothing. Provisions were now wholly gone. The city of Pingyang, was so strongly situated by nature, and fortified by art, that there was no hope of a successful attack; while Wundu, the Corean Fabius, was always wide awake, never coming near enough to give the enemy an opportunity of grappling with him, never going far enough to let the Chinese breathe freely. Wun had, therefore, with heavy heart, to order the retreat, which his better judgment had decided on at the west side of the Yaloo. His state was desperate in any case, for Liaoyang was four hundred miles away; and how could he, without provisions, retrace the steps of that large army over all that distance? The difficulty of his situation may have made him lose his head, otherwise he must have thought of Hoor only thirty miles away; and even if Pingyang stood in the direct way, there was no reason why he could not send messengers to make enquiries, and both could then easily concoct a plan by which Pingyang must needs fall. He had an army large enough for the conquest of all Corea, but the fact that he yielded to the advice of his subordinate generals, proves that he was not the proper man to lead such an army. He was not without bravery, however; a quality much more common than wisdom. He took command of the rear himself, in the retreat which he ordered in August.

The Coreans no sooner beheld the great hosts retiring, than they swarmed like bees from all corners and directions, clinging like so many hornets to flank and rear. Wundu was, of course, the head of all that swarm; and while giving all liberty to skirmishers, he kept his army well in hand till half of the Chinese were across the Sa, when he rushed with fury upon the rear. The general in command of the rear fell fighting; and his fall was the signal for a helter-skelter flight of the large but

already dispirited and famishing army. The rear rushed upon the centre, the centre pushed against the van; and that army, a few weeks ago so formidable, became a confused rabble of fugitives, without any attempt at order, and the exercise of authority was impossible. Every man ran at his greatest speed, fled for twenty-four hours on end, and in their terror, rested only on the east bank of the Yaloo, having run 450 li. Only one man, Yinhoong, proved his capacity for his post; for he retained his division in form sufficient to check the Gaoli in the rear. But of those 305,000 men, only 2,700 got to Liaotung city. In their famishing condition the deaths in that flight must have been enormous; for there was no possibility of obtaining provisions. But large numbers were taken prisoners; for many Chinese, left in Gaoli hands by the Swi Emperor, were released again to the Tang dynasty. The Koreans who prevented communication while the Chinese were on the offensive, would doubtless send some Chinese prisoners to Hoor, with the news of the overwhelming disaster; for he heard, when too late, of the arrival of his colleague and of his fate, and beat a retreat. The Chinese army was lost by imbecility. The arms which fell into the hands of the Koreans, with other spoil, are mentioned as "myriads of myriads of myriads."

This undreamed of collapse roused the Emperor to a frenzy of fury, and the chief officers concerned in the flight, who set the example, or did not set a better, were publicly executed. Joongwan was degraded to rank with the common people, but Wun, though degraded at the time, was regarded as more unfortunate than guilty, and restored to his command. The grain of the besieging army was also all but exhausted, and the Emperor, in his spleen, ordered every man to find his way home as he best could.

Soon after the return of this wrecked army to the capital, the President of the Board of Works died, probably from his internal worry; for his imperfect bridges began the series of misfortunes which befell, perhaps, the largest army which China ever brought together to one place, and which had been set in motion at an



expense of personal suffering and loss of life such as no other campaign in Chinese annals can furnish.

If floods had destroyed the hopes of northern Chinese farmers for that year, a drought blighted their crops the next, and an epidemic,—probably what is known as the Famine Fever,—carried away multitudes of people, especially in Shantung. The consequent disaffection of the people may therefore be readily understood; for spite of their wretched state, and the abyss of their poverty, the Emperor Yang, whose name is still a hissing and a bye-word, urged on preparations for another campaign against Liaotung. And no man dared speak reason, for it would have been at the risk of his life.

In the beginning of 613, little more than a year after his return, he sent men to rebuild the ancient Hiangping of Han, some distance west of Liaotung city, in order there to lay in stores, so that the next siege would not be broken up from exhausted provisions. And though large bands of robbers traversed the country, and Shantung was in the extremity of distress, the Emperor crossed the Liao in May, Yüwun and Yang Yi were again sent to Pingyang, to undo the evil effects of their former campaign. Yingoong got to Sinchung, west of Nansoo, having apparently gone by sea, drove back some myriads of Gaoli, by a sharp attack of 1,000 horse; but he invested the city in vain.

In this second attack on Liaotung city, the Emperor got ready "Flying Towers" and "Cloud-ladders," which can mean no more than high towers and scaling ladders. These were placed all round the city, and the garrison was kept on the *qui vive*, both day and night. But so obstinate was the defence, that after twenty days constant fighting, the city was just as it was on the first day; great numbers, however, fell on both sides, or of "host" and "guest," as the original puts it (*hospes et hostis*). At the top of one "Cloud-ladder," 150 feet long, most obstinate fights took place; one man killing as many as a dozen Coreans before he was cut down.

Notwithstanding secret disaffection and internal discord in the

Chinese camp, whose causes are easily discoverable, the siege was prosecuted with unabated ardour, and repelled by the Coreans with undiminished vigour. The Emperor had just got completed an earthen rampart sixty paces wide, close to and flush with the city wall, and a high storied movable tower on eight wheels, higher than the city wall, whence missiles could be thrown down into the city; and these were about to be put in action, and would infallibly have taken the city, when a breathless messenger hurried into the camp by night and brought in news of the rebellion of Yang Hüengan, President of the Board of Rites, who was besieging the Swi capital with a large volunteer army. The Emperor was cowardly as he was obstinate, and in his terror gave immediate orders to forsake the camp with every thing in it, just as it stood.

So well was the order carried out, and so far had the army gone by daylight, that the Gaoli observed no change, beyond the unusual respite from fighting. It was mid-day ere they ventured to inspect the formidable Chinese camp; but though not a soul was visible, as everything was in its place, they feared a trick, and permitted the second day to appear, ere curiosity got the better of fear. So great was their caution, that it was the third day ere they discovered the Chinese army making preparations to recross the Liao. After keeping at a distance for a time, they became more numerous, and ventured up to the rear, which they found very weak and ill guarded. They were too late, however; for their increasing numbers cut down only a thousand men before the whole army was across.

Hoor was, fortunately for Emperor Yang, still at Laichow, and Yü Wun was hurriedly recalled; for Yang's volunteer army had run up to a hundred thousand men in a few days. He was defeated, however, and committed suicide to escape the hands of the executioner. His was not the only rebellion, though the most formidable, from the object of attack and the rank of the leader. For universal disaffection found vent in universal rebellion, and hundreds, perhaps thousands, of fighting bands or armies spread disorder and terror over every province. And this



was the result of the three great expeditions against Gaoli by the Swi emperors.

Gaoli was not just yet left at peace, however; for even the very next year (614), the Emperor again consulted with his ministers as to the propriety of marching on Gaoli. For days together not one of them would express an opinion,—which was an emphatic way of showing their opinion. That silence ended in the Emperor giving forth the order, “Collect the soldiers of the Empire.” Soon after came the news that Li Hoongju had rebelled and declared war against the Emperor. He styled himself Tang Wang, and afterwards became the first Tang Emperor. Rebels in numerous armies of scores of thousands, rose up in all directions; the empire was in the greatest confusion; and at length the Emperor gave reluctant orders to retain at home the army collected for Gaoli.

The fleet was, however, sent under Hoor to *Bisha chung*, nearer the sea than Pingyang. In the obstinate battle which took place there, the Gaoli were defeated and the Chinese again marched on Pingyang. King Yuen, in great dread, sent messengers to treat of peace; and to smooth their way he sent to the Emperor some fugitives, who had fled into his kingdom during the preceding year. The Emperor was delighted to have Yuen on his knees at last. He at once agreed to conclude peace, and recalled Hoor. But the latter would not be recalled; saying to the imperial messenger that the armies at home were scattered all over the country against rebels, and that if he went home now, he would never be permitted to come back again; that neither glory nor reward had the soldiers gained during their late campaign; and that as Gaoli was in great straits and Pingyang sure to fall in a few days, better first take the city and then return home. The messenger first ordered him, then pleaded with him to return, but all in vain. He at last said in great anger: “The man is a traitor who does not listen to the orders of his Emperor, and must risk the responsibility.” The messenger then went back alone to court. The Emperor brought the first Gaoli messenger into the Ancestral Temple, there to present him to

his ancestors as the representative of the new kingdom annexed to their dominions. He was, however, still bent on the thorough conquest of the country. Pingyang was still standing, at the end of the year; and as the Emperor's thoughts were insanely fixed on that conquest, to the neglect of every other consideration, one minister, with the profoundest deference, deprecated an immediate attack on Gaoli, because of the deep poverty and unspeakable misery of the Chinese people; stating that after a peace of three or five years had given rest and restored prosperity to the country, Gaoli could be attacked and easily conquered. The Emperor, in a towering passion, ordered the adviser to prison, where he died;—one authority stating that the Emperor ordered his secret death.

Next year the Tooküe pushed in to Yen mun,—the Taichow of Taiyuen,—whither the Emperor had just gone. There were in the city 150,000 souls including the soldiers, and they had provisions for twenty days. There were forty-one fortified cities in the region known as Yen mun, of which thirty-nine had already fallen before the Turks, and as they had failed to capture the fortieth, they besieged the city of Yen mun, in which the Emperor was located. He was in the utmost terror, which is another proof, if any more were necessary, to show that the heartlessly cruel are cowards. In this dilemma there were, of course, many advices. Yü Wun, who was there, gave a soldier's advice,—urging his majesty to take a few thousand of the best horse and pierce through the besiegers' lines. The best, however, was the statesman's advice, who was bold enough to say, that the people were meantime careless whether his majesty escaped or not, as they feared the strain of another Gaoli expedition: but let, advised he, "a proclamation be immediately issued to declare that the Emperor had no intention of marching on Gaoli at present, and the people will rise from all directions and hurl the invaders across the border."

Shubi, son of Chimin, was Kokhan of the Turks. He proposed a peace if the Emperor's daughter were given him in marriage. The Emperor believed that the cheapest way out of his scrape,



and would agree ; but the Princess, more noble than her father, raised an army in Loyang, which marched against the Turks, raised the siege and drove them out of the country.

Though large tracts of country were in possession of the numerous rebel armies, the Emperor clung as tenaciously as ever to his mad desire to trample Corea under foot, and every expostulation only put him into a frenzy of fury.

If the last of the Swi Emperors was an insanely selfish monarch, he was an ardent devotee of literature, and a generous patron of literary men. He employed one hundred and twenty of the ablest literary men, under the superintendance of *Dasiaosu*, or Grand Secretaries,—the highest dignitaries of the Empire. These were employed, for over twenty years, in making new books ; works on the Classics, on Essay Writing or Literary Style, on War, Agriculture, Geography, Medicine, the Eight Diagrams, Buddhism, Taoism, Chess, Fishing, Falconry, Hounds and the Chace. The new works formed 31 *Tao*, and consisted of 17,000 rolls,—one to four of which rolls or *jwan*, forms a modern volume. From the name, we are entitled to infer that ancient Chinese writings were in long rolls like ancient Jewish ; and such scrolls well written are now hung up on walls as we hang pictures. In Changan he had a library of 370,000 rolls. He was himself a diligent annotator, as well as an eager reader. His annotations, afterwards revised by his literary assistants, extended over 37,000 rolls in Loyang, his second capital. No expense was spared to make his extensive libraries, and especially his reading rooms, as magnificent as art could make them. Every three rooms had a square door, over which were two "Flying Genii." Outside the door was a mechanical contrivance ("machine"), which yielded to the pressure of the first step over it, and brought down one of the genii, which opened the door and held it open, till his majesty passed through. An attendant bearing a censer, burning with fragrant wood, went before him. When he retired, the various automatic genii which he passed, returned to their places above their doors, and the doors were thus locked. In his new capital of Loyang he

had built magnificent palaces, which he surrounded with extensive gardens as splendid as the exercise of taste and the expenditure of money could make them. And to the incalculable miseries produced by his Korean expeditions, are to be added the sufferings caused by the forced labour of a million of men in rebuilding the Great Wall in the north.

Better had he, in those unsettled times, attempted to read men more wisely, and had left book-making to those who neglected no greater duty in confining themselves to literary work. The emperor Yang is to this day regarded as an example in, and patron of literature; but even more emphatically, and with justice, is he pointed out as a beacon in political life. His attempted Korean conquests failed, only because they were ill timed and madly carried on, regardless of the terrible sufferings inflicted upon his people, already in the depths of misery. But they cost Yang his own life, his family the crown, and China countless myriads of lives, which no conquest could have repaid.

Probably because of the frightful distress, the famines and the wars, which reigned supreme over China; probably because aware that the people regarded himself as the cause of all these trials; chiefly because, coward that he was, he was utterly incapable of meeting the dangers which his reckless and thoughtless cruelties had aroused; most likely from a combination of all three,—emperor Yang became a sottish drunkard; and when Li, the Tang Wang, with Turkish aid, was rapidly pushing eastwards, Yang never let strong drink leave his side. His commander, Yü Wun, seeing there was absolutely no hope, as long as Yang was at the head of affairs, put him to death, and, with the hope of saving the Empire, proclaimed his son. He was too late. Yang had lost the hearts of the people long ago. He had lost large portions of his empire; and if he could not himself keep the crown, not a hand outside his court would be raised to save it. Thus terminated his Korean wars for Yang, and the Swi dynasty dashed out its brains against the walls of the petty Liaotung city,—the modern Liaoyang. The Koreans had a respite for many years, besides the fame which they had



acquired of being splendid garrison soldiers, though but a poor army on the field ; a character which, in Chinese history, they have retained to the present day.

## CHAPTER VI.

### SINLO.

THE kingdom of Sinlo occupied the southern portion of the Korean peninsula. It spread up along the east coast, from Fusan in the south, to the Toomun in the north, and ruled over much of the northern portion of modern Corea. It was established last of the three kingdoms; Gaoli being before Baiji, the latter before Sinlo. Sinlo was originally one of the twelve tribes of Chunhan, sometimes called Chin (Tsin) han, from the belief that its original inhabitants were adherents of the Tsin dynasty, who fled thither when the dynasty was broken up by the Han. It is said that Mahan gave up that land to them, and that the fugitives divided into six, then into twelve "Kingdoms." Sinlo, one of the twelve, gradually became supreme in Chunhan as Baiji had done in Mahan. The first king of Sinlo was a Baiji man, which caused Sinlo to regard Baiji as its superior. But, having gradually become powerful, extending its borders northwards, it refused to act as a dependant, and instant enmity was the result. Baiji, wishing to enforce its authority, borrowed Gaoli help and overthrew Sinlo in battle, but was unable ultimately to retain the lands it had then secured. This only increased the mutual hate, and Sinlo was at one time so powerful that it slew a King of Baiji. A state of war was the normal condition between the two.

One of the Swi magistrates of Shensi, was the Li yuen mentioned above.\* He was a worthy man, who mourned over the lamentable condition of his ruined country. His son was a fiery young man, who had no sympathy with a grief which, in such circumstances, did not lead to action; and if he grieved, he burned with desire to



rid his country of the root of those miseries ; or he might see in the then condition of his country an easy way for changing the reigning house. At any rate, he urged his father to rebel, and the father would not rebel ; nor was he bold enough for such a step. But the son, who appears to have been master, got his father drunk at a feast he provided, and by night had two concubines of the Swi Emperor, left in the city, brought to his father's bed-room, where they remained till next day. The father on ascertaining next morning the character of the ladies who had been in his room all night, was in great terror, for he must perish. His son urged him to rebel as his only chance of life. And he did rebel. His son was the soldier ; but the work of conquest was very slow. He, however, engaged the Turks as his allies, by whose aid he laid the foundation of the Tang dynasty, —one of the greatest China has produced. The Turks were therefore masters of the father—the first Tang Emperor—all his life ; and it cost many a tough battle after the accession of the soldier-son to the throne, ere they could be made to acknowledge the supremacy of the Chinese emperor.

As soon as order was restored within the Chinese border, the Tang emperor sent a Grand Secretary to Gaoli, Baiji and Sinlo, who acted so judiciously, that the three kingdoms acknowledged the Tang dynasty and sent in tribute. This is doubtless the "Messenger" whom another history states was sent in 622 by Tang to Gaoli, to bury the bleaching bones of the slain soldiers, left by the Swi Emperor on the plains of Liaotung, and to perform the customary funeral rites and sacrifices to set to rest and appease the spirits of the departed. By this act the emperor gained great repute for good-heartedness. Living Chinese were perhaps less numerous in Corea than the dead ; and China contained Corean prisoners not a few, whom the emperor sent to their homes in 624, under charge of an ambassador who was commissioned to confer the title of Liaotung Wang on Jien Woo, king of Corea. This Emperor fostered learning, and welcomed students from all quarters ; and among the 3260 youths collected in the capital to acquire the best learning of China in the *Gwodsu jien*,

or Imperial Academy, were men from Gaochang and Thibet\* on the west, and from Gaoli, Baiji, and Sinlo on the east.

In 630, Sinlo sent to the Chinese court two lovely damsels as tribute; but one of the principal ministers objected to receive them. The emperor was pleased; and said that the other day two vary-coloured parrots were returned to *Linyi* (Annam), their native country, because they longed for their homes; how much more should two young virgins be thus treated. Two years after, the king of Sinlo died; and as he had no son, the people elected his queen, Duashan, to rule over them.

In 640, the emperor sent the senior secretary, Chun Dadua, to the eastern kingdoms, to spy out the land. He brought with him quantities of silk and other articles, intended as presents to open locked doors; his object being to see all the chief cities, mountains, and rivers, and to observe their manners and customs. He was to describe himself as a man eager to see the beauties of the country. He was well received by the Coreans; and when they heard that the remote Gaochang had fallen before the arms of Tang, their politeness was doubled. Wherever he went, he found men who had been left behind in the various Swi expeditions, or who had fled to avoid the evils invariably attending the throes of a change of dynasty in China. These made eager enquiries about their friends at home; and he made a point of telling every enquirer that not only were those friends alive, but well and happy! His presence and words made them all long for home, and they wept bitterly wherever he parted from them.

The emperor listened with rapt attention to all the traveller had to report; and then said that the present Gaoli land was originally Chinese soil; that a few myriads sent to Liaotung, and a fleet to Pingyang, would restore those refugees to their native place, and those provinces to China; and added, "but Shantung is still staggering under its load of starvation." Hence the courtiers inferred that the emperor had designs on Corea; and sooner than he had anticipated, he found another

\*"Toofan" which came first into contact with China five years before, as a foe.



and a more solid grievance to form a *casus belli*, for the Korean king was next year murdered by a subject.

Then, and in more ancient times, there was a hereditary aristocracy in Corea. It existed in the time of the Manchu conquest of Corea two centuries ago; and though Coreans have, to the author, denied its existence now, the Jesuits are probably correct in asserting its present existence, though it is certainly not now so extensive as in olden times. Of these aristocracy, there was, at the time we write of, one CHUEN GAISOOWUN, whose lands and people were in the eastern bounds of the kingdom. He is said to have been a powerful, unscrupulous man, who defied the law. It is not impossible that the laws deserved to be defied. The king consulted with his ministers as to the best means of putting an end to him. He heard of it; laid under arms every man he could muster, keeping them meantime in the back-ground. He then provided a grand banquet for the king and his ministers to the south of the capital, whither he invited them. The ministers were on their way to the banquet when Gaisoowun's men fell upon and murdered over a hundred of them. He himself thereupon rode into the palace, and with his own hand killed the king, throwing the body into a ditch. He then proclaimed as king, Dsang, the nephew of the murdered king, himself becoming *Moliju*, equivalent to the Chinese Presidents of "War" and "Appointments;" thus securing all power into his own hands, and "the far and the near" submitted to him.

He was a man of large and powerful body, and of great eloquence. He carried five swords on his person. Those who attended him on his right and left, dared not raise their eyes to his face. When mounting or dismounting his horse, a great minister bent his body down to serve as a footstool. A large band of well trained men followed him wherever he went; and when their warning voices were heard at a great distance, every person had to clear off the road; and even in narrow gullies no person was allowed to stand at the side,—he must get completely out of the way. The roads were deserted, and all bitterly lamented the pass to which matters had come. Such is the Chinese story,

which we feel very much impelled to call an exaggerated one. The king may have been a man whom the people were not sorry to be rid of. At any rate, future events, which we shall have to record, prove that there was no such general ill-feeling towards the king-slayer. The Chinese historian has a purpose to serve in thus blackening the character of Gaisoowun. The horribly unhuman face, ascribed to him by the historical novels of the Tang dynasty, is proof rather of Chinese hatred than of Korean fear.

A messenger was sent into Gaoli, who advised that a Chinese army be at once posted in *Whaiyuen jun*,\* to be ready for any possible move on the part of Gaoli; in reference to which the emperor said it could not be endured that Gaisoowun, who had murdered his king, should continue to act as absolute lord over the land; but the crushed down condition of Shantung meantime presented an insuperable obstacle to active measures against him. The emperor had evidently learned from experience, though he was eager to follow in the steps of Emperor Yang. One minister advised that Mogo on the north, and Kitan on the west, of Gaoli should be incited against the latter; but another objected that Gaisoowun was well aware of the greatness of his crime, and fearing the vengeance of a great power, was doubtless prepared; better therefore wait on till China could herself send an army against him. To this the emperor agreed, and sent a messenger conferring the title of Liaotung Wang on King Dsang, thus virtually ratifying the deed of Gaisoowun. When expressing his gratitude, Dsang sent the state records to have the emperor's exact words written therein.

Three months after, Sinlo sent an embassy to the Chinese court, praying for help; for that Gaoli and Baiji, were forming a treaty to plunder her land, and that Baiji had already taken forty cities. An ambassador was therefore at once sent on to Gaoli to demand that Sinlo be left unmolested, as she was a faithful kingdom, and any wrong to her would be punished by instant

\*This again shows that Whaiyuen must be sought not on the Whangho, but to the north-east of Chibli. Note, p. 154.



war. The ambassador was honourably received by the king, but found Gaisoowun already gone with his army, before which two Sinlo cities had then fallen. His king sent for him. He returned, and in self-justification said that Sinlo had taken advantage of the troubles of Gaoli in her western borders during the Swi dynasty, to cut off 500 li\* of land on her east side; and that Gaoli wanted now only the restoration of her own land. The ambassador replied that the occupation of that land was now of long standing and the matter should be let slip; that all Liaotung lands were once Chinese soil; but though now in Gaoli hands, the Chinese said nothing about it. Gaisoowun did not see the force of the reasoning. He knew if Liaotung was not recovered to China, it was not from want of effort; and he was well aware that if the Tang Emperor did not press for its restoration, it was not from want of will. If Tang were then able to take Liaotung, as Gaoli could compel Sinlo to disgorge, he would not be slow in putting in his claim, on the ground that it was Chinese soil centuries ago. He was not ignorant that Tang had the will, but not the power to take Liaotung; while he himself had the power as well as the will to recover Gaoli boundaries, and to push back the lines of an enemy, and to weaken him in the rear, before the great approaching struggle came on in front.

His refusal to obey the imperial mandate still further enraged his majesty, who as usual consulted with his ministers, of whom one took one view, one another; though they were aware that he was as bent on this war as ever was Emperor Yang. He was also determined to go in person, though it was universally objected to; for it was urged that it was highly improper for him, after restoring rest to China, to abandon his well earned repose, and to again take the field. He objected on his part that the ministers never spoke of the righteousness of his cause.

Just then Gaisoowun sent in a quantity of silver as tribute. A minister said that this man had slain his prince, that the

\* This land would be in the north-east of Gaoli, as Baiji was immediately east; and Sinlo had for long the north of the present Corea in her borders; so that the north of Sinlo would be east of Gaoli, and the centre of Sinlo east of Baiji.

nine barbarians\* had renounced him, and that war was about to overtake him: how then receive his tribute? The emperor agreed to send it back, saying to the messenger, that he was astonished the Gaoli permitted the murderer of their king to live, and to rule over them in so high-handed a fashion. To a remark by an old Swi minister, as to the difficulty of taking a Korean city, he replied that times were changed now, for the throne was not occupied by the Swi.

An army of 40,000 men was placed under Jang Liang, President of the Board of Punishment, and 500 vessels were to sail from Laichow for Pingyang. Another army of 60,000 infantry and cavalry, besides "Hoo" barbarians from Lanchow and Hochow, who had lately given in their allegiance, marched towards Yowchow, and at Anloshan were joined by volunteers from "the far and the near." Of these, the emperor received some and rejected others. At this point a proclamation was posted up to the effect that these preparations of war were not against the people, but against a regicide; the army on the march, or in their tents, would not injure the inhabitants or compel the country people to toil for them; the Emperor Yang had trampled upon his subjects, while the late Gaoli king loved his; the hearts of his soldiers were not with Yang, and victory for him was impossible; but success was in the present instance assured for five reasons:—1, The greater was marching against the lesser; 2, Obedience against rebellion; 3, Well-trained men and an orderly people against a rabble; 4, fresh troops against weary ones; and 5, troops in high spirits against troops who hated their commander. An author's note sagely remarks, that the emperor believed it an easy matter to overrun Gaoli, but he never broke it.

To set a good example the emperor cut down his personal expenditure to the lowest possible. When starting he put his waterproofs on his saddle with his own hands, took a bow in his hand and slung a quiver over his shoulder. In marching, he ate plain meat and rice, refusing all dainties. He had the sick

\* See note p. 10.



soldier before him, to ask kindly and minutely after his ailments; and if he found a man very unwell, he left him in the hands of the nearest magistrate, while the dead he saw properly buried. He got to Tingchow in April 645; having two months before sent messengers to Sinlo, Baiji, and the Si (west) Kitan to summon them to his standard.

A remarkable man, the Duke Li Daliang, died about this time in Changan, the capital. He had all along emphatically denounced this Korean expedition. When he died all his inheritance consisted of five pecks of rice and thirty pieces of cotton, for he was as good as he was great, supporting all his poor relations with his salary.

The main army was placed under Li Shuji, who got to Yowchow, 1600 li from Loyang, in March 645, a month before the emperor started from the capital. Li started from Liwchung in the following May, passed through Whaiyuen,\* passed Toongdao; and at Toongding crossed the Liao, taking a route by which the Gaoli could not expect him, and marched for Hüentoo; thus flanking Liaotung city, and pushing into the heart of the country, necessarily from the north. This was with the evident design of cutting Gaoli communication, and isolating Liaotung city. Jang Hien had been sent on to the Liao before, but dared not cross. He now crossed eastwards, marching by Jienanchung, and defeated, with his van of Hoo troops, the Gaoli army opposing him.

At an earlier period Wang Daodsoong, the honorary Taotai of Liaotung, prayed to be permitted to take a hundred horse, promising with these to explore the enemy's land. The emperor agreed, and asked what time he would require—"ten days to go,

\* Liwchung was in the jurisdiction of Yingchow, and so was Whaiyuen, which must be sought for north of Yingchow. Toongding jun was established by Swi Emperor when there, and the floating bridges were cast over the river at *Toongdao*. Hüentoo was, as we have seen (ch. 1.), established by Han, and as a counterpoise to *Wojoo*; but as it was afterwards taken by the "Savages," its magistrate was moved to *Gaoli hien*, passed which the (small) Liao flowed. Toongding was doubtless Sancha ho, west of Newchwang, where the river is easiest to cross, for the outer and inner Liao rivers there meet. Whaiyuen must be located somewhere to the west of that and east of the Daliang river.

ten to spy, and ten to return—I shall be back in thirty days," was the reply. He started, got by byeroads to the very south of Liaotung city, where his retreat was cut off. But he cut his way through the Coreans, and returned in the time specified. The emperor was delighted and, with a sigh of pleasure, said: "Wherever was bravery like this?" He rewarded him with 50 catties (over 60 lbs) weight of gold, and 1000 pieces of satin. From the time taken to get to Liaoyang, he must have started from the rendezvous at Anloshan. This same Taotai got to Sinchung, among the several thousand men under Jianghia Wang, who was second in command. A few score horse rode up to the gate, but the besieged would not be tempted out. The successful crossing of Shuji had thrown the Coreans out of their calculation, and given them much uneasiness; so that every city in Liaotung closed its gates, and there was neither ingress nor egress.

Shuji, with his 60,000 men, got to Gaimow and joined the Taotai. The city fell before them next day, containing 20,000 people and over 100,000 *dan* of grain. The name Gaimow was then changed to Gaichow (present Kaichow). The Yuen dynasty afterwards established it as commanding city over the four cities of Jienan, Tangchu, Hiwngyao, and Siwyen.

General Jangliang had crossed from Laichow, sailed up the Liao river and marched on Bishachung, which was accessible only on the west. Its remains are in the south-east corner of the modern Haichung, on a small hill inside the city; the modern city being at least six times as large, for it was scarcely one li square. Chun, one of Jangliang's officers, got to the walls by night, seconded by Wang Dadoo. Dsoongwan was first on the wall, and Bisha fell, with 5000 people in it.\*

\*The old wall of that city is the only trace of Corean occupation which we have found in Liaotung; for though there are popularly hundreds of "Gaoli" cities, we have traced them almost all to the end of the Ming Dynasty, or the beginning of the present Tsing, *i.e.*, they are ruins of cities built within three centuries. The hardened masses of concrete which stand on the face of that small hill inside Haichung are very different. To the best of my belief they are real Corean remains. That concrete is studded with broken pieces of large, hard tiles; of long, wide, but



When the emperor was journeying after the army towards Liaodsai, he came across a piece of country of impassable mud, 200 li wide. This is doubtless the low lands between the *Daliang ho* and the Liao ho, which are very low, and often marshy; the roads being often impassable even now. After the march across of so large an army, in the beginning of the rainy season, it is no matter of surprise that the emperor's escort found it impassable for man or beast. They had to raise the level of the ground to form a road, and thus got to the Liao. When he crossed the river he had the bridges destroyed; as much as to say to his men, that there was only one thing they must do, which was to conquer.

When he got to Mashow shan (Horse-head hill), the most western point of the Chien shan prolongations, he discovered that Shuji had been some time at the foot of the city of Liaotung; and that 40,000 Coreans had marched out of the city just before he arrived. Taotai Wang, with 4000 horse, pestered the rear of this army; and when he was advised to entrench his few men, he replied that he had come to open the road for the emperor. Shuji agreed with him, that it was best to keep on fighting. Yi had led the van against the Coreans, was defeated, and fled. Wang received the fugitives into his ranks; and seeing the Corean lines waver slightly, he hastily picked out a few dozen of his best horse, and galloped in, piercing the Gaoli lines where and when he pleased. Shuji, by that time, came up with his army, and the Gaoli fled, losing several thousand men. As soon as the emperor heard the story, he rewarded Wang and the most distinguished brave; while he ordered Yi to be beheaded. He then went with several hundred horse to the foot of the city; and finding the men hard at work preparing a mound, he asked for the largest piece of earth which they had cut, took it up,

thin and equally hard brick and of coarse glazed earthenware. One side of the tiles and bricks is dotted peculiarly, as if the soft mass had been placed on very coarse canvas or matting to dry. We have unfortunately never had the opportunity to find ancient cash picked up there. Cash in my possession found in a ruined city called Corean, are of the Sung Dynasty, and of the 10th and 11th centuries, with a solitary one of the Tang.

galloped with it to the foot of the wall, and threw it down on the rising mound. This sort of conduct in the east or the west is a piece of affectation; but so wise is man, that nine-tenths of the beholders lose themselves in admiration.

For twelve days and nights there was no rest for Shuji, and less for the garrison; but the city stood out stoutly. The emperor himself led so many men up to the city wall, that they were several hundreds deep. Yet, though their shouts "rent the heavens and rocked the earth," they were likely to suffer the same fate as Yang's men. But the emperor ordered some men forward with torches fixed to long poles, to apply to the south-west gate tower, as there was a strong south-west wind at the time. This set the tower a blazing; and so thick was the smoke there, that the garrison could not see what was going on in its vicinity. Under shelter of this smoke, the Tang men scaled the wall; and notwithstanding a fierce defence, the city was taken, with over 40,000 Coreans, besides the soldiers. The Coreans lost over 10,000 slain in the city, and as many soldiers were taken prisoners.

Baiyen\* city was next attacked. The unexpected fall of Liaotung must have paralyzed the Gaoli, but as soon as the siege of Baiyen was reported, an army of 10,000 men started from *Woogoo* † *chung*, to raise the siege. This army was opposed by Chimi Holi, at the head of 800 capital horse. Holi galloped into the midst of the advancing Gaoli, and was soon wounded in the back by a spiked, three-pronged spear. The emperor's charioteer rushed in and carried him off. He had his wounds bound up; and then, himself infuriated and his men enraged, they galloped madly, pell-mell, into the Korean host. The impetuous charge staggered, then broke up the Gaoli; who

\* It is now called Yenchow, and is 50 li north-east of Liaoyang; there are the ruins of a stone walled city on the north bank of the Taidu.

† *Woogoo gang* or river is described thus: Leaving Tungchow (of Shantung) you go across to *Woo-hoo* island; then 500 li east by *Chingni poo*, *Hingyin poo*, *Shuyin gang*, *Toto Wan*, you come to *Woogoo gang*. But as these names are all ancient, we cannot trace them. *Woogoo* city could not be very far east from Baiyen; so that the river *Woogoo* may not impossibly be the *Yang*.



retreated, fled, and were pursued some scores of *li*,—leaving over a thousand slain. Holi sounded the retreat at dusk.

Shuji was posted at the south-west corner of Baiyen; the emperor directing the main attack from the north-west. General Li Sumo was wounded by a catapult, and the emperor secured the applause of all the army by sucking the blood from the wound. Swun Daiyin, commandant of Baiyen, intimated secretly, that it was his desire to surrender, but he was opposed in the city. The emperor, as reply, sent him a flag; ordering him to unfurl it on the wall, if he were sincere. This was done; and when the people saw it, they believed the city was already in possession of Tang soldiers, and all expressed their readiness to surrender. Shuji, leading a few dozen common soldiers, went to the emperor before he accepted the capitulation, and expostulated with him; saying that the soldiers pressed forward amid showers of arrows and stones, not thinking of death, only because they hoped to secure the booty of the city. Baiyen was now about to topple over into their hands; and to receive its submission at that stage was to cheat the men out of their due. The emperor dismounted and said, that the general had right on his side; but to let slip the soldiers to work their unbridled will was what he could never permit: if the soldiers under the banner of the general deserved well, they would certainly be rewarded; but the reward would come out of the imperial treasury, and thus this one city would be redeemed. Shuji was originally a robber chief, as were a great many more in that army.—The chief difference between the ordinary soldier and the robber in China is, that the former robs to support the law, the latter to support himself. Lately the condition of the military has been so far improved, that it is better paid than any handicraft. But far the greatest number of the nominal soldiery of even the present day, is a sort of irregular army with little discipline and less pay; and the men must live.

When the emperor had finished his little speech, Shuji departed, and his majesty, immediately after, received the submission of 10,000 men and women, in the tent which he had

erected by the river side. Every man of them, over eighty, received a piece of silk; and to each of the soldiers among the garrison, who were natives of other cities, were given a staff and some provender, with permission to return to their native place. Among the captives was the wife of Jangshu, the late commandant of Liaotung city, conducted to Baiyen by a trusty servant. Because her husband had been so faithful a minister, the emperor gave her five pieces of silk, and a fast cart to take her husband's dead body to Pingyang.

What the effect of this generosity would be upon those who surrendered unconditionally we may imagine, and can be inferred from the fact that 700 men who had been sent by the Moliju, to throw themselves into Gaimow, who were taken prisoners by Shuji, now offered to serve his majesty. The emperor refused to receive them as his soldiers, on the ground that if the Moliju heard of it, he would put to death every soul belonging to them.

Gaoli was then, and since the third century, divided into Five Banners or Provinces; 1st, NEI (Inner) BOO or Whang Boo, anciently *Gweilow*; 2nd, BEI (North) or How (Behind) BOO, anciently *Jüenoo Boo*; 3rd, DOONG (East) or Dso (left) BOO, the ancient *Shwunoo Boo*; 4th, NAN (South) or Chien (Front) BOO, the ancient *Gwannoo Boo*; 5th, SI (west) or Yow (right) BOO, the ancient *Siaonoo Boo*. Over each of these was an *Owsa*, equivalent to the Tang *Doodoo* or Governor.

When news of the fall of Baiyen reached Gaoli, and with it all the plain of Liaotung, Yenshow the Owsa of Bei Boo and Whijun, marched westwards with an army of 150,000, composed of Gaoli and Mogo men, in order to cover Anshu, which was north-east of Kaichow. He found the city already invested, the Chinese having camped before it on the preceding day.

It was now July, both the hot and the rainy season in Liaotung; hence the emperor was anxious to discover the plans of Yenshow. He said that his best plan would be to make the walls of Anshu his camp-fence, rest on the hillside, feed his army out of the plentiful stores of the city, act entirely on the defensive, and give the Mogo full liberty to pounce upon the Chinese oxen and



horses, where, and how they could; this strategy would inevitably prolong the stay of the Chinese, whose provisions were not inexhaustable, and who would have extremely bad roads, already miry, in retracing their steps. His second best plan would be, to steal away by night with all the inhabitants of the city; and his worst, to attack the Chinese, while yet ignorant of their fighting qualities. "Now do you consider;" concluded the emperor, "as for me, I believe he will adopt the worst plan, and then the city is ours." Meantime, he has found it not so easy a matter as he had imagined to get the head of Gaisoowun.

An aged official in the Gaoli army said to Yenshow, that Chin Wang—the original title of the reigning emperor—had already compacted all the "Inner land" into one family; that all the surrounding barbarians were yielding themselves up to his wisdom or his arms; and that he had proved his ability too great for them (Coreans) to hope successfully to cope with him. He therefore urged the plan, which the emperor had mentioned to his officers as the best,—to keep the army well in hand, never to meet, but always to watch the Chinese; thus to prevent them from carrying out any great measure; to pick out the best Coreans to be constantly on the move, cutting off the Chinese provisions. Thus they would foil the object of the Chinese who would have to retreat; and the time to attack them was then, when they began to retreat on those bad roads. This was exactly the strategy of Wundu, by which the Swi army so miserably perished.

But Yenshow had much faith in himself, and little in the advice offered. He therefore ordered an immediate advance, drawing up at a distance of forty li from Anshu. A band of a thousand Turkish horse was sent to tempt him out, as the emperor feared he would come no nearer. The Turks fled after a few blows, and were pursued by the Gaoli, who said, "See! how easily these men are beaten!" And Yenshow showed the manner of man he was, by moving his whole army to the hill eight li south-east of Anshu.

The emperor now had his desire, and collected his generals to deliberate as to what should be done. They replied that, before

the emperor began to wear the "cap of manhood,"\* he had taken the lead in the fight, and all his plans and attacks had been successful; that now, therefore, they were come to hear his decisions, and to carry out his plans. After a pleased laugh, he said that General Wooji would have meantime to go with a few hundred men to the higher points, to discover good places for ambush and ascertain the lines of Gaoli and Mogo, which must be over forty li in length.

The impetuous Taotai Wang volunteered his opinion that, as so large an army was collected here, Pingyang must have been left comparatively empty. He would therefore guarantee the speedy capture of Pingyang if he had but 5000 good horse; and the Korean capital once taken, this large army would surrender without a blow. The emperor dissented at the time, but afterwards acknowledged that this was the best plan, and would have been successful.

The emperor after this council sent a messenger to Yenshow, stating that he had come so far to punish a regicide, that if he had taken cities on the way, it was because they refused to give him provender; and if they (Coreans) would now submit, all that was already taken would be given back. Yenshow believed this manifest falsehood, and became lax in his watch in consequence.

By night the emperor gave orders that Shuji should march with 15,000 men and draw up in battle order at Siling (west pass); Wooji with 11,000 choice soldiers to second him from the north of the hill by the valley of Giayü; while the emperor himself would march at the head of 4000 cavalry and infantry, and with beating of drum, blowing of horns, and flying banners, ascend the north hill; and all the army was to be ready to move as soon as the roll of the drums and the blow of the horns were heard. He also ordered a small official to prepare a tent, to receive those surrendering; so sure was he of success. If these forces consisted only of those 30,000 men, the imperial army had already suffered frightful losses; or the historian is misstating the forces disposable, to further glorify the emperor. The latter we believe.

\* Before nineteen years of age.



Next morning—the first after his arrival—Yenshow could see only the army of Shuji, drawn up over against him. But as the emperor saw by the clouds of dust raised, that Wooji was in motion, he ordered the drums to be beaten, the horns blown, the banners set flying. And as soon as these signals were given, the various divisions pressed on with great shouts, throwing the unprepared Yenshow and his officers into the greatest terror. He desired to arrange his forces to meet the attack of the divisions advancing against him from various directions; but he was too late, as his ranks were already in great disorder, both from the suddenness of the attack and his own carelessness on the preceding evening and night. Hūe Yingwei, the hero of the historical novels of Tang, a private soldier of Loongmun, clad in white, entered the battle with a great roar. So tremendous was the sweep of his arm that all gave way before him wherever he went, and the main army followed him. The Gaoli were thrown into the greatest confusion, and 20,000 slain. Yingwei was made a *yowji kiangkun* (colonel) on the spot. He was the sixth generation from Andoo, the famous soldier of Wei, and a native of Loongmun of Shensi. He had already made his fame in the peninsula of Liaotung, where he had landed.

Yenshow drew up the remains of his army against the side of the mountain, and strengthened his position there. Wooji was ordered to cut off his retreat, and the other divisions to press him hard. But attack was prevented by the trembling Yenshow on the following day, for he came praying for capitulation with his 36,800 men. He approached the emperor on his knees, and bowing to the ground. The emperor said to him that the eastern barbarians were but children and petty thieves, who had lately become great robbers, and asked if they would dare again revolt against the Son of Heaven. Yenshow thought it best not to reply to this honest commentary on the emperor's first message.

All the officials, civil or military, below Owsa, in all 3,500 men, were sent captive into Chinese soil; the others were freed and ordered to return to Pingyang. Every man set his two hands to his chin, bowed his head to the ground, and raised a shout of joy



and gratitude which was heard over a score of li. The 3,300 Mogo men who surrendered were all slain. Spoils innumerable were taken, with 50,000 horses and 10,000 iron coats of mail. The hill on which the emperor had camped was afterwards called *Joobishan*, the Imperial Halt. This defeat threw Gaoli into a state of extreme terror. The cities of Howhwang and Yinchung were emptied, the country people fled, and not a house smoked within several hundred li of Anshu.

The emperor sent the fleetest horseman to inform the heir apparent, then in charge in Loyang, and with exultant vanity to ask, "what think you now of me as a general?" On the forty-fifth day of the siege of Anshu, after that battle, a spy of Gaisoowun's was taken, and brought bound before the emperor, who ordered his fetters to be removed, and then asked him why he looked so thin; to which he replied that he had been days without food. The emperor ordered attendants to prepare and give him food, and then said that he might inform Gaisoowun that, if he desired to know the condition of the Chinese army, he might send a man openly to enquire and to see. After giving the spy a pair of wooden pattens, the emperor dismissed him.

After this incident, another month passed, but the city gave no sign of yielding. The emperor recalled the advice of Shuji while yet at Yenchow, to the effect that Anshu was a well protected city, and its chief\* an able man, who successfully defied Gaisoowun, when the rest of Gaoli acknowledged him; that Jienan was not strong, nor well provisioned, and could be taken with a rush, after which Anshu would not stand long. An objector said, that as Jienan was on the south, and Anshu on the north, between it and Liaotung, where their provisions were collected,—Anshu would be in their rear, and might be able to cut off their communication,—and what then?

The emperor, referring now to that plan, said: "The Duke Shuji for a leader! Ha! Anshu would have long ago opened its gates at sight of the imperial banners, but for the plundering sentiments

\* Every city had its own hereditary noble till comparatively modern times.



of Shuji at Yenchow. Anshu is now simply defending its families from captivity, and its property from plunder."

Yenshow, and his second in command, Whishun, were retained by the emperor as officers. They now came before him saying, that "his slaves dare not but give their best counsels. The men of Anshu are fighting to preserve their wives and families. But the city of Woogoo is under the rule of an old chief who cannot be vigorous in his measures. With a sudden attack one night and a day would be sufficient to take Woogoo. The surrounding small cities, hearing of its fall, would be deserted, and the army could march all the way to Pingyang to the roll of the drum, and Pingyang would soon fall." Some ministers, desirous to follow this advice, said, that as Jang Liang was in Bisha, he could be ordered to make a dash on and siege Woogoo,\* and to go on to Pingyang. But the emperor believed that the counsel of Wooji was best, which was to press on the siege of Anshu to its fall, then march on Jienan, and all would soon fall.

The emperor one day heard a great and unusual noise inside the city, and said to Shuji: "We have long surrounded this city, and the ascending smoke is daily less. The besieged are, doubtless, preparing for a night sally; let the army therefore be in good order to receive them." That night several hundred Gaoli were let down by ropes over the wall. They were, however, heard by the emperor, who got below the city, and summoned his men. Some scores of Coreans were slain, the rest retired back into the city.

Daodsoong set about building an artificial hill at the south-east corner of the city, and was determined to make it higher than the wall. In order to prevent the rise of this mound, which would seal the fate of the city, the garrison made daily sallies for six or seven days in succession. But in vain; for neither day nor night was there any rest in raising the great tumulus, till it became a hill which commanded the city; and the city was now in the grasp of Tang. This mound represented 500,000 unit days' labour, and was the work of sixty days, so that about 8,500 men were daily at work on it. A tower was erected over it. Foongai was

\* Note p. 157; apparently somewhere about Siwyen.

put in command; and a feeling of exultation, arising from the certainty of the fall of the stubborn city on the morrow, was general in the Chinese camp. But suddenly, several hundreds of Gaoli rushed out of the city, took possession of the fosse at the foot of the new hill, up which they scrambled, and furiously attacked and drove back Foongai, hurling him out of his tower. The hill was theirs, and they could again breathe freely. The enraged emperor had Foongai slain, and ordered the hill to be attacked. But three days successive fighting left the Gaoli in possession of the hill, for they determined bravely to keep what they had so pluckily won. Daodsoong presented himself before the emperor, confessing his crime, in that his subordinate was defeated, and praying for punishment. The emperor said: "You have erred greatly, but I believe Woo, Emperor of Han, was not so wise in slaying Wang Kwei as Tsin in pardoning Mung Ming, who recovered his lost reputation. Nor have I forgotten your bravery in taking Liaotung and Gaimow. You are pardoned; but our further stay here is useless, as the garrison will not come out." Thus the crisis which threatened its destruction, saved Anshu. The season had been very dry on the east of the Liao. Water, grass, and provender for the horses became very scarce, and now that frost had come, the emperor determined to raise the siege. When he was getting ready to depart, the commandant of the city came upon the wall, and made his obeisance before the emperor, who so admired his bravery, that he gave him a hundred pieces of waterproof silk. And he deserved it.

Li Shuji and Daodsoong brought up the rear with 40,000 men. After crossing the Liao, eighty-six days after the defeat of Yenshow, they came up to Liaodsai, which they again found impassable mud. 10,000 men were sent on ahead, with bundles of straw to form a bridge over the mud; the bridge beams were formed of the army carts, and the emperor set an example of diligence. On the 11th day from Liaotung city, they got to Poogow, and crossed Botso river, both within Liaodsai.\* Here

\* Probably the low land between Liao and Kingchow; Botso would then be Daliang ho. There was a Bochow city not far from Kingchow.



they were overtaken by a great wind, which drove upon them a terrific snow storm, and great numbers perished of cold. The result of the vanity of Yenshow prevented the further evils of a rear attack by the way, for the Coreans dared not meet the emperor in the field.

The emperor deplored the unfinished nature of the campaign, and could not regard it as a worthy task, that the ten cities of Hüentoo, Whangshan, Gaimow, Momi, Liaotung, Baiyen, Bisha, Maigoo, Yinshan and Howwhang had fallen into his hands, and that 70,000 Liaotung, Gaoli, and Yen people were removed captives into Chinese soil,—while his main object, the humiliation of Gaisoowun, was unsecured. This should have proved, together with the obstinate defence met with everywhere, that the Corean people did not hate Gaisoowun, as the emperor either believed or professed to believe. The estimated Gaoli loss at the three great battles of Sinchung, Jienan, and Joobi, was 40,000 soldiers and 2,000 officers. The bones of those Chinese soldiers who had died in Liaotung were brought into Chinese soil, buried south-east of Liwchung just outside the city, and sacrificed to, while the emperor himself made great lamentation over them. This so pleased the parents, that they said, "Why grieve over the loss of our sons since the Son of Heaven laments them so bitterly?" The emperor said to Yingwei that he must have young generals next time; and that he was delighted, not at the reconquest of Liaotung, but because he had found out true nobility.

There were over 14,000 Gaoli collected in Yowchow, to be distributed as prizes among the soldiers, and separated,—father from son, husband from wife. While the army was still on its homeward march, the emperor redeemed those captives, paying a certain sum to his soldiers in exchange, and permitting the captives to live as Chinese subjects. The noise of their grateful shoutings ceased not for three days. This was while he was yet on the way to Yowchow. On his arrival there, all these redeemed Coreans met him, made their obeisance, shouted, sang, and danced for joy in his presence. If all is fair in war, then this, the second Tang Emperor, may be favourably compared, and

sometimes contrasted, with many conquerors belonging to Christian countries.

In the autumn of 646, Gaisoowun sent in tribute, but his "words were false if fair," for his spies were never out of Chinese soil, and he never desisted from warring on Sinlo. Hence his tribute was rejected, and the emperor had frequent thoughts of repeating his Corean campaign. A very serious illness put all such thoughts away for a time. But with returned health and a new year, his thoughts again reverted to the subject, and again his ministers opposed him as strongly and directly as they dared. They hinted that a few years of good government in the country already acquired, would bring the north of the Yaloo to his feet. But next month (April) he sent an army of over 10,000 across the sea under Niw Jinda, the Taotai of "Chingchin," (supposed to be a kingdom 300 li east of the sea!); and another of 3000 under Li Shuji, now nominated Taidso and Liaotung Taotai, both to march in by Sinchung, and to practise assiduously naval warfare. They thought it best to practise on Corean soil, doubtless with the private sanction of their lord. Niw Jinda fought a hundred battles, in all of which he was victor. At Jaili chung, his army encountered a Gaoli host of 10,000, utterly routing and slaying 2,000 of them.

In order to be ready for striking a good blow, the boat carpenters of twelve Chow or Sub-Prefectures of Kiangnan (south of the Yangtsu) were impressed to build several hundred large vessels; each being 100 Chinese feet long, and half as many broad. Yet the ambassadors of the Gaoli king were received a few months after, though hostilities of that semi-piratical kind were still carried on. In May, a body of 5000 Gaoli cavalry and infantry was defeated at Yishan; and a night attack by 10,000 Gaoli on the ships was repulsed. This obstinacy of Gaoli, in prolonging the unequal struggle, angered the emperor; and he began scheming to raise an army of 300,000 to crush this tiresome little neighbour. His only obstacle was the earnest opposition of his ablest ministers, who pressed him to leave Gaoli alone to look after her own business; for that it was a great pity to



sacrifice the lives of so many innocent men for the sake of one or two guilty ones. Towards the end of this year (648), General Wan Chua returned from Gaoli. The discreditable fact that he had been driven out by defeat, is left to be guessed at from the fact that he was transported to Hiangchung; for defeats which can be glossed over are invisible in Chinese history. He had sailed with 30,000 men from Laichow the preceding year; but how many he brought back is unknown.

Sinlo was in distress at the same time; for only a few months before did she get the emperor's appointment of a new king, and now she had to report thirteen of her cities taken by Baiji. In this same year (648), with Tooküe actively hostile on the west and north-west, and Gaoli defiant in the east, Koogo, a Kitan general, submitted to Tang, and was made Doodoo of Soongmo; a prefecture created for him north of Liwchung, the original seat of Kitan.

Meantime ship building was going on without cessation, to the great distress of the carpenters, who complained of their grinding slavery; and the emperor complained in his turn, as he had done oftener than once before, of the persistency with which his ministers deprecated war on Gaoli. And this emperor, the ablest of the Tang dynasty, and its real founder, passed away with Corea unconquered, and Gaisoowun still in power. His ninth son began to reign in the summer of 649; and though he was so attached to his father that he would not leave him day nor night in his illness—tasting no food for several days, his hair becoming grey with anxiety—he at once reversed his father's policy; disbanded the Liaotung armies; and stopped the expense of "building with earth, and working in wood." Two years after, Baiji sent in ambassadors with tribute; to whom the emperor said, that they must desist from fighting with Gaoli and Sinlo, else he must march against them. And in the following year, all the three eastern kingdoms forwarded tribute.

But in 554, Gaoli sent their General Angoo at the head of native and Mogo troops against Kitan, in the north and north-west of Liaotung; the Kitan being then very steady adherents

of the empire. Soongmo Doodoo of Kitan completely overthrew Gaoli at Sinchung; showing that Gaoli had again regained possession of Liaotung peninsula. The combined army marched, therefore, eastwards; and picking up additional forces from Baiji, fell on the northern district of Sinlo, taking thirty-three cities. And Chwunchiw, the new Sinlo king, pressed hard for assistance; in response to whose call, the Doodoo of Yingchow was ordered eastwards. He crossed the Liao, and the Gaoli crossed the Gweida\* to meet him. After a desperate fight, the allies had to beat a retreat; and the Doodoo marched up to and burnt the ramparts of their city before retiring.

In the summer of 658, the emperor sent a force against Gaoli, under the Doodoo of Yingchow, and Hüe Yingwei the Langkiang. They took the city of Chufung, slaying 400 men, and capturing 100. Dow Funglow met them at the head of 30,000 Gaoli; but the Kitan king, Chung Mingjun, was at hand to repay former aid, and completely defeated the Gaoli at Gweidwanchung, slaying 2500 men.

In 660, in answer to the renewed prayer of Sinlo against the encroachments of Gaoli and Baiji, Soo Dingfung and Liw Baiying, with 100,000 men, sailed across the gulf to attack Baiji, which had hitherto been unmolested. Soo took ship at Chungshan of Shantung; and Baiji men were collected at the mouth of the Hiwngjin gang, or Lin Kiang, to receive them. They were, however, easily defeated,—leaving several thousands slain; and as the survivors fled, Soo marched direct for the capital, Hiwngjin, the modern Gwangchow. When yet 20 li off, he was again opposed by the reunited Baiji army; which was again broken up, with over a myriad slain. The survivors fled within the walls. Yitsu, the king of Baiji, with his heir, Loong, fled to the northern part of the kingdom; and his second son, left in the city, assumed the title of king. The son of Loong was also in the city; and seeing the ambition of his uncle, and fearing for his father and grandfather's lives if the Tang army

\* Supposed by Chinese authors to be south-west of Sinchung; but there are only small streams there.



was defeated, he deserted with his immediate followers; and the new king was unable to stop the people from following the example. Soo sent some men, who planted his standard on the city wall; and the king, seeing no mode of practicable defence, opened the gates.

The kingdom of Baiji was originally divided into five provinces, afterwards into thirty-seven districts (Kün), with 200 forts and 760,000 families. Over the provinces were the cities of Doofoo, Hiwngjin, Mahan, Doongming, Jinlien, and Duangan. The officials of these cities were now made *Doodoo* and *Tsushu*, under the Chinese government. The capital was also called Goomachung; and outside it were the five districts—1st, the central one, Gooshachung; 2nd, the east, Duangan chung,—the modern Unjin; 3rd, the south, Jiwjuhia chung; 4th, the west, Daohien chung; 5th, the north, Hiwngjin chung.

The emperor received the adhesion of Baiji king in the capital; and, retaining him, permitted all the others to return to their country. He promoted all the officers concerned. Hüe Yingwei—the man who was common soldier and commander in one day, and had been made magistrate of Tsingchow of Shantung—got possession of a disabled vessel, repaired it, set out as a volunteer in mourning as if doing penance for some crime, and followed the army to Baiji. This was probably because he had been overlooked in the appointments.

In the beginning of the following year, the emperor ordered the soldiers of Honan and Whi to prepare for an attack on Gaoli; but they had to divert their course to Baiji. For Daoshun, an enthusiastically patriotic Buddhist priest\* of Baiji, collected a number of men, and besieged the city of Jowliwchung, along with General Foosin. He sent an embassy to Japan, to summon thence the son of the late Baiji king, whom he appointed king. He made rapid progress in the reconquest of the country; and soon besieged, in the capital of Foochung (the modern Swishun),

\* Probably because of many such instances in Corea, Buddhism and priests are so highly respected there; though the battle-field is scarcely consistent with Buddhist notions regarding life. (See ch. XI.)

the Langkiang Liw Yinyuen, left in command of Baiji. Wundoo, who had been nominated Doodoo of Hiwngjin, died at sea, when crossing to his post; and the volunteer, Hùe Yingwei, to his great joy, was made Tsushu (Chihfu) of Daifang chow, on the borders of Baiji, to take charge of Wundoo's men, and to coalesce with Sinlo to save Yinyuen. The Sinlo men, however, preferring to have their battles fought for, rather than by themselves, made an excuse of want of provisions, and retreated. They were ordered on again by the emperor, advanced, and were thoroughly defeated by Foosin; whereupon they fled, and would not again put in an appearance.

Baiji men prepared two barricades across the mouth of the Hiwngjin; but they suffered a terrible defeat, with the loss of a myriad men in slain and drowned. Daoshun raised the siege therefore, and retired on Yintswun Chung, beside a mountain of this name, in the west of Baiji. This permitted Yingwei to join Yinyuen; while Foosin was plotting to get entire control of the army by murdering Daoshun.

Thirty-five divisions were collected in China, including the Hoo companies, and ordered off for Pingyang and Gaoli; the emperor giving out that he would himself march with them. To this step he was incited by the never-ending entreaties and remonstrances of his brave but unscrupulous empress; the afterwards famous Woo Dsaitien, the most remarkable and masculine woman in Chinese history. But before the arrival of these troops, Soo had already besieged Pingyang, after several times defeating a Gaoli force at the Bei river. Gaisoowun sent his son, Nan shung, to the Yaloo, who prevented the Chinese from crossing there. But in November, when the river was frozen over, Holi crossed with all his forces, chased the Gaoli, who would not wait to fight, and who lost 30,000 men,—Nanshung fleeing alone. But Pingyang would not fall, and Soo had to raise the siege on account of heavy snow falls; while Holi had been recalled before arriving there. Chwunchiw of Sinlo had meantime died; and his son was made Lolang Kun Wang, and king of Sinlo.

In the spring of 662, Pang Siaotai, the Taotai of Wojoo, was



utterly defeated by the Gaoli at Shua (serpent) river; himself and thirteen sons all fell in that battle. In the summer, Yinyuen and Yingwei revenged this defeat, routing the Baiji east of Hiwngjin. They took the city of Junhien chung; moving their camp thither from Hiwngjin chung, where they had preserved a precarious and narrow foothold. Yingwei said to the army, which had been sometime clamouring to return home, that "as for himself he had no private interests to seek; that he desired only to carry out the desires of his majesty, which were that Gaoli should fall; and as Baiji was the heart of Gaoli, he was eager to see Baiji at their feet before he returned home. Baiji once taken, Gaoli could not stand; and his majesty was sure to send men to fill up the ranks of his weakened army." Hence weakness was likely one main reason why the soldiers desired to re-embark. He urged, also, that "if they retreated like the Pingyang army, Gaoli would be more powerful than ever. Their departure would be the signal for a fierce attack on their ally Sinlo; while, if they remained in the heart of Baiji, they could always prevent mischief, and give Baiji occupation sufficient. Foosin had murdered the priest, and was acting in so high-handed a manner as to cause general uneasiness among the people. The king and ministers all sought their own private gain; and in such circumstances it would be folly for them to depart." This speech of Yingwei's convinced all that it was advisable to remain.

About this time King Fung and Foosin sent sarcastic messages to Yinyuen, asking when he was to return home, that they might escort him. But as, from their long inactivity, Yinyuen and his colleague were certain that Baiji believed an offensive movement on their part impossible, they now made a spring, and took the cities of Julo, Yin, Dashan, and Shajing barriers, leaving garrisons in each.

Junhien chung was naturally well protected, and difficult of access; and Foosin garrisoned it strongly. After his victory, Yingwei sent messengers to order Sinlo to send on at once its army and provisions. The combined army marched up to Junhien,



武則天

Empress Woo.





and by night piled up straw against the wall. Early next morning they entered and took the city, opening up direct communication with Sinlo ; indicating that Junhien was in the east of Baiji, and that they had swept from its west to its east side in the south. This, also, gave Yinyuen new reasons to plead for the army of 7000 men lying idly in Laichow.

The affairs of Baiji were in bad hands ; and the king and Foosin, now commander-in-chief, were mutually suspicious, and with reason ; for if Foosin could murder Daoshun the king-maker, he would not hesitate to murder the king. Foosin's own conscience could not but be uneasy, when he reflected that the man he had murdered was the king's best friend, and that it was very probable that the king would, on a favourable opportunity, avenge the murder. To bring matters to a crisis, Foosin feigned sickness, lodged in a cave, informed the king, and set men in readiness to murder the king as soon as he came to enquire after him. The king guessed Foosin's intentions ; and sent trusty servants before him, who entered the cave and murdered Foosin. The king, freed from this man, then sent messengers to both Gaoli and Japan for assistance to repel the Tang men, who were also soon after largely reinforced.

In the following year the Japanese responded to the appeal of King Fung, and sent a considerable army. The siege of Jialin city was, therefore, raised by the Chinese army, which, augmented by the arrival of Swun Yinshu, took the land route under Yinyuen ; while Yingwei embarked on the provision vessels, sailed from Hiwngjin to Bai Kiang river mouth, where he joined the overland army. As the Hiwng river is west of the present capital, formerly Baiji land, the Bai river is doubtless the Han to the east ; both rivers thus forming the boundaries of Baiji. The allied army, principally Japanese, formed at the mouth of the Bai ; but were defeated in four successive battles. The Chinese army burnt 400 Japanese ships ; the smoke of which mounted up to the very heavens (!), and the sea was crimson with blood. The consequence was, that Fung fled alone, and two sons of the Gaoli king surrendered with their men. Baiji was thus



completely quelled; and was instantly at the feet of the conqueror, with the exception of the one city of Yintswun chung, whither the priest Daoshun had retired, where he began his brilliant war career, during which, in spite of his Buddhism, he caused the sacrifice of ever so many human lives,—priests having formed a large proportion of his first army. This city was now in command of Chu Showsin.

When Soo had first conquered Baiji, all the native officers and men submitted. Soo bound the king and his sons, discharged the men to pillage their fellow countrymen, but put to death many of the best men. Among those who submitted was Heichu Changju, over 7 ft. high (!), powerful, brave, and full of strategy. He was a *Daswai* in Baiji, the equivalent of the Chinese Tsushu (Chihchow); and when he saw so many chief men slain, Changju, fearing for his own life, fled with a few followers, his nearest dependants. Returning to his native province, he collected all the scattered troops, retired to and fortified Yintswun shan with barricades. Within ten months he had 30,000 men, and completely defeated Soo, when marching to crush him. He then assumed the offensive, retook 200 forts, which Soo was unable to recover, and then returned to his native district. His example was imitated by Shaja Siangyoo in another province, and both were prepared to support Foosin. But both these warriors surrendered themselves after Yinyuen's victory at the Bai, and Yingwei sent them to take the city of Yintswun. But when they got there, they sent in grain and arms to the besieged. Yinyuen stormed when he heard of this, and declaimed against them as traitors, who had the hearts of beasts, not of men. Yingwei said that their submission had been accepted, and that he could see no reason why they should act treacherously; that they were probably acting a part to take the city, and that, at all events, they should have a fair trial. And they did take the city, Showsin fleeing into Gaoli with his family.

When Yinyuen, who had been commander, returned to the capital, the emperor was delighted at the news he had to relate, and highly complimented him on his ability and good fortune.

He, however, disclaimed all the honour, saying that this belonged entirely to Yingwei, who had planned every successful move. The emperor therefore advanced Yingwei six grades; annulled his office of Tsushu of Daifang, to make him a great minister; built a fine house for him in Changan; presented his wife and children with numerous and splendid gifts; wrote an autograph letter, stamped with the principal seal of the empire; and appointed him ruler of Baiji, and commander of all the forces therein. A eunuch said that Yingwei must have been guilty of some great crime, when he went to the wars in a white (mourning) dress; but that he deserved all his honours, having proved himself faithful to the last degree. He added that Yinyuen would never have so readily disclaimed all honour for himself, were he not himself a great minister and an able man.

The condition of Baiji after the war was deplorable; all her cities were destroyed and the houses burnt down. Yingwei ordered the innumerable bones and dead bodies to be decently buried; and then commanded the people to build their houses and till their lands. And in a short time Baiji was as flourishing as ever, and the people rejoiced over the land; while Yingwei constantly dangled Gaoli before the eyes of his soldiers, who could attack from the east, while the Liaotung Chinese could second them from the Yaloo.

The Tang soldiers were successful at the same time in their expeditions against Dashu, where glass was discovered (in Arabia?), and the east of Persia, districts of Ansi, as well as over Solomun, beyond the southern border. These various Tang armies mustered 400,000 men. But the emperor's domestic affairs were not so prosperous; for Empress Woo, long plotting in secret for supreme power, had her plans now discovered, and several of her accomplices were brought to justice. The empress was wild with indignation, and was not in the least appeased by the weak avowal that the emperor, her husband, had been urged to extreme measures by his ministers, who were now punished, while the plotters, her favourites, were set at liberty.

In 664, the affairs of Gaoli became complicated by the death



of Gaisoowun. His oldest son, Nanshung, succeeded him as Moliju—for Corean office was hereditary. But as he desired supreme power, he had designs on the lives of his two brothers, Nanshan and Nanjien. They were informed of his purpose, but did not believe it. Nanshung was in his turn told that his two brothers feared that he would destroy their power, and were therefore ready to oppose his entrance into the capital. This he believed, and sent some of his adherents into the capital to pave his way, and form a strong party. They were discovered, and the two brothers, believing now in the former report, seized these men and imprisoned them. The brothers then got the king's warrant to order Nanshung into the capital, but he dared not venture into Pingyang. The post of Moliju was therefore occupied by Nanjien, who, with an army, marched against Nanshung; but the latter fled into Baobie city, and sent into Chinese territory to plead for help. To this appeal a ready and a glad response was given, and Holi was sent eastwards, received Nanshung into his army, and employed him as guide. Other troops followed as soon as they were got ready.

In the autumn Gaoli was defeated; and Nanshung was made great Doodoo of Liaotung, Pingyang Dao and Duke of Hüentoo. Next year Liji was sent to take command of the Chinese army, and the grain and tribute of Honan were forwarded to Liaotung. The various generals consulted together that, as Sinchung was the most westerly city of Gaoli and strongly situated, it was dangerous to pass, and leave it in their rear. They resolved to attack, and Liji led the army thither, when Shufoochow, the lord of the city, opened its gates. Sixteen other cities followed the example. This shows that Gaoli had recovered at least the south-east portion of the plain of Liaotung, lost by them in 645.

Sinchung was immediately garrisoned by the Chinese, and Nanjien, marching westwards, soon afterwards was defeated by Hüe Yingwei and pursued to Ginshan\*. Here they made another stand, and, while fighting, Hüe rushed upon their flank, threw

\*This "gold mountain" is a few miles south-west from Kinchow in Liaotung peninsula, and by the sea-side. See Map II.

them into confusion, and defeated them. Nansoo, Moodi, Tsangyen, all *chow* cities, fell. But the Chinese army having run short of provisions on the banks of the Yaloo, were in terror; which seems to imply that they had received severe checks, if they had not been actually defeated. One advantage gained by a detachment over the Gaoli, restored their confidence.

In the spring of 668, Hüe defeated the Gaoli troops at Ginsan, and sent on 3,000 men against the city of Fooyü. But the various officers refused to march, because the men were insufficient. Hüe, however,—saying that victory did not depend on numbers,—led the van, with which he broke the Gaoli, taking a myriad men; whereupon Fooyü fell. The forty cities in *Chüenjoong* (between the rivers), sent officers to tender submission. A messenger was sent to Loyang to report this, who, in reply to his majesty's words, said that Gaoli must fall now, as there was so much division since Gaisoowun was gone; that the people were, besides, ill at ease because of a succession of bad harvests. The messenger replied to his majesty's questions that Hüe Yingwei was undoubtedly the chief strategist. A comet was seen at the same time in the "Five chariot" \* star; which as it was in the north-east, indicated the extinction of Gaoli. But the emperor said that in spite of the comet, he would save the people of Gaoli, though chastising their rebellious chiefs.

In the summer, Nanjien sent 50,000 men to retake Fooyü; but they were slain, captured, or scattered at Hüho river; and Liji pressed on their heels, taking Dahing, combining the various Chinese contingents into one army, which broke the Gaoli army holding the barricades on the Yaloo, pursuing them for 200 li, and taking Chwunyi chung. The Gaoli forsook their cities, which were found emptied. Holi led the van of the army to Pingyang, which was soon besieged. The king, thinking that the time had now come to cease hostilities, sent out Nanshan and 98 principal men with a white flag to surrender. Liji received them with proper ceremony.

\* The chariots of the five emperors and the five soldiers of the reigning house, north of Bi constellation and east of Taurus.



But Nanjien still held out, closed the gates, and sent repeated sorties, which were always defeated. He employed as trusty agent the Buddhist priest Sinchung, who at length sent a private messenger to Liji, expressing his willingness to act as confederate and open the gates. Liji agreed. The Chinese entered and set fire to the city, which continued burning for four months. Nanjien stabbed himself. He did not die, but was taken, and Gaoli was at last in Chinese hands.

The king was, by imperial orders, sent to the capital, where he was sacrificed at the Jaoling, *i.e.*, his ear was cut off at the tomb of the former emperor, who had fought against Corea so persistently and so futilely. Dsang, this king, was afterwards pardoned and made *Suping taichang* Bai (President of Board of Works); Nanshan was created Sudsai shaoching (lord); Sinchung the priest was made Daifoo (magistrate) of Yinching and Gwangloo; Nanshung a Great General; Nanjien was banished to Chinjoong and south of Fooyü and Fungliwling. Liji and all under him were suitably rewarded. Gaoli was divided into 5 Boo provinces, 176 cities, and 690,000 families. There were 9 Doodoo, and 42 Chow. Pingyang was made the capital, and Hüe Yingwei, with 20,000 men, was appointed governor. The Nine *Doodoo* were SINCHUNG, LIAOCHUNG, GOWOO, WEILO, SHUALI, JÜSO, YÜESI, KÜDAN, and JIENAN,—names mainly in Liaotung. Of the 42 *chow* or sub-prefectures established, 13 were in Liaotung.

The Gaoli had a saying that, after they should be in existence nine hundred years, they would be overthrown by an old man of eighty. And they had both statements fulfilled,—for nine centuries had passed since Gaoli began its independent existence; and Liji was over eighty years of age.

In 670, a Gaoli noble, Jien Mow, attempted to rebuild the kingdom, and to set up a grandson of ex-king Dsang as king. General Gao was told off to put him down, but young king Anlin had already slain Mow, and then fled to Sinlo. This did not, however, put a stop to the effort after independence; for the Gaoli suffered defeat at the hands of Gao at Anshu Chung, west

of Pingyang ; and a half year later at Baishwi Shan, in the east of Baiji, whither Sinlo, fearing its own speedy dissolution, sent an army to succour the Gaoli. It was, however, of no service, for it, too, got defeated.

In 674, Empress Woo, who had most of the imperial power before, now took full sway ; for the emperor was sometime unwell and his son was proclaimed regent. Her sway was one of "vigour and rigour." Her will was carried out over the bodies of dissenting ministers, and she assumed the most extraordinary titles. Chinese titles are never very modest, but she could find no title sufficiently suitable, if lower than heaven, god, &c. She sent Liw Yingwei to attack Sinlo, which had sinned in receiving many myriad refugees from Gaoli, who were now crossing the river, occupying and tilling the east of Baiji. The king of Sinlo was pronounced deposed, and a brother, then in the Chinese capital, proclaimed king and sent to his native land. Yingwei told more effectually, for he defeated the Sinlo army at Chijoongchung, and gave orders or permission to Mogo to go by sea to destroy the south of Sinlo. After hearing of the plunder and slaughter by Mogo, Yingwei recalled his army.

Jinhing was sent to quarter in Maishungchung of Sinlo, therefrom to harass the kingdom. The war was soon brought to an end ; for in three successive battles all the Sinlo armies were broken up, and Sinlo "confessed its crimes, and prayed forgiveness" which was granted, and the old king was re-established. Indeed Sinlo never did appear to advantage in its connection with China, for it was always getting worsted by its neighbours. The seat of government was changed to Liaotung.\*

The "emperor" sent back Dsang, the old Gaoli king, to his country with the title of "Chaosien" King,—reviving the ancient name. All the captive Coreans were collected and entrusted to him, and the capital was again removed from Liaotung to

\*The name of the capital was Andoong Doo, "Cap. tranquillising the east;" and its site is supposed to be near present Tieling. Possibly it was Angbang chung, in Manchu "Great City," 80 li south-east of Tieling, and with ruins of an ancient city, though this city is said to have been subsequent to Andoong.



Sinchung, the destination of Dsang. As Baiji was trampled under foot and waste, Baiji men were permitted to settle on the eastern borders of Gaoli. This desolation proves that Baiji had made another effort for freedom and had been defeated.

When King Dsang got to Liaotung, he either meditated revolt in hopes of Mogo support, or was believed to do so. He was therefore recalled, and banished where "he died,"—a phrase which is oftentimes a euphemism for being secretly put to death. His immediate followers were banished to various Honan cities, and the returned fugitives fled into the lands of Mogo and the Turk. Loong was afraid to return to his former kingdom, and the families of Gao and Fooyü became extinct. The Empress Woo was desirous to exterminate Sinlo in the same manner. But an aged minister rose off his dying bed, to expostulate seriously, as great danger threatened in the west. His counsels prevailed. The army was sent westwards instead of eastwards; but the effort killed the old minister. Sinlo was therefore allowed to follow its own customs and set up its own king, two of whom died within a year.

So thoroughly had the work of destruction been done in Corea, that for two generations Gaoli is left in the dark womb of unhistorical time. But she was growing, if silently. Many exiles, and children of exiles, returned to her lovely glens and green hills. During that time much has happened in and around China proper. Just then the frequent census showed China proper possessed by full eight million families, or about 50,000,000 souls or "mouths," as the Chinese characteristically phrase it. On her north, north-west, and north-east, were always hovering dark clouds of hostile armies, every now and then pouncing; now on her cities, anon on her granaries, and like harpies, ruining the fruits of her fields. The Turks, in immense numbers in the north-west and north of her border, never desisted during the whole Tang period from plundering Chinese territory. Next to them in numbers and despoiling proclivities were the Kitan, the eastern neighbours of the Turks. East of them again, north-east of Chinese soil, was Mogo, with its now

powerful kingdom of Bohai; powerful by the influx of innumerable Coreans. It was to fight this kingdom, which began early to develop its plans against Chinese rule in Liaotung, that Sinlo was summoned to marshal her army; the Chinese court sending messengers for that purpose in 733 A.D.

In 733 A.D., Sinlo did send an army across the mouth of the Tooman, from her north border, on to the southern lands of Bohai; but they were miserably defeated,—leaving the greater half on the fields of Bohai. But thenceforth, down to A.D. 827, indeed to the end of the Tang dynasty in 905, the only notice taken by Chinese history of Sinlo, is the succession of her kings. But we can infer from the weakness of her neighbours, that Sinlo was then far the most powerful of the Korean states, and that she had climbed to the summit of her greatness.

The Tang emperor's estimate of the character of Gaisoowun looks more like that of a man who has an interest to serve, than one drawn from life. Their stubborn resistance, and the many years of bitter war defending him and their land, prove that the Coreans did not hate him, as the emperor had pictured. There was no Korean who took the opportunity of Tang's presence to flee; and it was the former most determined foe of Gaisoowun, who turned back the tide of the Chinese success. If the historical novel, *Shwo Tang*, is of any service, it proves the same thing; for the great size, ugly face, terrible manner, enormous strength, and magic sword, ascribed to Gaisoowun, together with the total and terrible collapse of Corea after his death, prove first of all his abilities, but also the willingness of the people to have him at the head of affairs. For if they all, or a small minority of them, hated him so bitterly, it was an easy matter for a band to rush upon and kill him, and then flee to the Chinese from revenge.

Tnus fell, one after the other, the three kingdoms whose territories now form one Corea, after thirty-three years of bloodshed, since the Tang emperor first meditated and began to prepare for the conquest of Gaoli. Like all wars of mere conquest, the prize did not repay the cost; for though history is silent as to the number of Chinese victims sacrificed to that ambitious



movement, the number could not be less than that of the Coreans. The private misery endured over all China would not, perhaps, at any one point of time be equal to, or be so keenly felt as the sufferings caused by the Swi expeditions; but it was in the aggregate much greater. And after the lost lives and wretched existence of countless numbers of men, women, and children; after the infinite cost in money, labour, and grain; the rich fields unploughed, the happy homes burnt down, the peaceful communities extinguished, the flourishing cities razed to the ground,—what was the grand gain secured? It was only,—it was neither more nor less than every vain, shallow, and selfish so-called conqueror has attained in all ages and countries. It is the “glory” of having destroyed the liberties of another people; the “renown” of doing to others what the conqueror would not wish done to himself. This wicked war of aggression is always carried on by abilities which, properly directed, would benefit mankind. This war, so “glorious” in the eyes of the thoughtless and cruel mind, of the nature pertaining to the savage bull, or rather to the vain and conceited dunghill cock;—this war will cease only when men shall learn, as first, private individuals and then castle-building barons had to learn,—that the taking of what belongs to another individual, society, or state, is robbery, and a breach of the fundamental laws God has given to man, whether the culprit be an individual or a nation. The principle of the “greatest happiness of the greatest number,” which is a fair aim of all government, may demand that a people rise against their oppressors with arms in their hands; or may even justify armed interference by a foreign nation, when such interference is for the welfare of the people against whose rulers it is directed. For there have been, and are, people to whom victory proved a curse, and defeat would have been a blessing; for whom national independence means the baneful blight of absolutism, or the devastations of civil strife, and to whom conquest by a foreign power might secure national peace and true liberty. But all war is indefensible, when it has for its object the annexation of the territory, the destruction of the liberties, or the humiliation

of the people of any nation. China vainly boasted, and continues to boast, as many another nation, which should know better, boasts of similar conduct—that she so thoroughly defeated Corea, made its crowded vallies the homes of the tiger and the wolf, and slew so many myriads of Corean lives.

Offensive warfare rarely pays in the long run, however successful for a time. It is unnecessary to allude to the well-known *aggressive* character of the first French Republic, culminating and decaying in Napoleon. Alexander the Great reads us the same lesson. Spain lost herself in the Netherlands; and Rome fell to pieces because of its unwieldy and heterogeneous character. Every large empire which has been, has fallen because it was too aggressive; and every empire now being founded in the same manner, will assuredly fall to the ground. Chinese history is full of lessons to the same effect. But confining ourselves to Liaotung and Corea, we saw that the Swi dynasty dashed out its brains against the petty city of Liaotung, as Liaoyang was then called. And the varied success with which the Tang dynasty, emperor after emperor, fought against Corea, till it submitted or was annihilated, simply dug their own grave. Had the Tang dynasty, instead of sending so many hundreds of thousands of Chinese to leave their bones bleaching on every field and valley between the Liao river and the sea of Japan,—directed its energies to crush internal abuses, and to enforce a strict, full, impartial justice,—placing wise ministers in the cabinet, and upright judges in the courts of law, the present occupant of the Dragon Throne might be a Tang. For a great change of policy has never upset a dynasty in China; nor has the introduction of novel ideas, more enlightened or less enlightened, ever set a new man on the throne.

The fighting against Corea was as much for what the French call “glory,” as was any war of modern times. Corea could have done the Chinese no serious harm. It was then divided into three mutually hostile kingdoms. On its north was Bohai, friendly to Corea only because weak; but quite ready to be hostile by a subsidy, which China has always been able and willing to give. Gaoli



was bounded on the west by the Liao river; but supposing all Liaosi under its control, it would not have injured China proper, whose lands were then more than sufficient to sustain her own population. For south-west was Shanhaigwan or Yügwán, which the Manchoos found impossible to force, though they were very much more powerful than ever Gaoli was, and though they were fighting against the Ming dynasty at its weakest,—weaker than Tang ever was, till it ate off its own head. Of Shanhaigwan, the Emperor Kienlung, who knew, said that his ancestors could not hold an inch of Chinese soil as long as Shanhaigwan stood; and Shanhaigwan could be opened only by treachery. Hence the Manchoos had to force a passage into China, by conquering southern Mongolia, and cutting their way in by Tatung of Shansi. And even then they could only raid and harry, but could not retain a foot of soil. Besides this pass, the Coreans would have to cut their way over the bodies of the brave Kitan. And after the Kitan were annihilated, the greatly more formidable Turks had to be dealt with, ere China could be seriously touched. At the time when the Tang emperor, brave but unwise, started his expedition against Gaoli, the latter could not in the least have injured his people. He had no *casus belli*, nor was it easy to have. There might have been such, if, as at a subsequent date, Gaoli had first swallowed up Baiji, Sinlo and Bohai, in the east; and had several times defeated Kitan, in the west. It would then be ample time for China to look to the rising power, and go to war, not as the conqueror of Gaoli, but as the defender of Kitan. And it would then be sufficient to expend only as much blood and treasure as would defeat and curb Gaoli, instead of turning its lands into deserts, and its cities into dens for wolves. Instead of this defensive policy, which would compel Kitan to be on good terms with China, the Tang marched his men, and threw away his millions of money, year after year, to annihilate Gaoli. The dynasty succeeded. And what was the gain?

While he was needlessly murdering his own and Gaoli subjects in the remote country of the latter, the Annamites, the Miao,

and the Man tribes were harrying his southern frontiers; the Tibetans were plundering the west; the Kitan were helping themselves in the north, and, worst of all, the formidable Turks were devastating the north-west, both on the northern and western frontiers. Gaoli, utterly ruined, and an empty husk, was nominally annexed to China, only to make Bohai a powerful kingdom in the north, which speedily overran all Liaotung to the gulf of the same name; and to remove all pressure from the east of Kitan which could therefore, and did, throw its undivided and constantly increasing strength upon the north of China, till, as the Liao Dynasty, it occupied the northern half of China proper. Thus, while the Tang Emperor was glorifying himself on the numbers of Gaoli whom he sent to the wolves, he sent at least as many of his own subjects to a bloody grave; and he spread, for a century, miseries and calamities over all his land, such as no "glory" could ever repay. Such vain boasting of mere animal courage, cruelly aggressive, cannot but make a thinking man disgusted with the silly race of man who can apply the name of "glory" to any victories gained in any battle, save what is to preserve the lives and to uphold the liberties of the people of his country.

It may not be uninteresting to give a brief summary of the manner in which the *Shwo Tang*, or historical novel of that dynasty, treats of the conquest of Liaotung and Corea. The contents of each chapter are given in a poetical stanza, just like the modern novel of the west. The hero of the story is Hüe Yingwei, a common man, forced to marry a lovely young lady, high above him, because her guardian sees from his face that he is to rise to high rank. Unlike western love stories, he is loth and the young lady is the suitor,—or rather she informs her guardian privately how gladly she will consent. So, married they are, in spite of his bashfulness. He is, also from the warmth of the lady's desires, afterwards obliged to marry another young beauty, the daughter of a wealthy man,—whom he saved by his prowess from the band of robbers come to take her for their chief. He does not live much with either, however, for the brawny



armed, but poor man, performs many other exploits in his private journies, and at one time takes the life of an immense tiger which is pursuing a nobleman on the way to Loongmun, where Tang is gathering his forces for his Liaotung expedition. This incident introduces him to the army; he becomes a soldier, but is again and again driven from the camp, for some curious and fanciful reason. But he does at last get permission to go in the van. He has some wonderful adventures before crossing the sea from Tungchow of Shantung, whence 1,500 vessels sail for the promontory of Liaotung.

He is in the van with his eight *Hwoshow*, "Fire-head" comrades. When they come to "Tienshan," he, with three of his arrows, shot dead three of the best men in the Corean garrison, with such effect that the Pass was his, and the army had only to follow after him. For some unknown reason he clothed in mourning—a robe of white;—a statement which, we have seen, is historical. From that day at Tienshan, the Coreans are in terror, when they see the man in white. His officer now pushed on to Funghwangchung where Hwan *Gaisienmo*, the most powerful soldier in the Gaoli army, was commandant. He had heard of the fall of Tienshan and ordered his men to be on strict guard. The officer receiving his orders had just left the *yamun*. when he heard the "noise of the cannon rending the heavens"—(it is unnecessary to say there were no cannons then, nor long after). Yingwei, with his horsemen, was already at the foot of the wall. The commandant, astonished at the speed with which they had marched, goes on the wall and has speech with Yingwei. At last the bargain is struck that, if Yingwei hits with an arrow the tip of the lash of the whip the commandant holds in his hand, the city would be given up; but if he did not hit, Yingwei and his men would return to the shores of China. He holds out the whip; but as the small end waved in the wind, Yingwei objects that it is impossible to hit it when it so waved. The Corean, novel-like, agrees to turn his back and hold the whip behind him. Just as he turns with the whip over his shoulder, which steadies it, Yingwei lets fly and strikes the tip of the whip-cord. The

commandant, in terror, says, "Against this man it is impossible to war here. Better retire into the forest." And this they do, though it is sometime after, before Yingwei ascertains that the compact has been really carried out. The garrison retires to *Hanmachung*, where the brother of Gaisienmo is commandant. He is astounded at the surrender of *Funghwang chung*, and is upbraiding his brother, when a messenger comes in informing him that the dreaded man in white is outside. For twenty days does Yingwei fight there, never fighting by day, but always attacking at some time of the night; thus giving the garrison no sleeping time, for they dare not sleep by day, and constant alarm keeps them awake by night; and this watchfulness was all the more imperative that strictest orders have been given to behead the man found asleep at his post. But on the twentieth night Yingwei refrains from attack to lull their suspicions. The garrison, believing that the Chinese were worn out, and gone to take absolutely needed rest, one by one fall asleep, and when, in the early dusky morning, Yingwei with his comrades gets to the top of the wall on their scaling ladders, every soul of the garrison is as sound asleep as if already dead. There were 3000 men stationed at each side and gate of the city; but not a soul awakes till the great sword and tremendous shout of Yingwei rouses some of them; but only to flee hither and thither. The Chinese, fast clambering into the city, slay the greater half; many are killed in falling over the city, and many drowned in the moat. Such, in outline, is a part of a well told novel.

The emperor had gone from Liaoyang to visit the famous Funghwang shan, where the Funghwang, the Chinese phoenix, lived in her nest. And we are thus introduced to the scene.

#### THE FUNGHWANG'S NEST.

"Red green the flowers which fail not all the year;  
 Pure white the spots which dot the brownish deer;  
 Snow white the birds, sweet was the song they made,—  
 The pine-clad hill, the cypress covered shade.



The dragon's voice disturbs the pool so deep ;  
On the high steppes you see the tiger leap ;  
The heaven-made rocks so strange, the gems so rare,—  
Such forest scenes you fail to find elsewhere."

We may be allowed here to say, parenthetically, that the Chinese poets manifested a passionate love of nature thousands of years before Scott or Wordsworth ; and Chinese philosophers loved the grand and the beautiful ever so many centuries before Samuel Johnson made his ill-natured remark about a "huge protuberance."

When the emperor got to the mountains, he found them so vast and wide, and so covered with forests, that he appointed many separate bands of men, each to go in a fixed direction, to find out the wondrous nest. 'Tis pity those forests do not now ornament the bare flanks of those fine mountains. Chi Gwoyuen and his companion went in an eastward direction, till they got to the shoulder of the mountain, where they were much astonished to find the talented scholar, Mr Hü Maogoong. In answer to his query, they inform him why they came thither. "Who does not know," said he, "that the Funghwang builds her nest under the *Wootoong* tree ; and as those trees are before your eyes, where else would you go seek ?"—"Can it be here ?" asked Gwoyuen.—"Go and see," said Mr Hü. So they went, and searched on till they came to the last *Wootoong* tree, underneath which they saw little stones. Over those stones was a large slab, as if of crow-black gold,—an intensely jet, gleaming black, which threw out a great light like a reflecting mirror. Its face could reflect the persons of ever so many people. It was high as a man and a hand, and five feet wide. At its base were variegated stones, scarcely a foot long, tapering at both ends, thick in the middle, somewhat like an olive. Stepping back, and looking attentively about under the glossy slab, they observed a hollow cavity, and were assured they had found the Funghwang's nest. They were, therefore, to return and report their discovery to his majesty ; and Gwoyuen bent down to take up one of the tapering stones, as proof. He found it heavy

He put down both hands; he could not move it. He was astonished; and exerting all his strength, said: "A dozen hundred-weight I can move;—what is this little thing, that I cannot move it?" They had to go without; and on coming to Mr Hü, informed him of the weight of the stone. He laughed at them for a couple of fools, who should have known that if human strength could remove them, these precious gems of Funghwangshan would have been taken away long ago.

The emperor joyfully went to the spot, and asked, saying: "Mr Hü, What slab (*bei*) is that?" "That is no *bei*," he replied; "it is called the Funghwang's stone." The emperor complained that if he had seen the nest, he had failed to see the Funghwang, and had not even seen the eggs. "Those are her eggs," said Mr Hü, pointing to the variegated stones lying at the foot of the slab. "Can the Funghwang be in her nest now?" asked his majesty. "The exalted Son of Heaven," said Mr Hü, "may look at the Funghwang, and be none the worse; but if we, your servants, see the Funghwang, what is it but terrible calamities and judgment from heaven? But it is not likely that we can see her."—"I don't believe in the impossibility of seeing her," said the matter of fact Gwoyuen, "moreover we want to see her very much";—whereupon he thrust a long bamboo pole into the hole, and poked about with it recklessly. Thereupon arose the sound of many birds fluttering inside. First came out a company of *Bai niao* or mosquitoes; then some scores of *Machiao* or sparrows, and both flew eastwards. After them came four peacocks, followed by a pair of Manchurian Cranes; and in less than a quarter of an hour appeared the Funghwang. Its body was gorgeously spotted all over, the five colours complete. Its tail was of three feathers, each two feet long. It alighted on the glossy slab, faced the emperor, and nodded three bows. Mr Hü said that this was paying court to his majesty, at which he was overjoyed. He had no sooner expressed his delight, than the Funghwang spread out its wings, and sped eastwards, after its varied retinue. The emperor then said that the bird with the three tails must be the cock; there should be



a hen also inside. "If there is a hen," said the forward Gwoyuen, "we shall soon see,"—and in went the bamboo again, poked about more vigorously than before. A great noise succeeded, like the sound of crashing up of bamboo; and this made Gwoyuen withdraw his pole, when forthwith came out a great thing with a man's head on a bird's body, which perched on the glossy slab, turned towards the emperor, and uttered three wailing shrieks. None knew what this bird was, except Mr Hü; who, with a face pale as a corpse, cursed Gwoyuen for his meddlesomeness, in endeavouring to find out more after the Funghwang was gone. Then addressing the emperor, he said: "Your majesty, the judgment of heaven is already manifest; and not small in the calamity foreboded by this bird of evil omen. Its name is the Bird of Woe; and except when a terrible woe is to fall upon the empire, it is not seen." The emperor, covered all over with cold perspiration, asked what the calamity might be. To which Mr Hü replied, that Wang Mang, of the Han dynasty, had a notable flying sword; and it was to snatch this sword away in its mouth, that this bird is historically reported to have been seen. Immediately after, Mang began his rebellion, and the evil course written of him. The bird now took up one of his majesty's arrows, and fled eastwards. Mr Hü urged the emperor to retire immediately, for that evil was at hand.

Gaisoowun had early known of the prowess of Yingwei, and sent to Fooyü for assistance. An army of 500,000 men was nearing Hanmachung on the very day the emperor was on Funghwang mountains. Gaisoowun's white horse neighed as if startled, and, on looking up, the rider saw a great flight of birds following in the wake of the Funghwang. He was greatly enraged, for he believed the Funghwang then at rest in her nest, and strictest orders had been given not to molest her. His anger was because now that she was gone, Gaoli soldiers would never succeed in taking China. As the mountain was occupied by his own men, he could not understand how she had been disturbed. But in the midst of his meditations on this subject,

he suddenly heard a wailing sound over his head, and, looking up, he saw the Bird of Woe, which dropped an arrow as it passed. On picking it up he found on the arrow four characters, *Jun, gwan, tien, dsu*, indicating the emperor; and thus he was made aware that the emperor was himself on the mountain. He, therefore, urged on his army at its quickest, and surrounded the mountain. The emperor was in terrible straits. One after another of his best generals was slain by Gaisoowun. The sceptical Gwoyuen, himself a lieutenant-general, went out to single combat, but was slain. Twenty-six of his friends, of equal rank, were ashamed to leave his death unavenged, and therefore went out. Some before, some behind, some at each side,—many of them wounded; but Gaisoowun sat in their midst unhurt. He saw they were too much for him, however, and took out his three-inch flying sword. Mr Hü saw it, and called out, "Retire, retire! that's the sword which devours life!" They had the utmost confidence in Mr Hü's wisdom, and, therefore, began to retreat up the hill,—but not a man of them entered the extemporised camp alive. The greatest consternation prevailed in the imperial camp, many of whose general officers, and a large proportion of whose men, had already fallen. At last Yingwei was thought of as the sole hope, for Gaisoowun had already said that the emperor's only safety was in acknowledging the Gaoli king as his master. The son-in-law of the emperor was, therefore, commissioned to go to Hanmachung, and summon the army there to raise the siege. He had to ride and fight through seven lines of the enemy; and he carried away seven arrows in his body, two in his legs, two in his shoulders, which he did not consider painful; but one had sunk deeply into his back, where he could not reach his hand to pull it out. With some difficulty he got to the city, delivered his message, and fell down dead.

An army of 100,000 men started immediately to deliver his majesty; and under advice of Yingwei, the camp was made with six empty for every four occupied tents, to make them appear more numerous.

After a description of the armour in which the heroes were



clad, three chapters relate the encounters between the private Yingwei and the generalissimo Gaisoowun. One hundred and forty times did they engage; but the great sword of the general could not cut through the tremendous staff of Yingwei, nor could the staff shiver to pieces the sword. Gaisoowun, seeing there was no way of ending the strife on equal terms, at last produced his three-inch magical sword, which fled, and was about to alight on Yingwei's head; but he heard its hissing sound as it was coming, and with an arrow, the gift of the Nine Sable Heavenly Maidens, he shattered it to pieces. Its owner recovered it, and sent it whole again in the same direction, but accompanied by eight willow leaves out of his magical box. But its sound was again heard coming; and eight arrows, the gift of the Sable Nine, defeated the nine. As magic was out of the question, they set to again with their ordinary weapons; but they retired at night, none having got the better of the other. There are many dialogues between the two; in which the private speaks in very disrespectful language; but in which the great leader is very humble, and anxious to gain the white-robed soldier to his side. Next day, however, a female, Mei Yueying, of thirty years of age, who had spent all her life in studying magic, avenged one blow received by Gaisoowun, by throwing into the air a magical flag, out of which crept ever so many centipedes, which bit Yingwei and his eight comrades, all of whom were taken into camp as if dead. The pain made him fly madly about the hill, till he came to a spot where he was about to die; but a hermit, Li, appeared, and made him drink the decoction of a certain plant, which healed him immediately. He also gave him some to heal his comrades, together with two flags, which would counteract Mei's flag. Next day her centipedes were eaten up by gold birds out of this flag; and Yingwei put her to death, running a spear through her throat. Gaisoowun, in great wrath, rushes upon Yingwei, saying that one of them must die that day. Again and again they come to close quarters; but none gains the least advantage. But the arts of Li, who was above the combatants in the clouds, were too much for Gaisoowun, who got wounded, and retired in rage and

disgrace. He raised the siege immediately after, and retired to the Korean capital. He is described with a most hideous face.

It is unnecessary to say that the emperor never saw Funghwang chung, nor did Gaisoowun himself lead an army against him; the story being founded on the attack on Yenshow at Anshu, where Yingwei displayed such extraordinary prowess, and was so greatly rewarded. But our novel does not permit him to get rewarded; his white dress concealing some secret which compels him to keep out of preferment's way, and is more tantalising than the iron mask. He is, however, feared by the Coreans to this day, and regarded by them as the one man who conquered their country, and without whom they would have been able to defend their independence.

The account of the Funghwang is given at length, as it is the "phœnix" of China. It is usually painted with an intensely bright scarlet head and neck; the head somewhat resembling a cock's. There is infinitely more magic in this novel than divinities in Homer.





## CHAPTER VII.

### KITAN.

“ON the north bank of the Liao river, a man riding a white horse met a woman riding a grey ox, and the two became husband and wife. They had eight sons, Danlijie, Yisho, Shuhado, Nawei, Pinmo, Nahwiji, Jijie, and Siwun, each of whom in turn became King of Kitan.” This is one account of the rise of Kitan in the land of *Yelimili*, on the south of the river *Hung*, 1,100 *li* from Yüguan, the modern Linyü; the ancient *Hung* being thus identified with the modern *Sira muren*. Whatever their origin, there, on the south bank of that rapid, rocky river, they were feeding their flocks when the Moyoong family began to strike for empire, and thence they were driven away by the Moyoong, who compelled them to move westwards, to the very edge of the desert of Shamo. They recovered themselves rapidly in their exile; and, when the Moyoong Kingdom ceased to be, Gaoli, then at the height of its power, believed them worthy of a plundering expedition. To the number of over ten thousand souls, under their chief, Woogan Mohofo, they had, in 479, to flee southwards with their tents and what else of their property was moveable, to seek the protection of WEI, which was then the most northerly of the kingdoms into which China was divided; Shantung and Chihli forming its principal portion.

The Kitan were originally under the sway of the Yowyan, which was the style assumed by the chief Kokan, who had re-united the dismembered Hiwngnoo. Toomun, a chief of the rising Toogüe,\* attacked and overthrew the Yowyan Kokhan, Towling, who

\*Tuküe or Turks, who are still the same people as the Yowyan and Hiwngnoo, differing only in their leaders.



thereupon committed suicide. In 532, Towling's son, Dungjoo, and other leaders with all their men, fled for protection to the newly-erected northern Chinese kingdom of Chi (Tsi), which had assumed, in Shantung, the power lately possessed by Wei; thus quickly did dynasty succeed dynasty. Tiedai, the second son of Dungjoo, was elected Kokhan by those who remained in their own land. But he was not a year on the throne, ere the Yowyan murdered him, placing on the throne his father, who, along with one Kooti, had been shortly before escorted to his own country by Chi. Another chief, Afti, murdered Dungjoo, and Kooti was elected. The once terrible Yowyan were thus dwindling down from internal decay, when Kitan began to venture, on its own account, into the territories of Chi, though the latter power had still, in unabated vigour, the energy which every new dynasty displays in China. Kitan had probably received large accessions from the dying Yowyan, and thus believed itself able to deal a blow.

The kingdom of Chi followed the example of that of Wei in paying special attention to its northern borders,—for the north being defended against those restless nomads, the other parts of the kingdom were easily defended; while if the north fell, no power could save the kingdom. The first care of Chi, therefore, was to place powerful garrisons from Looloong\* gwan to Jwundoo gwan; Tan, commandant of Yowchow, occupying Loongwan. The Lord of Chi then combined the armies of Yichow, Tingchow, Yowchow, and Anchow,† at Pingchow, and marched westwards through Looloong pass, determined to chastise the bold Kitan plunderers. He sent 5000 picked horse by the east road to Chingshan‡ passing Bailang chung and Chang-li. Another

\* "Looloong is in Feiyoo hien of *Liaosi*,"—"200 li N. W. of Looloong hien of Pingchow." "N. 15 li from Changping hien of Yowchow is Jwundoojing; N. W. of which, 35 li, is Nakwungwan, the former Jwundoo gwan." *Tang History*; are these the Passes Kalgan and Sifungkow? Looloong is still so named.

† All the chief cities of modern Chihli.

‡ Chingshan was near Kingchow. (Map II.)

of 4000 light horse was sent still further east to cut off the Kitan retreat. These got to Yangshwai\* river.

As this Lord of Chi was able to undergo a great deal of fatigue, he rested not day nor night, but pushed on for Yüeshan ling, 1000 li† distant (from Pingchow?); and as his men ate only flesh, and drank only water, they were of giant strength and in splendid spirits. As soon as they came up with the Kitan they rushed upon and completely defeated them, taking over 100,000 captives with millions of cattle. Another force broke up the Kitan tribes on Chingshan, and Lord Chi returned to Yingchow. Hence we learn that Kitan bordered all the north-east, and most of the north, frontier of China; as well as all the western border of Liaosi. But, notwithstanding this victory, so frequent and serious were the irruptions from the north, that the Lord of Chi followed the example of the former Tsin emperor, and sent 1,800,000 men to build the great wall from Hiakow‡ of Yowchow to Hungchow || a distance of 900 li. The Kitan were soon eclipsed by the rapidly rising power of Tooküe to their west in Inner Mongolia, who made incessant and terrible raids into China; though its divisions were healed by the SWI dynasty, which, like Moses' rod, had swallowed up all the other rods.

In the larger events distracting China, it was not till 605, the Kitan again made themselves sufficiently troublesome to deserve a place in Chinese story. They then plundered the country round Yingchow of Liaosi. A Chinese general, Wei Yunchi, was ordered against them, in company with a Tooküe commander, who had 20,000 horse. Yunchi divided his army into 24 camps, each marching one li distant from the other. They marched

\* Daliang? A note says that Kitan Shiwei tribes ruled from Shwaichow, which is the "Yangshwai hien and station of Yingchow."

† This would go to show the Kitan on the Daliang river W. of Jinchow or Yingchow then, as when Anlooshan attacked them in the last days of Tang (see below).

‡ This is doubtless the Nankow pass, for a "stream springing N.W. of Jwundoo hien, and flowing S.E. of Dsooyang hien of Shanggoo (*Shangchow, Huenhsua*) flows through Hiakow." For building of the Wall, see note p. 11.

|| Hungchow is Tatung foo of Shansi.



when they heard the drum; and the sound of the horn was the signal to halt. And, as the Tooküe and Kitan were formerly on good terms, Yunchi got into the Kitan border, by ordering the Tooküe to give out that they were on the way to Liwchung to attack the Coreans.\* They therefore marched on to within 50 *li* of the Kitan camp, before the latter were aware of their real intentions. With a dash forward they took 40,000 men and women prisoners, the former of whom were slain, the latter equally divided, with the seized cattle, between the Chinese and the Tooküe camps. The emperor was greatly rejoiced; and Yunchi was promoted; for the Kitan had received so serious a blow, that their harrying raids were prevented for a considerable time.

In 608, the Swi emperor sent 200,000 men to build the great wall from Yügoo † eastwards. Just then, when the Swi had attained the acme of its power, not satisfied with having a splendid empire, which could be defended with ease against all comers, the emperor began to lay his plans for the conquest of Gaoli, which could have done him no harm as a foe; and infinitely small would be the gain of a thorough conquest. He set the example, which lost his dynasty the throne, China millions of lives, and led into wars which cost millions more in the next reign. ‡

We have seen the rapid and great growth of the Kitan since the Wei period. Coming to A.D. 648, we find that the Kitan acknowledged the supremacy of the Chinese court. From the previous weakness of China, they had found it hitherto more profitable to make ceaseless raids into Chinese soil. The Tang emperor formed their eastern portion into the prefectural department of *Soongmo*, with nine sub-prefectures. Their chief was named *Doodoo* or governor. This *Soongmo* was north of, and not far from, Liwchung. The west Kitan were formed into

\* This shows the extreme western limit of Gaoli rule, for Liwchung was immediately N. of Yingchow or Kingchow. (Map II.)

† "A gully west of Yülin." This wall would extend to Shanhaigwan.

‡ See chapters V. and VI.

the prefecture of *Yolofoo*, with five sub-prefectures,—their chief also being nominated governor. All those magistrates, who presided over the eastern half of what is now called Inner Mongolia, were placed under the care of the Yowchow governor. In the winter of 654, the governor of Soongmo routed a combined Gaoli and Mogo army at Sinchung of Liaotung, which was on its way to harry his lands.

After the Tang dynasty had exhausted itself in crushing Gaoli to the ground, the Kitan gave evidence of a desire for a course of independent action, which boded no good to the north of China. The Tang-emperor was compelled, in 714, to order the governor of Yingchow to march. But the watchman slept; and before he got to his post at Yingchow, the Kitan pounced upon and defeated him, driving him westwards to the city of Yüyang; as the modern Pingku, 150 *li* north of Peking, was called. Both Yingchow and Liwchung fell into the hands of Kitan, who, having "drawn blood," saw greater things before them.

Just then Buddhism, introduced some time before from India through Tibet into China, where it took centuries to make itself felt, received an extraordinary impetus. A universal craze spread among high and low to become the inmates of devotional and chanting monasteries. Generals forsook their armies, ministers their portfolios, members of the imperial family their palaces, and merchants their business and their families, to build or dwell in monasteries, away from the clash of arms, the cares of state, or the din and bustle of life. So general did the contagion become, that memorial after memorial came pouring in upon the emperor, who felt compelled to take action, and to send out orders which recalled 12,000 vowed monks to their duties, and prevented the building of additional monasteries. No European monarch acted so during the monkish crazes.

Mogo,\* in the far east, was, it was reported to the emperor, as eager as ever to lean on the arm of the Tang, for they were more than ever exposed to the fiery visits of the Tooküe chief Mocho; but now that Yingchow was fallen, they had no place

\* The then name taken by the ancient Sooshun. (Map II.)



to look to for aid, and even their visits to the court were rendered impossible. The ministers who had vainly protested against the former expedition against the Kitan, remained silent now; and the emperor resolved to make an effort to recover the remote city of Yingchow, and open up the communications with Liaotung and the Mogo country. The officials who had fled from Yingchow were, of course, warm in their approval of a fresh expedition which might recover them their post.

The army, which was to take Yingchow from the Kitan, was placed under the command of Hüe Na, and 60,000 men marched on to Tanchow\* in June. The sub-prefect of Yingchow protested against marching them in the heat, when the soldiers had necessarily to carry so much provisions, and for so great a distance. Hüe, however, retorted that now,—with good grass, plenty of it, sheep and cows grazing fat with their young by the way as they went,—was just the time to march; and as to grain, the Kitan had plenty, and would have to disgorge. They therefore marched on, and came upon the river Lan, in Chihli. They got among the mountains, north-east of the Lan, and were advancing cautiously on the southern border of the enemy, when the Kitan made a rapid move, and sent a force on flank and rear of the camp, attacking it just as a third force came against it on the run from the hill above. The Tang men were completely defeated, four-fifths perishing. The commander fought his way through the force on his rear, and escaped with a few men. He was hooted on the road as he fled, and called an “old wife.” The commander threw all the blame upon the generals under him; one of whom had retired with his men, before he had been able to strike a blow, when he heard of the catastrophe in front of him, and of the flight of the commander. Him, with six other generals and one Hoo† general, the commander put to death in

\* The modern Kaichow of Chihli.

† The term *Hoo* embraced many barbarians, over a wide extent of country. It is difficult to distinguish it and the other Chinese terms for barbarians, from each other. The distinction seems based on locality rather than on etymology. The Kitan were Hoo: so were the *Si* or *Koomosi*, and so were also tribes in the north-west of China. (See An Looshan.)

Yowchow. He himself was spared by the emperor, but stripped of all his titles; the only responsible officer found blameless being the sub-prefect, who recommended delay. Hüe Na immediately after redeemed his character by defeating the Toofan, as the inhabitants of the modern Tibet were then called.

The Kitan were now established beyond dispute in their new territories, including the best of Liaosi, as the Tang could not afford to make a third attempt at ousting them, for the dynasty had already passed its meridian. Communications were therefore opened, which resulted in the appearance of Li Shuho, chief of Soongmo Kitan, at the Imperial Chinese Court, to be invested with the vassal kingship of his former territories and recent conquests. He was created a *Künun Wang* and *Doodoo* of Soongmo, to rule over the eight\* clans formerly under his sway, now converted into so many sub-prefectures; their eight chiefs being nominated tsushus or sub-prefects. Li Dafoo of (west) Kitan was also invested with the vassal kingship, and created a *Künwang* and *Doodoo*. But before Shuho was king a year, he left his new dignity to Sogoo, his younger brother; and the young great grand-daughter of the second Tang emperor, given him in marriage, became a widow.

As the Tooküe had for many years been the scourge of the north and north-west of China, they being conterminous with the Kitan, Wang Jwun, the commander in the northern districts of China, promised to attempt to crush them by a combined attack by the Basimi from the north and the Kitan from the east, threatening to drown the Yajang Pijia, Emperor or Kokhan of the Tooküe, in the Jilo river. Pijia was in great fear when he heard of the combination; but an old counsellor said that there was no reason for fear, for that Basimi† was in the northern regions far

\*These eight were supposed to be the representatives of the "eight sons" mentioned at the beginning of this chapter; though the legend of the eight sons is more likely to have arisen from this division of the kingdom into eight clans or departments.

†Basimi is therefore the original Mongols, or immediately to their east about Hingan ling. It is difficult to decide between the two; though if they were from



removed from Kitan; that the Chinese general Jang Jaijun was on bad terms with the Chinese commander, and would put every obstacle in the way of a quick march; and that as Basimi was light armed and greedy of spoil, it would be in the field long before its allies and would be easily defeated, after which the Chinese would not dare advance. And it turned out as he foretold. Basimi marched south-wards to find neither Kitan nor Chinese in the field; and as they were thus alone against the warriors of Tooküe, they retreated in fear. They were 1000 *li* from home; but Pijia, though eager to attack at once, listened to the same counsellor, who advised to harass them in the rear, and to attack only when they were within two days of home, when they would be weary with their marchings, eager to gain their home, and therefore not ready to fight so desperately as when every individual life depended on success. When they were within 200 *li* of their city of *Yenting*, general Dun, who had given the above advice, set off by forced marches and a circuitous route. He got to *Yenting* before the Basimi men, and destroyed it. The main body of the Tooküe fell upon the rear of the retiring foe, completely routing and almost annihilating the wearied troops, the survivors fleeing towards their city to find it already in the hands of the enemy.

Kitan had internal affairs to settle just then; for one of the chiefs, Kotoogan, had won the hearts of all the people by his bravery. King Sogoo was both jealous and afraid of him, and therefore aimed at his destruction. Kotoogan got timely warning, collected some troops, marched against and defeated his king, who fled to Yingchow, to which the nominal, but remote, Doodoo of Yingchow sent a force of 500 Chinese to aid him. This force was waylaid, entirely destroyed, and its leader taken alive by

Karka, the real Mongol land, they would have to cross Shamo, which is not mentioned; and again if they lived east of Gobi, why did they not communicate with Kitan on the way? Their way back was a *weary* one; and it is not impossible that the Great Desert may have been the cause of the weariness. Probability would therefore place Basimi to the north of Gobi, and not far from Hingan ling, for the "Turks" occupied all Inner Mongolia not under Kitan; and that land became the birth-place of the formidable Genghis.

Kotoogan; and Yingchow was in the greatest terror. The Doodoo retired with his own army to Yügwán.\*

Kotoogan therefore placed Toogan, a nephew of Sogoo, on the throne, at the same time sending messengers to the Chinese Court to acknowledge his crimes, which the emperor graciously forgave,—like the popes of western lands,—because he could not help himself. Toogan was nominated Soongmo Doodoo; and Loosoo, brother of Dafoo, was made Yolo Doodoo. This was in 719, and six years after, this eastern king-maker and his king were again at daggers drawn. The king escorted the princess † back to China, and dared not himself return to his native kingdom. He was nominated Liaoyang Wang, and sent thither to look after the country. But Kotoogan had meantime enthroned Shaogoo of the regal family. Next month (Feb. 726) the emperor invested Shaogoo with the vassal kingship of Gwanghwa Wang, giving him the princess, his own grand-daughter, in marriage. Another princess was given at the same time to Loosoo of the west Kitan.

Kotoogan had been sent as the bearer of tribute in the days of Sogoo, and his manner led several of the Chinese ministers to infer future trouble from Kitan. His reception seems not to have satisfied him; for when, in 720, the second king of his own creation ordered him on the same errand, he refused to go; and on the king persisting, Kotoogan killed him and fled to the Tooküe, carrying with him to the last the affections of the people. As the Tooküe or Turks were the neighbours of west Kitan, Loosoo was now thrown into a state of terror, and fled with the two princesses to the Chinese Court. Kotoogan did not remain long inactive among the Turks, but descended into China with a plundering Kitan horde, and defeated a Chinese army at Kinloo shan. The commandant of Yowchow was therefore ordered to march against and take him at all costs,

\* This Yügwán, is the very defensible pass at Shanhaigwan, just west of which is the city of Lin Yü, almost certainly a reminiscence of the Yü Pass of Tang.

† Apparently the widow of the first king.



and large armies were ordered to be mustered and sent from east and north of the Whang river to exterminate the regicide. But the first army was insufficient, and another was marched two years after. As soon as the van appeared, the west Kitan retreated, "not," as one Chinese officer said, "from fear, but to entice the van after them." This officer counselled caution; but the commander thought he knew better, and marched on. He at length came upon them at Baishan, a short distance north of the modern Kaiyuen in Liaotung; and though his main army was thoroughly defeated, with a band which he had kept in order, he fiercely attacked their right, and stopped them in their victorious career. A short time thereafter he gained a complete victory over the Kitan, Kotoogan fleeing with only a few men; and 5000 Kitan tents submitted to the conqueror. The Chinese then returned home.

The Kitan again gathered their forces, against which the Taotai of Yowchow\* marched, but his army was broken up, and he lost over 6000 of his men. The result of that battle was that the Kitan marched up to Yügwan. Thenceforward Kotoogan became the terror and scourge of the border, defeating all the armies sent against him. At length Jang Showgwei, the *Jidooshu*, or commandant of Yowchow, was pitted against and defeated him, in several engagements, pressing him so hard that he pretended to be willing to surrender. Showgwei sent the officer Wang Whi to receive his allegiance, but the messenger found that the *Yajang* had no intention of surrendering. Instead of yielding himself prisoner, he moved his army towards the north-west in the direction of Tooküe, from whom he prayed for assistance, designing to put Whi to death; but the latter was aware of the treachery.

Dividing the command of the army, both cavalry and infantry,

\* It will have been observed that the official in charge of any District or Prefecture on the border, is bound to exert his utmost endeavours to defeat any hostile demonstrations from beyond his part of the border. He must appeal for assistance less or more, from the interior of China, only when he is called upon to face overwhelming odds.

with Kotoogan was the *Yagwan* Li Gwoja; and the two were not on good terms. Him, Whi employed to serve his purposes, and Gwoja went by night with a trusty band of men, killed his king and the king-maker Kotoogan, with their chief supporters, and, with the remaining troops, submitted to the Chinese. Showgwei marched out to Tsumungchow at the head of all his army to meet and welcome him. The heads of the king and of Kotoogan were exposed on the south wall of Tientsin. Pijia, the Turkish Kokhan, was poisoned at the same time by one of his ministers, but he did not die before he put to death the minister and his clique.

Gwoja was invested King and Doodoo of Soongmo for his noble deeds,—for the secret dagger is usually as honourable as the sun-light sword, in the politics of China. He did not long enjoy his blood-got crown, for he was slain, in that same year, with all his sons, save one who fled to Andoong, the Tang Capital of Liaotung. Niefung, the chief who murdered him, sent a messenger and a memorial to the Chinese court, setting forth the heinous crimes which had brought deserved death on Gwoja; and he received in reply, the title of Soongmo Doodoo, and the pardon of his crime, though he was reprimanded for it, and told that it was an evil example which might endanger his own life. Niefung was apparently able to defend what he had thus obtained, for he drove back an army of Tooküe which had come to plunder his land.

From the conduct of Kotoogan and its long success, together with his subsequent fate, we can learn both the lawlessness then prevailing among the ancestors of the Mongols, and the utter weakness which had crept over the once powerful Tang dynasty, which felt unable to challenge, or attempt to correct, the many reckless changes among its vassal kingdoms.

The morality and gallantry of war may be estimated from the following incident. Shu Soogan, a Chinese official, was censured by his superior official for some fault. Whether from fear or pride he fled to Kitan, where he was about to be put to death, when the happy thought occurred to him, that he should declare



himself a superior minister of Tang come to make terms of peace. His captor was, therefore, afraid of imperial vengeance if he put this man to death, and saved him alive. To carry out his deceit, the fugitive would not bow to the king when presented; and though the king was very angry, he treated him with the respect due to a minister from the Tang court. When he was about to depart, the king ordered an escort of a hundred men for him; but instead of being thankful, he said that this was wholly inadequate to manifest respect to the honour of the Chinese court; and though the escort men were good men,—when they appeared at court, the emperor would not have a high estimate of the ability of Kitan. The king, therefore, ordered three hundred of his best men to attend on Soogan.

When they were near the Chinese city of Pingloo, Soogan sent a messenger with a letter before him, stating that three hundred of the best men of Kitan were coming, nominally on terms of amity, but in reality to take Pingloo by surprise. Pingloo should, therefore, be ready to receive them. Acting on this information, an army was marshalled as if to honour the escort; which, when it came up, was butchered to the last man, the commander alone being kept a prisoner and sent to Yowchow. Showgwei, commandant of Pingloo, considered the act of Soogan as one of extraordinary merit, and recommended him to the emperor, who agreed as to the merit of the perfidious liar, praised him and gave him the name of "Brilliant-thought," with more substantial rewards.

It is impossible here to overlook the remarkable career of a man saved from execution to shake all China to its centre. An Looshan was a native of Yingchow. When his father died, his mother returned to her original home with her boy, among the Tooküe in Anting, which was sometime after broken up, and she, again with her boy, fled back into China. This boy, and Soogan the "Brilliant-thought," were born on the same day, and the two were bosom friends.

Looshan was a man of undoubted parts, for he appears first on the scene as an officer, sent by Showgwei, at the head of a force

against Kitan. He was defeated, and sentenced to beheading. When sentence was about to be carried out, he turned round and said, "Does not General Showgwei desire the extinction of Kitan? Why then kill Looshan?" The general pitied his young officer, respited and sent him to the capital for examination. The old minister, Jiw Lingpi, strenuously objected to any annulling or abatement of the original sentence, pleading ancient history to prove such clemency dangerous. The emperor, seeing that Looshan was a young man of parts, pitied and reprieved him. Jiw, however, persisted in his opposition, avowing that in the man's appearance there was indicated danger for the future, if he were permitted to live. The emperor quietly rebuked the old man for his suspicions, and pardoned Looshan. The latter returned to Yowchow, and with a few horsemen seized, one day, some dozens of Kitan, and drove them into camp; and Showgwei loved him as his own son.

His dashing bravery got Looshan the command in Pingloo, whence every one brought excellent reports of his conduct,—so much so that he was elevated to the rank of Yingchow Doodoo to look after the four *foo* of Bohai, Heishwi, and the two Kitan, whose raids into Chinese soil had given great trouble,—a trouble which was yearly increasing with their gathering power. And as Looshan was successful in parrying those attacks, the emperor raised him to be Jidooshu. In 742 he had under him 37,500 men, stationed chiefly at Yingchow and Pingchow,\* to guard against Shiwei in the north, and Mogo in the east. There were, besides, 30,000 men camped in Yowchow, and 61,400 in the chows of Ki, Wei, Tan, Yi, Hung, Ting, Mo,† and Tsang, all in Chihli. These 128,900 men were set to guard against Kitan and Tooküe. There were then in camp on the frontiers of China, and in more or less severe active service, 490,000 men, with over 80,000 horses. Thirty years before, the war expenditure was

\* Linyu in N.E of Chihli (Chinese Imp. Directory).

† Paoting foo.



two million taels,\* in this year ten and a quarter, besides four million Chinese pecks of grain. This is the most conclusive proof we can have of the power to which the Kitan had grown on the north of China.

Next year Looshan went to pay his new-year's respects to the emperor, who received him with great favour. He reported that there had been a terrible visitation of locusts in Yingchow; that he had burned incense and prayed to heaven, saying, "If I am not upright in business and faithful to my prince let the locusts eat all up; if I am faithful and upright let the spirits above and those of the earth cause the locusts to scatter;"—and immediately there came an immense flock of birds from the north, which completely ate up all the locusts. He prayed that this memorial might be put on record, and the emperor agreed, and raised him, besides, to a higher rank.

In order to distinguish himself, Looshan, in 745, scoured the country of the west Kitan; and they retaliated by murdering their queen, the Chinese princess, as the signal of revolt. Looshan defeated them and pursued them to Beiping District.† Four years after, at a time when there was no hostile action going on, he invited the principal Kitan men to a feast, at which he provided a great deal of spirits. Chinese were themselves then much addicted to drunkenness, and the Kitan were not likely to be more moderate drinkers than the present Mongols, who get drunk on every possible opportunity. They drank themselves drunk at this feast, when he had them all murdered, sending the head of their chief officer to the emperor. He got leave to visit the capital soon thereafter, and took with

\* The Chinese tael or ounce is equal to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  oz. English, and the tael of silver is, in round numbers, equal to 6/ stg., though then it was at least double that value; for gold was then cheaper than now; and silver was so scarce that we believe the weight here to be of gold and not of silver. At that time silver was not used, except in extremely rare instances. There was copper cash and gold ingots, but no silver currency. Hence silver, which is the only currency now, is often called so many ounces of "gold," or at times "white gold."

† Tsunhwa, north of Peking. Then, and long after, the country immediately north of Peking was in nomad hands, spite of the great wall.

him 8000 Kitan captives. He was highly rewarded; among other gifts receiving a gold sword. He also was given the title of "Gwojoong," the "Most Faithful of the empire."

Two years thereafter he marched at the head of 60,000 troops through Yowchow, Pingchow and Hodoong,\* against Kitan; his van consisting of 2000 west Kitan cavalry as guides. After passing 1000 li beyond Pingloo, he came up to Toohojun† river, where heavy rains were falling; and pressing on day and night for other 300 li, he got up with the Yajang‡ of Kitan, and Kitan was thrown into a state of terror. The uninterrupted torrents of rain had, however, rendered useless the bows and catapults of his army, and his lieutenant, Ho Sudua, urged him to rest his men, many of whom were faint and weary; and declared that in three days the Kitan, from sheer fear, because of the size of the army, would surrender themselves. Looshan was very angry, and was about to order Ho's death; but the latter said that *if* they were to fight, he would prove himself not afraid to die, by fighting in front of his commander. Thus he did fight, and soon fell. He was a large bodied and a stout man like Looshan, whom he also resembled in feature. When the Kitan saw him fall, they fought with redoubled vigour and in great spirits, believing they had slain Looshan.

Just at that critical moment Looshan was repaid for his many mean treacheries, by the desertion, bodily, of the west Kitan men, who fought by the side of their own people. The Chinese were all but annihilated. Looshan had his saddle pierced through by an arrow. He threw away his official hat, so that he might not be recognised, and losing his shoes, he galloped off the field with 20 men and fled into Shichow. He blamed Gosie, a Tookië, who had deserted to the Chinese, for the defeat,—

\* East of River is north-east of Shansi, whose troops went to swell his army.

† Moukden is over 1500 li from Peking;—the Toohoojun is therefore the Daliang flowing from Mongolia, the Liao being too far north. And the Daliang must have flowed right through Kitan land. I find, too, there was a Tooho at Kingchow.

‡ Yajang, from its use, seems to indicate a chief commander or general. (See Kotoogan's death.)



making the commander of the Hodoong contingent share the blame with him. Both these he beheaded. The commander of the Pingloo contingent, fearing a similar fate, fled to the mountain gullies, where he remained 20 days, during which time 700 of the run-away soldiers gathered about him.

Looshan's old friend, Brilliant-Thought, was the magistrate of Pingloo, and sent on 3000 picked men to take Looshan off. When he got to Pingloo, he wept that he had not a single soldier of his own; but when the magistrate went to call upon him, he rose off his seat, took Brilliant-Thought by the hand saying, "Why should I grieve now that I have found you?" But Brilliant-Thought was not easily deceived; for on going out he said, "Had I been with him in the field, my head would have followed Gosie's." As Shichow was besieged by the victorious Kitan, Brilliant-Thought was ordered against, and compelled them to raise the siege.

To wipe out his disgrace, Looshan collected an army of 260,000 men to march against Kitan, and prayed the emperor to order Aboosu, a chief of the Tooküe, who had joined the Court cause, and was by the emperor made a Wang, to second him with several myriads of horse. He was a man of considerable ability, for which reason Looshan desired, on a former occasion, to have him as a subordinate; but, for the same reason, Aboosu would not have a subordinate position. Knowing that Looshan heartily hated him for previously refusing to become a subordinate, he was afraid of foul play if once he were entirely in his power. He therefore, through one of the ministers, none of whom was very friendly towards Looshan, prayed the emperor to permit him to remain at court; but fearing his prayer would not be granted, he fled to the Gobi desert with all his followers. Looshan was therefore compelled to camp his men, and could not march against the Kitan,—partly perhaps from lack of proper lieutenants, partly doubtless for fear that Aboosu would descend upon the unprotected north. And Aboosu justified the latter supposition by scouring the country round about Tatung of Shansi.

There seems to have been more Tooküe generals and other officers in the Chinese army then, than Gothic officers in the pay of decrepit Rome. There were two, Gosoo Han and Ansu Swun, on bad terms with Looshan. The emperor did what he could to reconcile them, and they met for the purpose of settling their quarrels. Looshan, who as the greatest, had the greatest need of friends, made the first advances, saying to Han, "My father was a Hoo, my mother a Tooküe; my grandfather was a Tooküe, my grandmother a Hoo; why is it that you and I cannot be friends?" Han replied that the ancients had a saying:—"The fox, however far away, always dies looking towards his den." If you claim kinship with me, it is impossible for me to refuse being with all my heart your friend." Looshan interpreted this to mean that Han was taunting him with being, after all, a barbarian; and in the most violent passion began to abuse Han with the most opprobrious epithets. Han was about to reply in a similar strain, but a bystander winked at him to hold his peace, and he pretended to be drunk. They parted, but their enmity was deeper than ever. Han was afterwards sent against Toofan, where he was very successful. Looshan repeatedly defeated the Kitan, and was made commandant of Fanyang,\* which city, in 759, was changed to the name of Yenking, a name which the present Peking bore often and long.

The officer Wang Joongsu was bravely pushing to the front rank of Chinese warriors; and his daily increasing fame roused the jealousy of Li Lin, a superior officer, who, fearing the eclipse of his own reputation, made Looshan his friend to pull down Joongsu, if at all possible. Looshan told Joongsu that the city of Hiwngwoo was attacked by rebels, and asked the loan of his men to drive off the enemy; his object being to amalgamate those men with his own army. Before returning an answer, Joongsu went in to make his obeisance to the emperor; after which he went out to consult with Looshan, who had meantime disappeared. He went in again to the emperor, and stated his

\* One authority makes Fanyang to be the modern Chochoy; but the Imp. Ch. Directory is more likely to be correct in locating it in Tinghing of Paoting.



conviction that Looshan was preparing for rebellion. Li Lin was with the emperor when this bold speech was uttered, and became extremely angry at the imputation on his friend's honour.

Joongsu was general of north of the (Yellow) river, and with the aid of several excellent subordinate officers, among them at least one Kitan, he kept Toofan at bay,—on one occasion annihilating a raiding Toofan army, by a simultaneous front and rear attack. The capital of the Toofan was their only strong city. The Chinese general did not march against it, inasmuch as the capture of so strong a city would cost him more men than the conquest was worth. His caution was made the ground of a charge against him of neglect of duty, and the emperor ordered him to attack the city. He saw the emperor in person, and said that he had not attacked the place, because its capture was of no practical utility, while it would cost many lives. Another officer undertook to take the city; and Joongsu refused to act as second in command, because the assault would throw away so many good lives for nothing. Though supported by one or two able ministers, his enemies gained the day, and he was sent to fill a secondary post in a distant part of the empire. Another brave officer, originally a Corean, was similarly served.

These instances will serve to show the relationship between these soldiers of fortune and the emperor in the eighth century. Indeed, the same state of matters existed a century earlier; for from the beginning of the Tang dynasty, the Chinese common soldier, without distinction of parentage, rank, race, or education, carried a "marshal's baton in his knapsack."

Success and applause had long intoxicated Looshan. His conduct had, for years, caused uneasiness and suspicion as to his intentions, in the minds of the ministers. As early as 747, being in the presence of the emperor, who had all along treated him with uniform kindness, the imperial heir came in, and while all the ministers made their customary obeisance, Looshan failed to take any notice. His neglect was pointed out to him, when he excused himself as a man ignorant of proper etiquette. But when the emperor stated that he himself, as heir, had always

received the honours due to the emperor, Looshan at once made his obeisance, and the emperor was delighted at the docility of his favourite soldier. Looshan always seated himself above the ministers; a fact that was the more noteworthy and significant, because in China, the civil has, at all times and in all reigns, taken unquestioning precedence over the military official. Another notable feature of Looshan's conduct, was his relations to the imperial private apartments. In the harem were several concubines related in some way to Looshan, through whom he had free access to the "Forbidden" apartments; and to one of whom he stood in the relation of son,—a relationship which, like that of a pope or cardinal's "nephew," implies more than is apparent. To this "mother," if in presence of the emperor, he invariably made his obeisance before doing so to the emperor; and gave as his reason that, "we Hoo men pay our respects first to our mother, then to our father."

When, therefore, another emperor began to reign, probably the heir to whom he had found it so hard to make obeisance, Looshan found no difficulty in casting off his allegiance and setting up for himself, first as Wang, then as emperor; but his glory was short-lived, and his end a miserable one; for he was murdered for his crown by his own son. We find Brilliant-Thought occupying the high place formerly held by Looshan, and the new Tang emperor again changing his name,—this time raising him to be the "Equal-of-Heaven." In 761, when he received this name, he marched against the son of Looshan, overcame and slew him,—and then, true to himself, assumed the title taken from Looshan and his family. He marched southwards, and compelled the emperor to abandon Loyang and flee for the west, leaving Loyang the capital of Brilliant-Thought; who did not long enjoy the fruits of his rebellion, for he was murdered before the close of the year; and his son, whom he had proclaimed heir, was also put to death in Loyang with his empress-mother. Such was the strange career of those two men,—and such the lamentable results of the glorious war against Gaoli.

Just then the West Kitan, with an overwhelming force,



poured down to avenge their past losses, and swept all before them, compelling the new Jidoo of Pingloo, with his 20,000 men, to flee before them.

From the blow inflicted by Looshan, the Tang dynasty never rallied. Kitan, in the north-east, annexed mile after mile of territory. Toofan, in the west, was making incessant plundering raids into the interior. And the Tooküe, in the north-west, though not so powerful as they had been, were able to inflict heavy blows; and in 831 entered the capital, which could not oppose them, and there put men to death in the streets; the emperor daring not even to enquire into the matter. Yet as they had then no man able to occupy the throne, they found it more profitable and easy to make the Tang dynasty their Tulchan calf.

In the history of the Tang dynasty there are interesting, but not satisfactory, accounts of a rough census several times taken.

		Families.	Head.
In A.D. 723,	there were said to be—	7,861,236	... 45,431,265.
„ 739,	„ „ „	8,412,871	... 48,143,690.
„ 742,	„ „ „	8,525,763	... 49,909,800.
„ 755,	„ „ „	9,069,154	... 52,880,488.
„ 781,	„ „ „	3,085,076	... (18,000,000.)

	Soldiers.	Military Expend. in Money.	Chow and Focs.	Hiens.	Villages.
In 731	—	Tls. 2,000,000	—	—	—
742	490,000	„ 10,200,000	—	1528	16,829.
755	—	—	321	1538	16,839.
781	768,000	—	—	—	—

It is quite probable that eleven centuries ago the Chinese did not number more than fifty million head, while a very large proportion of even those were either engrafted nomads or their hybrid progeny. The family is, it may be safely assumed, just as now, a poll-tax unit. It is properly a "main-door," and inside a Chinese main-door there may be, and often is, what we would call several families; for the patriarchal great grand-father may see all his descendants, a hundred or more persons, all in his

family. Ten "families" occupied a li,—there might be more, there might be less; but the li for taxing purposes, as for military, had only and had always ten families. These ten were also, as now, called *Ding*; each ten of whom should produce a *soldier*, each li being understood, in times of dire necessity, to be able to send out a soldier.\* The average given above for every main-door is about six, which will certainly seem not too large to one acquainted with the present crowded state of China, and the conditions of its family life.

It will be observed that there is a gradual increase of the number of taxed families up to the time when Looshan became an actor on the political stage, and that with his rebellion a state of frightful collapse occurred, the number of families acknowledging the Tang dynasty—*i.e.*, the number of doors open to Tang tax-gatherers—being just one-third, in 781, of what they were 26 years before. The number of individuals, of cities, &c., is not given in 781, but the families are a guide.

The military expenditure of 742 was five times what it was 30 years before, but little more than half of that which crushed the reduced empire in 781.

In 609, when the power of the Swi had reached its zenith, the number of families was 8,900,000, of hien cities 1,255, and of Kün (Chow and foo) 190. But we infer that this included some beyond China proper, as the extent of the land was "9,300 li E. to W., and 14,815 li N. to S."—the latter term spreading from Yunnan to Shamo.

The history of the Liao dynasty states that the Kitan were the direct descendants of the Emperor Yen, who flourished nearly three thousand years before Christ. Of course no famous people, and no famous man, can proceed from the low muck of mediocrity—Darwinism to the contrary notwithstanding. But they must have long lost the art of Agriculture, on account of which their assumed great ancestor was deified; for after many generations of their people had come and gone, appeared Owlisu, a man of wonderful talent and,—rare combination!—without the

\* Cf Shung Wooji on War.



least desire for personal aggrandisement. He had but to speak, and the savage became civilised, the lawless good citizens. We may interpret this to mean that he was the first to impose fixed laws. He was called the *Soo* or Firm Ancestor; his son *Salidua*, the *Yi* or Generous Ancestor, whose son again taught the people to plow and sow, to tame and feed domestic animals. An easy inference is drawn from the fact that under him wealth began to accumulate; for patient agriculture is much more productive than would be the conquest of Constantinople. Houses and fixed abodes, with villages and cities, necessarily followed the policy of this, the *Yuen* or Original Ancestor. His son, the *Dua* or Meritorious Ancestor, was the Tubal-Cain of the Kitan, teaching them to work in iron, to cast metal, to make musical instruments, both stringed and drum; in all of which he himself took great delight. He was the father of the *Yi* Ancestor, *Abaoji*, who was contemporary with the famous *An Looshan*.

The mother of *Abaoji*, the Great Ancestor or founder of the Liao dynasty, dreamed that she embraced the sun, whence the birth of *Abaoji*. When he was being born there was an unnaturally bright light in the room, and a strange, unknown kind of fragrance floated in the air. He could walk at three months old. The light of his eyes was so powerful that none could stand his look. He fought in the east and conquered in the west, and over a myriad li was spread the terror of his name. He assumed the title of Emperor in 907. He built the capital of *Shangking* in the land of the ancient *Anping* of Han. Three years did it take in building. He occupied the throne for twenty years, dying at fifty-five years of age.

Such is the summary of a life of one of the great conquerors of mankind;—strange feature of Chinese story, that every man who is more able than his contemporaries to slay, harry, and destroy, is the specially born of heaven, which sends such prodigies to indicate the coming greatness of the new-born child! The prodigies, however, are always written after the fulfilment of their prophecy—never during the undeveloped youth of the man

who is to become "glorious" by shedding rivers of blood; and in this idea of greatness, China is only in unison with European ideas.

In the period of Gwangchi of the Tang dynasty (885-8), Chinda the Kokhan of *Hundajin*, ravaged the *Si* and *Shiwei* (or *Si Shiwei*). He then led all the tribes to Abaoji, who was elected king. Then were the eight tribes first united into one. These *Si* were originally known as Koomosi. As *Si* they had been of filthy manners; but were excellent archers, and had frequently harried the northern bounds of *Wei*. They, with the ancient Kitan, were called Eastern *Hoo*, and were both broken up by Moyoong, and had to flee for shelter to the regions between Soong and Mo. As *Mo* is Shamo, and *Soong* their own first inheritance on the *Sira muren* river, the locality is easily fixed. The *Si* were driven to seek shelter on the *Wei* border by the overwhelming forces of the plundering Gaoli.

In 926, after the consolidation into a compact kingdom of eastern Mongolia--the site of Moyoong--the Kitan began to take steps for laying an empire. They marched eastwards against Fooyü city, of Bohai, and gradually annexed all there was of Bohai west of the Hoorha river.

Abaoji, the real founder of the Kitan power, was then reigning. He appointed his eldest son Governor of East Dan, the name which he gave to the conquered Bohai; and Duagwang, the second son, was made General of Silow, the original Kitan capital. He himself lived in Fooyü city. To this city came Kwun, a messenger sent by the Chinese new emperor (p. 215) to report the decease of the late emperor. King Abaoji wept his formal grief according to etiquette; and on learning the distracted state of China, said he was grieved he could not at once march with all his men to aid the emperor, but he had too much on hand fighting Bohai on his east; for it had not yet wholly yielded. Kwun lamented the possibility that the new heir-apparent might never be crowned. But, like the Pard which has drawn a little blood, the king became less polite as conversation went on; the desire doubtless growing in his mind to bury his claws deeply in



the Chinese weakened empire. He ended by imprisoning Kwun for ten days, at the end of which he had him brought into the royal presence, paper and ink set before him, with first the desire, then the command, to have Yowchow ceded over in writing. If Kwun was weak, he was no traitor; and neither smiles nor frowns, neither promises of advantage nor threats against his life, moved him from his fixed purpose not to betray his country. He was therefore again locked up, and in a few days thereafter Abaoji died in the city of Fooyü.

Shoolü, the wife of Abaoji and mother of Tooyü, was a masculine woman of extraordinary abilities but fiercely cruel, delighting in bloodshed. When her husband was dying, she summoned all his principal officers to his bedside along with their wives, and said to the latter, "To-day I am to be a widow: it is not well that you should have husbands." Whereupon she ordered a hundred of the chief officials to be put to death, saying, "Let them follow and serve their former lord."

One military officer of the household, both an able man and a powerful, was greatly beloved by Abaoji, and was nominated to Mooyeshan ("Hill of Graves"), along with the others. He was apparently warmly objecting to the honour, for Shoolu said to him, "Your former master delighted in you, why is it you will not go?" He replied, "My late lord loved no one as he loved you, why do you not go?" She said she was most willing to go, but that her son was a child, and that most important affairs relating to the welfare of the kingdom detained her. She then turned towards her attendants, and, stretching out her right arm, ordered them to cut it off from the shoulder, and send it to be buried with her husband. The attendants fell on their knees, and implored her not to do such a thing. She at last consented to have it cut off as low as the elbow joint, and the arm was buried with her husband, to shew her affection; but the officer had saved his life, for he was liberated, and no more were slain.

Abaoji's body was buried in *Mooyeshan* 300 li from Shangking. We know that the splendid Yiwoölü mountains of Kwangning in Liaosi, just bordering Mongol land, was the burial place of some

members of the imperial house of Liao, and it is natural to look thereabouts for the burial place of the founder. Liaotung history states that when sacrificing to their founder; they always looked in the direction of Kwangning, which was south-east of Shangking. Shangking was also called Silow (west Tower), because Abaoji raised a great tower in the centre of the city. Another, called the Doonglow, he erected in Bohai land, 1,000 li to the east. The north Tower was 300 li to the north; and the south Tower as many to the south, which south Tower was on Mooyeshan.

Tooyü was the eldest son of Abaoji, and Duagwang the second. The former was nominated his successor by the father; but the mother preferred the latter, who was a most filial son, and never ate, when his mother was out of sorts, till she had first eaten. The eldest son had been nominated "Man-imperial king," by the father, and sent to rule over East Dan, as Bohai was called. Thence his mother led him and the army to Silow, where his younger brother was stationed as general. On her arrival, she sent away her eldest son to prepare her tent, and after he was gone, she addressed the chiefs, saying, that she loved both her sons extremely, and found it very difficult whom to chose for the throne. The chiefs knew well and long what her desires were, and answering accordingly, said that "The General would make the better king." She at once responded, that she could not trifle with the unanimous consent and assent of the ministers, and therefore had the second son proclaimed king. Tooyü, believing his life endangered, fled by night with a few hundred horse towards China, to go to the court of Tang. But he was overtaken, brought back, and sent, but not banished, to east Dan. The new king received from his mother the title of "Heavenly-imperial" king, "*Tienhwang Wang*," in contradistinction to the more humble one conferred on her eldest son by the deceased king. The queen dowager was the real ruler, however. She released Kwun from his captivity, and sent Asumoo along with him to report the decease of the king to the imperial court.

Lu Loongwun, the commandant of Looloong, had murdered his



younger brother, which greatly offended the Chinese emperor. To escape punishment he fled to Kitan, by whom he was placed over a considerable number of Chinese soldiers in Yingchow. He had secret overtures made to him, hinting that, as the former emperor was dead and a new one on the throne, it might be an easy matter to annul the past if he presented himself at court without delay; but that it might be more difficult after the emperor was sometime on the throne. He took the hint; and as the Chinese under him were also eager to return to their native land, they rose with him against their masters, slew the Kitan commander and his men, driving before them 100,000 people and 8000 tents and carts as captives from Yingchow. These they made a peace offering.

The Kitan had their revenge however, for in 928 they attacked and took Pingchow with its commandant, Jang Sijoong. He was much trusted by the Kitan commandant. His men, who were also preserved alive, got home-sick when there a year and half, and bitterly wept before him, praying him to find some means of returning home. He told them he could deceive and kill the commandant, and that they could easily fight their way off in the consequent confusion. He therefore provided a feast, and when the commandant was drunk, had him killed, and the body thrown into a well, into which he had previously poured a quantity of quicklime. He then marched his men against the barracks in the north of the city, the soldiers in which, being wholly unprepared for such an attack, were easily thrown into confusion and flight. He therefore made his way with his men and 20,000 people into Chinese soil, and was highly complimented and rewarded by the emperor.

The Kitan, however, did not lose any of their main posts; for they had taken Tingchow, and were then plundering Yunchow.\* And as they had so strong and firm a footing in the north of China, they interfered, and effectually, among the struggling rivals for the imperial crown. They had, however, suffered two crushing defeats when assisting Woo, one claimant, to retain Tingchow, against Choo,

\* The modern Kihien of Taiyuen.

another claimant. They had on one occasion marched to and entered Tingchow, whence they issued by night, and with a rush took Sinlo, a city built hurriedly by the Choo general. He withdrew and prepared to attack the Kitan, telling his men that "the day had come when they should repay the goodness of their sovereign." He ordered them to throw away their bows and arrows, to take their sword and dash among the foe, thus to render useless the formidable arrows of the latter. He led the way himself on his horse, and the Kitan were cut up in a frightful manner, leaving half their men on the field. A similar defeat overtook them a few months after, when the few survivors were pursued by the villagers with white staves, as they fled northwards, and scarcely a man ever returned to his home.

The survivors captured of the Kitan were sent to the "emperor" by the victorious general with the desire to have them executed. But as there were many of the *elite* of the Kitan among them, he wisely detained them to act as a check upon the Kitan, first by the hope of receiving them back again, and secondly, by the fear of revenge upon these captives for any loss by the Kitan upon the Chinese. This effectually checked them for three years, during which repeated embassies were sent to the Chinese Court to have them liberated; and a most serious and persistent effort was made in the third year of their captivity. The emperor, in deliberating with his ministers, mentioned the peace they had enjoyed ever since the capture of those men, and his fear that with their liberty would doubtless commence the same old scenes. The commandant of Kichow gave a still more potent argument for their retention; because they were now aware of the hollowness of the empire, and would not fail to muster all their forces on their return and overflow the land, when a dire repentance would come too late. A few of the less important prisoners were permitted to accompany the messengers; but as the Kitan did not get what they wanted, they repeatedly ravaged the districts of Yunchow and Junwoo. Their raids were so frequent and sudden, that Yowchow men dared not go for fuel and fodder 10 li east of the city. The grain convoys were often



taken by them, and frequently plundered at the very gates of the city. A fortified city had to be erected on Yengow,\* in order to keep open the communication with Yowchow. A fort was also built at Loochung, another at Sanho, a hundred li north-east of Yowchow. On Sanho fort all the border people leaned, and not in vain; for the commandant drove back many forays of the Kitan. Tatung also gave them such a warm reception, and its commander made such formidable preparations to resume the offensive, that the Kitan thought it best to retire to their homes. But a native of Shamo, highly esteemed by the emperor, opened the gate of Weichow † to Kitan, because he had a private feud against Shi Jingtang, generallissimo of the large army marching north. Jingtang afterwards himself founded a short lived dynasty of Tsin.

We have followed the Kitan closely enough from their dawn till we find them masters of the north of the present Chihli, and of all Inner Mongolia; of Liaotung which they wrenched out of the hands of Bohai; and of the province of Kirin or Ninguta west of the Hoorha, then distinguished from those districts east of the Hoorha, as the civilized Nüjun. We need not detail the assumption of imperial state and power by Kitan under the title of the Liao or "Iron" dynasty; its harshness to the emperor of Tsin which it overthrew, its bargainings and profits among the contending aspirants to empire, and its subsequent incessant wars with the Sung dynasty, in defiance of which it established a powerful kingdom north of the Yellow river; a kingdom which extended northwards to the Songari and the Hoorha rivers.

Abaoji built, as we have seen, Shangking or Silow on the south of the *Sira muren*. His second son and successor began to reign in 927. He seems to have made Silow or Shangking his capital; for, when three years after, he built the capital which stood where Liaoyang now stands, he called it the East City, *Doongping* Kün. It was afterwards named Nanking, or South Capital, when he must have been living in Fooyü, which is north of it. But the name was again and finally changed to Doongking or

\* The modern Lianghiang hien.

† The modern Linchiw of Chihli.

East Capital, when Shangking was again made the chief residence. The walls of this East Capital, or Liaoyang, were thirty feet high and thirty li in circumference. The palaces were in the north-east of the city, and the walls enclosing them—a fort within a fort—were also thirty feet high. Within the palace grounds were towers so high that every portion of the city could be seen thence,—a very excellent idea, when the first leader of any rabble, murdering the reigning king, stepped into the vacant throne. This city he called “Heavenly Happiness,” and to dwellers in tents and feeders of cattle on the grassy slopes of eastern Mongolia, the fertile plain lying all round and far beyond Liaoyang, covered with waving green crops far as the eye could see, would certainly seem a paradise.

He was nominated a *How* (Marquis) by Tsin Emperor, and was the first to assume the title of “Liao” or “Iron” for his dynasty. The fifth ruler from Abaoji built Joongking, or Central Capital, in the land of Anping of Han. It was west of Kwangning, just within the border of modern Mongolia,—hence the name “Central.” It was changed by the succeeding Kin dynasty to Beiking or the “North Capital”—the name given to the modern capital of China.

The Kitan are said to have delighted in drinking human blood. The husband cut open a small slit in his wife’s back and drank!—a novel mode, if true, of showing the superiority of the male sex! Strange that Chinese story makes no mention of talented females advocating Woman’s Rights;—they should have at least demanded reciprocity. The Kitan were, nevertheless, very hospitable, and lovers of strong drink. They were painters: and when they entered China they had a literature of several thousand volumes, among which were medical works unknown to the Chinese.

In the beginning of the tenth century, Hoo Jiao, the *Ling* or *Chi hien* of Goyang, in company with Sioshan, visited the land of Kitan, and minutely related what he saw. Some of the curious stories of this traveller we give below.

Ten days’ journey north from Yowchow (Peking) was the



Pass \* of "Scale-the-heaven"; to the east and west of which is a series of mountains. Clouds were so dense on the pass, that it seemed as if darkness had set in, and nothing could be seen at even a short distance. The only things visible were yellow clouds and white grass in endless succession. This Pass is called by those going to Kitan the "Home-sick" Pass; for, looking southward, it seems to the traveller as if it were impossible ever to return. The attendants wept bitterly as they went down its north side. Twenty days further journey brought him to *Shangking* † (Upper Capital), called Silow, with villages round about. In the city he found a Hanlin magistrate, besides *Siwtsai*, (graduates), Buddhist and Taoist monks and nuns, handicraftsmen, actors, conjurors,—all Chinese, mostly from Pingchow, Fungchow, Yowchow, and Kichow; cities in Chihli and Shansi. There were houses, and merchandise by barter, but no money. From Shangking, several hundred li eastwards, is Pingchuen, where he first tasted water-melons. It was said the Kitan got the seed when devastating the land of *Whichi* to their north-west. Eastwards still was Hiangtan, where the traveller first saw willow trees, and where wild flower and water scenery was very beautiful. There was one plant, *Siji*, of great beauty, ten of whose roots sufficed to feed a horse. Still advancing, great mountains were entered; and twenty days further on were houses and tombstones, indicating the Kitan imperial burial-place. Beyond this to the east, not far from the sea, was Tiedien, the water of which is brackish and of a bloody colour, requiring to be left long standing in jars ere drunk. The Nüjun are further east still, excellent archers, who imitated the sound of the deer

\* In 1690, an army went against the Mongols, marching north through Jangjiakow (Kalgan) pass; one day's march, 50 li beyond, was Jolomiaio; next day, 60 li, to Shubalatai; third day, 50 li crossing Dabahan ling or Pass, 30 li high; the path, for a considerable distance, being only 4 or 5 feet wide. Height is estimated by the time taken from the foot to the top of the mountain. This is probably "Scale-Heaven" Pass. And the hon. Mr Hoo could not have gone more than 50 li a day.

† *Hist. of Liaotung* states that this capital was north-west of Gwangning. If so it must have been difficult of access, for the ordinary 60 li per day will bring the traveller in 20 days from Peking to Moukden.

so well that they enticed them to approach, when the archer let fly his arrow, killed, and ate the flesh uncooked.

Far to the north is the Ox foot Tooküe, with men's bodies and Ox-feet! North-west of those Ox-feet was the kingdom of *Wajiedsu*, the heads of whose inhabitants rise straight up. They were excellent archers,—hit, killed, and ate uncooked, every man they saw. They were the terror of the neighbouring kingdoms,—and no wonder!

Still further north was the *Dog* kingdom, whose males had men's bodies but dog-heads; whose women were like ordinary mortals and could speak Chinese! Every male born resembled a dog, with much hair and no clothing; every female, a woman. The male and female mate by their own individual choice. The women pitied every Chinaman wandering so far away; and warning him of his danger, gave him ten chopsticks, telling him, as he fled, to drop one every few hundred yards. When her dog-headed husband came home, or ascertained before coming home that a human male was there, he pursued,—and as he pursued he came across his own chopstick, which he recognised, took up, and ran back with it to his own house; when he again pursued and again met in with a chopstick, and thus the Chinaman escaped!

This points, apparently, to the hairy Oinos, the original inhabitants of Japan, and possibly of north-eastern Asia; for there were Oinos in the north of the "Maritime Province," and in the Island of Saghalin, two centuries ago; and probably do still exist there. Indeed, it is more than likely that the Oinos peopled Japan, crossing from the main-land to Saghalin, and from Saghalin to Yesso; while the Mongolic Japanese appear to have crossed the sea from Corea; or, not impossibly, from the Man or Miao tribes, who were then sole occupants of the south of China. A comparison of the Man and Japanese languages might help in deciding the question.

Toyí kingdom was north of the Dog tribe, and still more barbarous. On the occasion of the death of father or mother, they thought it noble to manifest no trace of sorrow. The dead



body was placed on the top of a tree, where it was left for three years, when the bones were picked up and burnt. The son poured out a libation and prayed to his deceased parent: "In summer to look south, in winter to look north, and to help him to more wild boar and venison." The spirit is apparently a bird of passage!

In the centre of Shamo (Gobi) the winds were most bitterly cold. The people had no houses, but lived on carts or on horseback. In summer and autumn the desert was as extremely hot as it was cold in winter. The people dwelt where abundance of water and grass found them subsistence. There was a particular gathering-place for each of the four seasons, called *Tsabua*. The spring *Tsabua* was at Yadsu ho,\* where willows and elms cover the lands. On the first moon, tenth day (Feb.-March), their king went thither just before the arrival of the migrating Swan,† and pitched his tent on the ice. Men were placed as sentries in all directions, to look out for the arrival of the swans; and as soon as a swan flock was seen, the lucky observer unfurled a flag to inform his king, who, in his regal robes and hat, led out his men to shoot the swans with arrows as they flew overhead.

In the beginning of spring, women cut out the character for "spring" and some other similar ones. They also made a flag, on which they painted a dragon and a frog. On the sixth day of the first moon, they ate wheaten loaves in the central hall of the house. On the fifth of fifth moon, the cook prepared a dessert of *Whangmi* (a glutinous small millet) and milk. The people then strung cash on a five coloured thread, put it over the shoulder, and called it the String of Concord and Happiness. Another coloured thread was worked into the form of a man and placed on the head; this was called the Braid of Immortality.

On the ninth of the ninth moon (Nov.), the king went out with all his great officials to hunt, choosing a high place for his tent. When all was ready for the hunt, the king handed round

\* *Yadsu* River is an ancient name of the Songari flowing north. (Hist. Liaotung.)

† I have seen several flocks of swans, though in Manchuria they are rare compared with those of ducks, geese, and Manchurian cranes. If the swan here was a goose, it would more resemble present facts.

to his followers spirits in which the sun-flower has been steeped. Some of these spirits poured out before the door keep away all evil spirits. At the winter solstice a white sheep, a white horse and a white wild goose were killed, and their blood mixed in the spirits which were drunk. The king then, at a great distance, worshipped *Heishan* (Black mountain), a very high mountain in the extreme north of the kingdom, and so sacred that it was approached only by sacrifice; for there congregated the deceased ancestors of his majesty, and the spirits of all the dead Kitan.





## CHAPTER VIII.

### NÜJUN.

THE fertile plains, beautiful vallies, and innumerable mountain ranges radiating from Changbaishan or the Long White Mountains, stretching northwards from Liaoyang by the east of the Liao river, up to and along the Songari throughout all its course to Saghalin, formed the home of the savage Tungusic nomads, a small branch of which gave its present dynasty to the Chinese world, and reigns over the most populous empire on the earth. Like the Mongols, that wide region has had many periods of great power and longer intervals of disintegrated rest. It is during those quiescent unhistorical periods of disintegration that the people has been known under the generic names of Sishun, Sooshun or Nüjun. A man of strong character would appear, who, after establishing himself chief over a few tents or villages, was succeeded by a son and grandson worthy of him. These could, by sharp swords and good laws, extend the bounds of the incipient state. A dynastic title was then assumed, which soon became the designation for the whole people. This change of title among both Mongolic and Tungusic peoples, has given rise to much error; for the "Huns," "Turks," and "Mongols" differed only as the Han, Tang, and Sung of China differ. They are but dynastic titles of the same people, just as if we described the English as the people of York, Leicester, Tudor or Hanover, according to the dynastic family which happens to rule. The same is true of the Tungusic people which occupied, for scores of centuries, those extensive regions known as Manchuria. The first name given to that people in Chinese history is the *Sishun*, under which name the Chinese, three thousand years ago, included all the nomadic savages



occupying the extensive lands of fruitful plains and forest-covered mountains between the gulf of Pechili and the Amoor.

A thousand years after, they are incidentally mentioned as the *Sooshun*; and the Han dynasty, just before the Christian era, knew those regions lying beyond the conquered Chaosien, as *Fooyü* and *Yilow*; the latter of which had its headquarters at the sources of the Hoorha and Songari, under the northern shadows of the mighty Changbaishan. In the third century, the well organized kingdom of *Wooji* had displaced the *Yilow* dynasty. *Wooji* was divided into seven provinces: *Soomo*, *Baitsoo*, *Anjügoo*, *Foonie*, *Haoshu*, *Heishwi*, and *Baishan*. This division was still retained by the kingdom of *Mogo* (Map II.), which had overturned *Wooji*. But *Mogo* stood for little more than a century. It was broken up in the convulsive times which introduced the Tang dynasty to China; and this dynasty knew two independent *Mogo* kingdoms, the *Heishwi*\* or Black Water *Mogo*, stretching southwards from the Amoor, and the *Soomo* *Mogo*, with its chief seat where that of *Yilow* had been. The *Soomo* touched *Gaogowli*, and is frequently mentioned as its ally, and was not infrequently its foe.

*Soomo* was long known as *Dashu*, the "Great Family" or "Clan," but an increasing power warranted it to assume the dynastic title of *Bohai*. The conquest and devastation of *Gaoli* by the Tang dynasty, necessarily threw large numbers of Coreans north into *Bohai*; and, when the pressure of the power of Tang was removed, *Bohai* rapidly grew in the north as *Corea* did in the south. The capital of *Bohai* was to the south, and not far from the modern *Ninguta*, where that of *Yilow* had been.

In 719, *Dadsoyong*, king of *Bohai*, died, and was succeeded by his son *Wooyi*. Eight years after his accession, the Black River *Mogo* sent an embassy to the Imperial Chinese court on business, which got their land acknowledged under Chinese protection by the name of *Heishwi chow*. Because, in former embassies, the Black Water *Mogo* always passed through

\* The Manchu name of the Amoor is still the same; *Saghalin* being "black," and *Oola*, "River;" the Chinese *Heilung* is "Black Dragon."

Wooyi's lands, and without any attempt at concealment, but had this year passed through a portion of his land without informing him, and had, contrary to their usage, applied to the Turks in their west for permission to pass through their land,—it looked to Wooyi as if a plot were being prepared against him, by which the Chinese would attack his south, and the Black Water Mogo his north. To forestall their supposed attack, he prepared to crush his northern neighbours. The latter left a hostage in the Chinese court to prove their fidelity, and to secure Chinese aid. They were all the more anxious to lean upon China, because the fall of Gaoli and the flight of many of its people into Bohai had naturally and greatly increased the power of the latter, and proportionately disquieted the peace of their northern kinsmen. It was, therefore, no mere vanity which induced Wooyi to dismiss from his presence the imperial messenger, who had come to bid him remember that it was the Tang who sent an army of 300,000 men into and swept Gaoli with the besom of destruction, while Bohai was not one-fifth as powerful as Gaoli had been, and could not stand a single day of the wrath of the Imperial Court.

He was aggravated still further by the report that Munyi, uncle of the chief of Heishwi Mogo, was welcomed on the border by a most friendly letter from the Chinese emperor. He ordered off Dayihia, his brother, at the head of an army, to pursue and slay Munyi; but the latter could fly as fast as his cousin pursued, and got to the Chinese court, where he was made a Kiangkun, or general. Wooyi was not to be so easily got rid of, however; for he sent messengers at once to the Chinese court, to accuse Munyi of crimes which deserved instant death at the hands of his imperial majesty. The emperor sent Munyi secretly to Ansi, retained the messengers of Wooyi, to whom special Chinese messengers reported that Munyi had been sent off to Lingan, but had died on the road. Wooyi, aware of what had occurred, sent back the messengers, stating that he knew the truth, and again emphatically declared that Munyi was guilty and should be slain. He upbraided the emperor for lying as he had done,



and demanded that justice should even yet be executed. Su Magwang, the learned and stately author of the history we quote, enters a strong protest against the subterfuge of the emperor,—though those who know of Chinese modern policy, will see in the Tang emperor's tricks the exact counterpart of what has again and again appeared in recent Chinese history.

It was in the year 733, however, that the emperor got Munyi with an army to march against Bohai, whose king, Wooyi, no sooner heard thereof, than he at once advanced on Madooshan, of Black Water, and exterminated that city. Imperial orders were also sent to Sinlo to enter Bohai,\* but Sinlo marched only too soon, for her troops had scarcely crossed the southern border of Bohai, before Wooyi, with his undivided forces, fell upon and slew the greater half of them. Munyi was, meantime, whiling away his time at Tientsin, probably unable to get his men to march. As he would not obey imperial commands to do away with himself, the emperor sent a band of Honan robbers against him, and had him killed. This will not seem so strange if we reflect that, according to Chinese writers, it has been a question with "brave" Chinese, from at least the beginning of the Tang dynasty, whether they should betake themselves to the robber haunts on the mountains, or to the emperor's regiments in the barracks. Indeed at the present, the difference between the two is not very great. Chinese officers believe that many of their men have been robbers, and would be so again, did they regard it as safe as formerly. The chief difference between the two is that when the soldier is underpaid, he robs in name of the emperor, and in virtue of his uniform; the robber in his own name and by the dread of fire and sword. The very high wage of the foreign drilled troops will, we hope, inaugurate a better spirit and system.

\* The position of Bohai is thus described: The south-east of the kingdom touched the sea over against Japan; to the south was the sea leading to Sinlo; the tribute route was by the Yaloo. Fooyi was between it and Kitan. The Maritime Provinces, now Russian, would therefore compose most of the kingdom. Indeed, Bohai would be, just then, coextensive with Mogo. (Map II.)

Wooyi died in 738, succeeded by his son. But after him Bohai, with its doings, fails to find a place in Chinese story for two centuries. It had, however, been active. Order and military rule were necessary in the "struggle for existence." It had early annexed its northern neighbour; and the combination made a powerful and well compacted fortified kingdom, to which the emperor Kaifung of Tang was compelled to bestow the rank of a feudal sovereignty. Having extended its power to the southern bank of the Amoor, it found it an easy matter to appropriate a large portion of what had been the lands of the once formidable Gaoli, its old master. For an itinerary of 930 A.D., states, that sailing from Tungchow of Shantung, passing such and such islands, east from the point now known as Regent's Sword, up the Yaloo 100 li, about the present Aichow; there disembarking, and travelling 30 li north-east, the port of Posha was reached, which port was then the border of Bohai land. South of which, 500 li, was the city of Wandoo, the ancient Gaoli capital.

Bohai also found it an easy matter to spread over the whole of Liaotung and part of Liaosi, even though it had lost a considerable slice of pasture land about the present Kirin, at the hands of Kitan. It had then five capitals, 15 prefectural and 62 sub-prefectural cities, and every glen was peopled and every plain cultivated between the gulf of Liaotung and the Amoor; indeed Manchuria was then more populous than it has ever been since, but not more so than it promises shortly to be again. Then learning flourished and literature abounded. Kitan was extremely anxious to secure land in Chihli, but the powerful Bohai in his rear, prevented Abaoji from penetrating far into China, lest his own lands should be harried or seized. Therefore to drive Bohai back, he sent an army against Liaotung, which returned covered with a shame, which it wiped out on Chinese ground. Kitan, however, sent expedition after expedition, year after year, against Bohai, till, as the Liao dynasty, they ruled over all Liaotung, and annexed the fine plains and mountain ranges between Hinganling and the Hoorha river. The name of Bohai ceased to be, and the



kingdom was broken up into a number of "savage" or independent clans, each with its own petty chief.

The former name of Mogo was now replaced by that of Nüjun, which general designation embraced the scattered inhabitants of what had been the kingdom of Bohai. The Kitan, or Liao dynasty, never conquered the regions east of the Hoorha ; which were therefore called *unripe* or savage Nüjun ; the west of that river being called the *ripe* or civilized Nüjun, because subject to Liao ; and not because, as Du Halde states, they were in reality more civilized. But the Liao gradually lost its dominating influence over those remote regions, and that portion of the "unripe" Nüjun which dwelt around the foot of Changbaishan, east of Ninguta, in the land of the original Bohai, and the older Yilow, gradually assumed form again. The Shangking (upper capital) of Bohai had been somewhere in this neighbourhood. In the end of the tenth century, the Nüjun of this district became so important as to send tribute to the Sung emperor.

Immediately after Kitan made the present Yoongping of Chihli (then Liaosi) their central capital (Joongking), they had a tussle with Gaoli. The latter had been, ever since the disruption of Bohai, subject to the insults of Kitan ; and, seeing no hope of deliverance from the Sung dynasty, yet unable to stand alone, they found it necessary to acknowledge the supremacy of the Liao dynasty. To this effect they sent messengers to Joongking, the arrival of whom much delighted the Kitan ; who, however, desired the king to come in person to render homage. Not knowing what sort of reception he might meet there, he feigned illness. On this refusal, the Kitan demanded all the country still belonging to Corea west of the Yaloo, together with the chow cities of *Hing, Tie, Dong, Long, Gwei, and Go.*

Some Nüjun men, intimately acquainted with the state of Gaoli, had previously gone to the Liao court, and laid before it a plan whereby the treasures and a rich portion of the country of Gaoli could fall into its hands, if it marched along the Nüjun border. This, perhaps, had some influence in determining the Liao to march an army against Gaoli, when the latter refused to

surrender so much territory. Gaoli, aware of the coming storm, made timely friends with the Nüjun, who sent south an army to its aid. The combined forces laid an ambush; into which the Liao men fell, and were utterly defeated. This was the commencement of Nüjun activity.

In 985, before this raid, the Sung dynasty had sent messengers to stir up Gaoli to join in a crusade against the Liao, which had so often chastised the Chinese. And Gaoli agreed. The Sung had previously sent an embassy—certainly not empty handed—to Nüjun, with the proposal for a combined attack on Liao; after the destruction of which, Yowchow and the regions of south of Chihli would belong to Sung, and all beyond to Nüjun. Hence the "tribute" sent to Sung, mentioned above. And this was the beginning of a connection between Nanking and Changbaishan, pregnant with great events. Nüjun would not be slow to take advantage of a treaty promising her such fruits; for Fooyü city, which used to be a capital of Bohai, was then Doongdanfoo, the capital of East Dan of Liao; and the Nüjun seemed but an insignificant tribe beside the powerful and extensive kingdom of Kitan, which ruled from the Yellow river to the Songari.

During the eleventh century, Nüjun had little to do with China proper; whose history is too lofty to take any note of the petty warfare of "savage" tribes, except when for or against herself. During that period the Liao were constantly encroaching on Sung, and driving them out of the south of Chihli. The Sung dynasty enjoyed its only quiet by being in fact the tributary of Liao; though the large sums of money and the enormous quantities of silk sent north of the Yellow River were "gifts," and the few furs sent south were "tribute"! But on more than one occasion, both by the Sung and their predecessors, the king of Liao received the title of "Whangdi" Emperor; which many Chinese scholars say can possibly be given to only one person on earth—the emperor of China—who is *ex-officio* monarch of all the round globe.

In the beginning of the twelfth century, two important events



took place, which small in themselves, as the head stream of a river, gave rise to great and serious consequences. One of these was the flight of a Liao man from Yowchow south to the court of Sung, to lay before that dynasty a plan for overthrowing the Liao. This plan was to form a close alliance with the Nüjun, whose growing power was proved by the annexation of the tribe *Hoshilie*, on its west; whose chief, Ashoo, was compelled to flee to Liao for refuge. The alliance could be consummated by sending Chinese messengers from Tungchow and Laichow in Shantung, to Changbaishan. This suggestion was well considered, much approved, and attempts made to carry it into effect. The Gaoli king, favourably disposed to the Sung dynasty, urged the emperor to take no such step, but rather to support the Liao against the Nüjun,—for if the former were dogs, the latter were tigers; adding that the Chinese should be thankful that the Liao were there as a buffer. But like the horse which prayed the man to ride him to be revenged, the Sung emperor was eager for vengeance on the northern barbarian, who had so disgracefully humiliated his family and people; and no consideration would move him from looking with a friendly eye to the barbarian further removed, and who had as yet done him no harm.

The second event was the sporting expedition of the Liao king to the Songari\* to fish. The chiefs of the "savage" Nüjun collected there to pay their respects to their powerful neighbour. The king, in his good humour, ordered the sons and younger brothers of the chiefs to get up and dance. One young man, the heir of the Changbaishan chief, silently refused, even though thrice ordered. The ministers of the king, seeing the stubborn spirit of the youth, quietly urged the king to apprehend him and

\* His residence was said to be 1500 li north of Kaiyuen, and called "Chuanchow, on the Hwuntoong," which is the name of the Songari as it flows east. The modern Petuna, the Jaochow of Kin, is still the centre of a most extensive fishery, which supplies all Manchuria, a good deal of Chihli, and especially the imperial table, with a large variety of fresh-water fish, of which White fish, the Sturgeon and the Carp, are the principal. Chuanchow, from its distance, would not be far from Petuna, but somewhere to the south, and on the west of the river, which Agooda had to cross in his flight.

thus prevent future possible border troubles. The king was a good natured drunkard, and whether or not he would follow the advice next day, no one knows; but he did not take immediate steps, though that young man, whose name was Agooda, did. For he, fearing the resentment of the king for the insult offered him, made off by night with his followers eastwards across the Songari.

The hot blooded young man Agooda had doubtless often brooded over the loss of the large kingdom possessed a century before by his fathers; and as the king of Liao in his love of drink neglected the defences of his country, Agooda quietly but steadily prepared troops, and while yet a minor, made great changes in the discipline of the army. But to show the extent of these changes, we must go back to the origin of this new power.

Among the numerous tribes of Independent or Savage Nujun was one which was located on the banks of the "Poogan river in the province of Wanyen." Hwihanpoo was the first chief of any note there. His grandson, Swiko, the fourth chief, was the first of this new line who paid any attention to tillage. He built a palace and city, and had, therefore, a fixed place of abode on the banks of the Hoorha river. Hence we learn that the ancient civilisation, tillage, cities, palaces and literature of Bohai, had been overturned with the loss of empire; and that defeat, and perhaps terrible carnage, had driven the Nujun into their primitive nomadic state, whence they began to emerge, when they again became numerous, and when the chase began to yield an insufficient amount of food. Except Corea, all the Mongolic and Tungusic dynasties have gone through these three stages. At first nomadic, they began, as the commencement of an undreamt of coming greatness, to cultivate the ground, build houses, raise cities surrounded by walls and moats,—all of which necessitated a greater or lesser acquaintance with letters. Then war, victory, conquest, and learning rapidly increasing and lavishly patronised;—to be followed by wars and defeat, when the vices of luxury had made the conquerors incapable of defending the possessions acquired by the hardihood of their primitive life. Defeat drove them in thinned numbers into their primitive wildnesses. Their



decreased numbers found abundance of sustenance on the game-crowded mountains, long neglected for the richer prey of Chinese plains and cities; and fear of attack compelled them to live in tents, which could be moved at a moment's warning, when flight was a much more secure defence than the best walls. And the former nomadic state, with its loss of literature, became a speedy consequence. This formless, incohesive condition, continued undisturbed till a largely increased population again necessitated the cultivation of the soil; when houses, hamlets, cities, magistracies, and literature, again sprang up.

Shiloo, the fifth chief of Wanyen, established fixed laws and ordained customs to instruct the people. Henceforth his possessions became consolidated, and assumed the appearance of a united kingdom. Because he was affectionate in dealing with his people, the Liao bestowed upon him the title of *Jiedooshu*.\* It was reconferred on his son Wooyoonai, and on Holibo his son. The last was succeeded by a brother; and Wooyasoo, the eldest son of Holibo, was the ninth chief,—during whose reign the fishing episode, above narrated, occurred.

In 1113, Wooyasoo, who had received the title of *Jiedooshi* from Liao, died, and Agooda became chief, assuming the title of *Doobojilie*.† The Liao sent Asibao as messenger to enquire why Agooda had not given notice of the death of his predecessor. Agooda replied, "Mourning we have; is it a crime to lack condolence?"—intimating his independence of the Liao.

He began his aggressive movements the very next year, and took the city of Nungjiang chow. The Liao king no sooner heard of this outrage, than he sent Soosisien with a powerful army to crush the young upstart. He camped at *Choodien ho*.‡ Agooda, at the head of all his men, hastening to meet him,

\* Lieut. General. It was the change then introduced which appeared so extremely great to a Corean messenger, who, on his first visit, found the Nüjun a formless rabble; and on his second visit, a perfectly regulated and formidable kingdom whose good friendship was to be secured by Corea at any price.

† "Chief of chiefs."

‡ Near the modern Petuna.

had not got to the Hwuntoong, when night overtook his army. About midnight he roused his men with the cry that the gods had appeared to him, and marched them off by torch light. By dawn he got to the Hwuntoong; and taking advantage of a great wind which arose as he approached the Liao camp, he attacked immediately, and with fury. The Liao could not resist the impetuosity of the attack, but broke up and fled. Great numbers fell, and more were taken prisoners. So terrible was the defeat, that the Liao men had a saying, that if the Nüjun numbered a myriad men, they should not be fought. Hence it was inferred that Agooda had about that number with him.

In February 1115, Agooda had made such progress towards founding a powerful state, that his younger brothers and subordinate chiefs urged him to assume the rank of emperor (whangdi); and, with more or less show of reluctance, he agreed. As the Liao had assumed the name of "Iron," to indicate "strength," he took the title of "Gold" for his dynastic title; "for iron, if strong, rusted; while gold always remained bright." Hence his dynasty is known as the Kin (now pronounced Jin), the Chinese word for gold. But gold in their original language was "Anchoo."\* Woo-Chiwmai was made Yenban-Bojilie, Sangai and Kaye "Golun-Bojilie." The tiger, the chief of beasts, in their language was "Yenban." Golun meant "Prime Minister." Kaye was a younger brother of Agooda, and Sangai a cousin. In the autumn of the same year, appeared a comet of a scarlet yellow colour, which foreboded bloodshed and political changes. And in October, the Kin marched against and took the Hwangloongfoo of Liao, which was a very large

\* This is on the authority of the Chinese history. In Manchu, gold is *aisin*, tiger *tata*. Bojilie may be the same as the Manchu "Batooroo"; but the Manchus, to begin with, used this term not as a hereditary title like "chief," but as an honorary designation, the equivalent of our "knight." It means "brave," and was conferred only on the distinguished brave. I find it difficult to reconcile these words for "gold" and "tiger," with the assumption that the Kin spoke precisely as the Manchus, except on the supposition that Chinese history has given Liao or Mongol words as if Kin.



city on the west bank of the Songari, somewhere north of Kirin. They were guided by a man on a cream coloured horse, who went ahead; the rest following, without question, whither he led. When they got to the deep river, they had no ferry-boats; but the cream horse went ahead up to the belly in water, the army wading after him. After Whangloong had fallen the river was attempted; but the depth was beyond sounding! Hence the Kin raised a temple on the western bank; dedicated to the god of the river for his miraculous interference.

Immediately on the fall of Whangloong city, the hardy Kin pushed southwards; Agooda only then permitting the return of the messenger who had come from the Liao, four months before. He desired him to say to his lord in Peking, that if Asoo the hiding chief were handed over, the Kin would return to their homes again. The messenger doubtless understood as well as Agooda what the worth of such a promise was, and that the Kin could now "return" only by the defeat of their army.

There was no withstanding the fury of the Kin attacks, and in the beginning of 1118, the joyful Sung emperor sent messengers to Kin by way of Tungchow of Shantung, to heartily congratulate Agooda on his frequent victories, and on the capture of fifty walled cities of Liao. This message was intended, like preceding overtures, to form an alliance which Agooda was now only too glad to make. To add to the difficulties of the Liao, there were then, as so often, and again as we write, terrible famines in northern China, which compelled men to eat human flesh as their only food. Indeed, in West Shantung, Shansi, Shensi, and Honan, this cannibalism, caused by severe famine, has been repeated at irregular intervals for thousands of years, and is not at all the uncommon portent it is believed to be; though the authorities have always been most severe in their prohibitive measures.

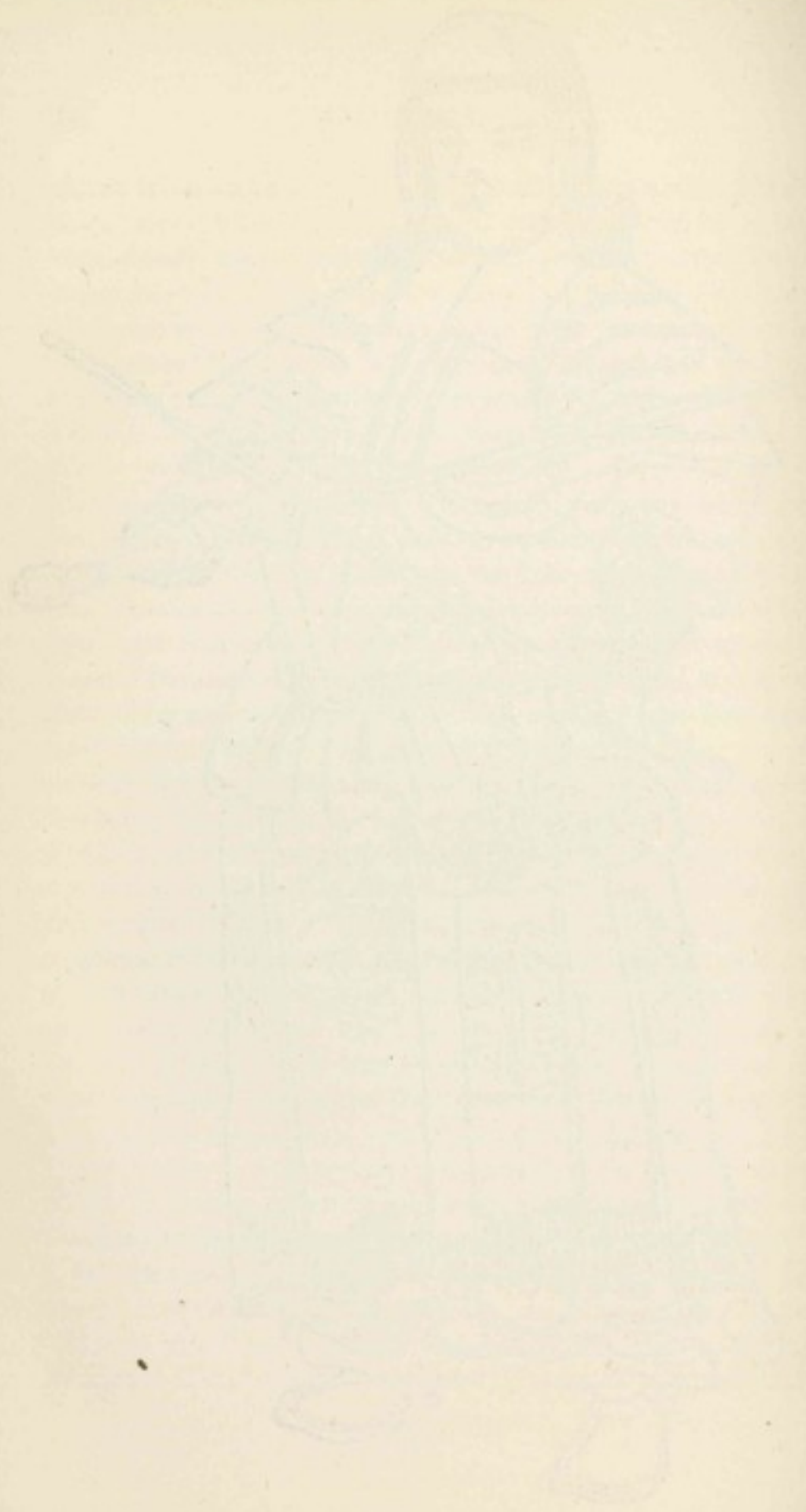
In 1120, a treaty was concluded between Sung and Kin, after several messengers had come and gone, by which, as the "land of Yen" was originally Chinese, all the lands up to and including Yen\* would become Chinese, while the Liao

\* Modern Peking.



Mailed Warrior, 11th Century.





Joongking,\* with all east of it, would belong to Kin. The treaty powers were to make a combined attack on the Liao from both sides, the Kin through Goobeikow, the Sung through Baigow. This treaty was formed against the earnest advice of the Korean king, who urged the Sung emperor to retain the Liao between him and the Kin. In that treaty both the Sung emperor and Agooda are called "Whangdi" † emperor.

In December of next year the Central Capital of Liao was in the hands of Kin, with some important deserters—flying rats. The Liao king had therefore to retreat on Yunchow ‡ as his capital, taking with him 15,000 men. He had to slay his own son, who was preparing to assume the government; and he had to learn that he was no sooner gone west than his uncle assumed the imperial name in Peking. The Kin pressed on after this king Yensi, who again fled to Jiashan, and Tatung was besieged. The attack was furious and the defence desperate; now this side gaining a slight advantage, now that, but both suffering heavily. At last the obstinate defenders heard of the new king in Peking, and, seeing their cause deserted by their own kinsmen, they lost heart, opened the city gates, and joined the ranks of the Kin.

The new Peking king did what he could. He sent an army against the Sung coming through Baigow, and defeated them. At

\*The locality of Joongking, or the "Central Capital," may have been under the jurisdiction of Yoongping foo, but it could not be at or near the present city. Hist. of Liaotung places it, with more probability, west of Yichow, in the south-east corner of Inner Mongolia. This treaty would therefore make Kin the masters of Liaotung and Liaosi.

†It is authoritatively and dogmatically asserted by more than one eminent Sinologue, that there can be only one Whangdi; but whatever may be argued from the two words *whang* and *di*, the term is in history only a title, and is several times bestowed on two independent powers by each other. Thus in the text, and on various other occasions, Sung and Kin bestow the title on each other, and so did the Ming and Manchus, before the latter owned a foot of soil in the Eighteen Provinces. Etymologically, it is synonymous with "Son of Heaven," but practically it is so only when the Chinese emperor, the only "Son of Heaven," is unquestionably supreme over all rivals.

‡Kihien, 140 li south-west of Taiyuen.



the same time he sent messengers to the Sung emperor, to upbraid him with ingratitude in taking advantage of the hour of their extreme peril for attacking them. He also charged him with carrying out a suicidal policy. This, however true, was of small weight then with the Chinese emperor, who gloated over the crushing defeats and desperate condition of the foe, who had held him and his house so long in bondage;—for “revenge is sweet.”

The Peking king died in June 1122, his widow assuming the reins of government, with the scarcely concealed intention of opening the gates to the Kin. She therefore put to death the commander of the capital, who had made her late husband king. Against this city a large Chinese army was getting ready; but Agooda, fearing this army should reach and take the city ere he got there, sent messengers to the court of Sung, to by any means delay the departure of that army. His designs were favoured by events; for just then the Sung generals were again defeated by the army of Liao, but the commandant of Chochow and Yichow of Chihli opened their gates to the Chinese.

In December, the Kin court sent messengers to the Sung emperor to treat of the partition of the countries of the Liao, as if there had been no previous understanding; but that understanding was still believed in and adhered to by the Chinese, who sent messengers in return, demanding Lanchow,\* Pingchow, and Yingchow, which were included in the treaty as among the sixteen chows to become the portion of Sung. But Agooda refused to be bound by the treaty, saying that those cities had all been taken by the sword of the Kin, and must remain their property. Tatung was refused on the same plea, as well as Peking, which was soon taken by Kin by assault, the widow fleeing,—proving that she was prevented, or had resiled from her design of opening the gates to Kin. Thus all the five capitals of the Liao were in Kin hands, with nine-tenths of all their late

\*At the mouth of the Lanho, with Yoongpingfoo and Kingchow according to the treaty. Hence, too, we can see at once that Joongking was not at Yoongping, which is Pingchow; for Joongking, by treaty, belonged to Kin (p. 245).

dominion. The Kin called Pingchow their *Nanking*, or south capital.

The eyes of the Sung emperor were at last partly opened, and he found he had only changed masters. He therefore agreed to pay 400,000 pieces of silk per annum as he had done to the Liao, and to give one million tiaos\* for the disputed cities of Yenking, &c. Agooda was overjoyed, and agreed to write out an oath to hand over Yenking and six chows to Sung, reserving all the north-west and all the mountains and rivers of the north to himself. He was short of grain, and the Chinese ambassador, Liangsu, agreed to send on at once 200,000 *dan*† of grain. The cities of Yenking,‡ Chochow, Tanchow || Shwunchow, Kingchow, Kichow, with all their lands were handed over to Sung. The Chinese army, therefore, was moved south. And Kin sent in tribute! Such is the pomposity of Chinese history even in such circumstances, when ten times the value of this "tribute" had to be sent to Kin as "present!"

Two months after the treaty to surrender the six cities to Sung, Janggoo, the Kin commandant of Pingchow,§ deserted with the city to Sung. He had been commandant under Liao and deserted to Kin, who left him second in command. He now again changed sides. Dso, the Kin commandant of Yenking, formerly one of the chief ministers of Liao, drove out of the city the wealthy people and great families, who had to go eastwards. They journeyed in the greatest distress; got to Pingchow, where they were received by Jang, to whom they said that Dso could not hold the city, and that it would require only a small body of troops to recall the Liao dynasty again. They also reported that they had heard of the probable speedy arrival of a

\* Strings of cash each equal to one tael, or 6/ *stg.*

† *Dan* of 10 Chinese pecks, each about 40 lbs weight of millet, or 30 of rice.

‡ Peking.

|| Miywun hien and Shwunyihien, both near Peking.

§ The modern Linyu of Chihli (Ch. Imp. Directory).



Liao\* army, which was said to be then in the south of Meimo. If that army were but welcomed by Jang, the crime of Dso's desertion would soon meet with its proper reward. It was these fugitives who advised the surrender of Pingchow to Sung in order to gain the good will of the latter. Li Shu, a Chinese grand secretary, recommended the Sung to accept the cession, and his advice was seconded by other ministers.

But Liangsu opposed the measure with every argument he could think of, and with the utmost energy of which he was capable; for, he rightly argued, such a course would at once destroy the mutual, good understanding arrived at with the Kin, who could not but deeply resent such a breach of faith immediately on the completion of the treaty, which was as yet only partially carried out, and a subsequent repentance would come too late. The author of the Chinese history adds a note strongly condemning the covetousness which opened the flood gates of such dire calamities for China. The emperor was, however, scarcely competent for his post; and it is not surprising that the man who was unable, with the wealth and resources of China, to successfully curb his northern neighbours, was also unable to perceive the grave issues involved in so manifest a breach of faith, at a time when more than usual care was needful to avoid giving any unnecessary offence to a nation of conquerors, who had scattered his masters to the four winds. He, therefore, eagerly grasped at the keys of Yoongping.

Jang carried out his plans immediately. He sent an officer with 500 men to apprehend his superior Liw, proclaimed the third year of Baoda, the Liao king, and set forth, in a public proclamation, ten crimes of Liw's, deserving death; on account of which he slew him. He sent messengers to the Sung with

\* The Liao dynasty was then established to the west of Kansu, in what was called the Hia country. The "Holy wars" describe Hinganling in the north-west of Manchuria as the home of the Liao; and the Solon people there as their descendants. We have already seen that the Liao had sprung as Kitan to the south of the Sira muren, but after their loss of empire, when some of them fled westwards to Hia, others might have departed across their former home to the north of the Sira muren, and nestled under the shadows of those extensive mountains, the Hingan.

the keys of Yoongping; and the Yenking fugitives were escorted westwards, under the care of the "Ever Victorious" army, which was wholly composed of Liaotung men, formed by the Liao, but which had lately deserted to Sung. The last king of the Liao on Chinese soil was captured by Kin in the north of Shansi, in 1125, and by them made an honorary Wang. The main portion of the Liao had before that time moved far to the west, to the Hia country, and there established the West Liao. Their seat was called Chirman. They had reigned in one unbroken line for two hundred and twenty years; and they first made the modern Peking the capital of a kingdom.

The illness and death of Agooda prevented that sudden revenge, which the Kin were able enough and willing enough at once to take. He was succeeded by his brother, Woo Chiu-mai, the "Tiger Chief." And two months after his death, in November 1123, the Kin general, Doo Moo, was ordered against Jang with 3000 horse. Jang met him with a much superior force, and Moo had to retire. When Jang reported his victory, he was made a lieutenant-general, and had many myriad taels forwarded him by the glad Sung emperor. But next month a stronger force was marched against him; and to prove himself worthy of his new honours, he advanced, as before, to meet them; but, taken unawares, he was completely defeated, and fled to Yenshan. The Dootong of Pingchow took possession of the city, to hand it over to Kin. He was killed by the inhabitants, who prepared to stand a siege to the death; and it was July of next year before the Kin again occupied the city.

Immediately on the defeat of Jang Goo, the Kin sent messengers to the emperor, upbraiding the court with breach of faith and unfriendliness, in receiving and harbouring a rebel. They also demanded the head of Jang Goo. And the Chinese court exposed its contemptible weakness and hollow worthlessness, by sending a messenger, who had Jang's head off and sent to Kin. This event bore its immediate and natural fruits; for the men of the "Ever Victorious" army went into the presence of their commander, Gwo Losu, weeping, and saying: "The



Kin asked for the head of Jang Goo; it was given them. If they ask the head of Losu, will it be given up also?" A Sung minister was with the commander at the time, and he was terrified at the serious aspect of affairs. He could do nothing, however, to save the mutinous army, which melted away,—each man going his own way; but the ranks of Kin received considerable accessions. There was, therefore, now no army to stand between Kin and the object of their wrath, so senselessly kindled, and of their contempt so richly deserved. Their irritation was intensified into glowing rage, when the messengers, sent to receive the grain promised by Liangsu, returned empty handed. And the troubles of Sung were not lightened by the rebellion of 100,000 men in Shantung, and of one-third that number in Honan.

The Chinese general, Toonggwei, who had been so often beaten by the Liao in their dying struggles, was nominated a Wang, and commissioned to go to Taiyuen by the imbecile Sung court to meet messengers of the Kin there, who had been sent to surrender the southern portion of Chinese lands then in Kin hands. And the Sung, notwithstanding so many lessons, believed the offer was made in good faith. Experience teaches the *wise*. But no sooner did the two ambassadors meet face to face, than the Kin one bitterly upbraided the Chinese one for harbouring rebels, and for breach of faith. The new Wang, conscious of his dignity, was so thoroughly ashamed of the part he had to act, that he knew not where to look; while the Kin said that the River\* must be made the boundary between the two kingdoms. Thus, instead of giving up to the too credulous Chinese court a few cities in the south of Chihli, three provinces, sufficient to make a powerful kingdom, were demanded by Kin. Toonggwei knew not what reply to make, other than that he would return to his government and consult. The governor of Taiyuen urged him to remain; for now that Kin had broken faith, if the commander-in-chief returned to the south, men's minds would become agitated; while, if he remained, his presence

\*The Hwangho is always called *the Ho* "River," par excellence. It then flowed into the sea south of Shantung, as shown in old maps.

would be a guarantee that the people, in defending themselves from the Kin, would be supported by their government. The red-tape ambassador became very angry, saying that he had come with orders to receive territory, not to defend cities! The governor in vain reasoned, that if the east of the river (Shansi) fell, the north (Chihli and Shantung) could not stand. When he saw all was useless, he sighed and said: "It is a losing game."

The Kin had, meantime, taken Swochow and Taichow, in the north of Shansi, and soon besieged Taiyuen; which was, however, gallantly defended by its governor. Another Kin army marched south from their capital, passing by Tanchow and Kichow, as not affecting their line of march. When they got to his vicinity, Losu deserted to them with Yushan foo; and all the cities under its jurisdiction opened their gates.

Next year a Chinese army was sent north to keep the south bank of the River, towards the north bank of which the Kin pressed, leaving several cities in their rear untaken; for Losu knew the hollowness of all the defences. As soon as the Kin got to the north of the river, and floated their banners along its banks, the southern defenders fled, all except one Yen man! The Kin took five days in crossing, as it was difficult to find boats. When they got across they laughed, and said that the southern court might be said to be without a single man; for that one or two thousand men at the river bank could have effectually prevented them from crossing. Thus where men were many, arms strong, and money plentiful, a large and wealthy empire was going to pieces from want of a head to guide. We cannot too emphatically repeat that the one great lesson taught by Chinese history is, that extent of country, the strength of numbers and of unbounded wealth cannot save a country, without wisdom to guide those resources; and it is no nursery tale to be laughed at, that the wise or the cunning Jack becomes the killer of the strong but stupid giant. The histories of all nations repeat the same story. No one can say that want of bravery or enthusiasm prevented the French from realising their hearts'



desire and shearing Prussian locks in Berlin ; and what was that Prussia which entered Paris, as compared to France in men or money ? And who could have believed that it was Spain, the most powerful, wealthy, and extensive empire of her time, which would perish by the Armada expedition ? The bravado of even a Napoleon Bonaparte is foolish. What shall be said of the bravado of lesser men ?

The Kin took Kuchow, and marched on the capital.\* They would not at first attack the city, saying that all they desired was a treaty. In this treaty they wanted, however, the bulky items of, first, five million Chinese ounces (*liang*) of gold, ten times as many ounces of silver, with the cities and territories of Taiyuen, Hokien, and Joongshan (Tingchow), with an imperial prince as hostage. A few days after, they made an attack on two gates. The commander, Li Gang, himself led the defence against them, at the head of picked men, who cut down ten of the Kin chiefs and some thousands of their men. Some advised the emperor to make a covenant at once, but Li Gang said, truly enough, that all the gold and silver in the country would not suffice to meet the Kin demands ; and the emperor could scrape together only 200,000 ounces of gold, and four million ounces of silver ; and said that if those three Chows were handed over to the Kin, could it be possible afterwards to regard China as an empire ?

The general also made a most successful sally through Swuntien west gate, on seeing the Kin men plundering the neighbourhood. Li Gang determined to give them no rest, but to make a daily sally with 1000 good fresh men. He was eager to have an army formed in the north, to attack them in the rear, while he would march out of the city. Wonderful to relate, Li Gang was removed from office to please the Kin ! But one of the ablest of the ministers gave the emperor no rest till he was again reinstated ; saying, that otherwise the empire was lost. At last a provisional agreement was made to cut off the three Chow cities and give them to Kin, who, doubtless, were not loth to raise the siege, as their rear was wholly exposed.

\* Kaifung.

Meiho, the Kin general, had been pressing the siege of Taiyuen all this time with vigour, but with no shadow of success. His force against Pingyang of Shansi was more successful; and when he entered the city, and found the gates and walls in such splendid condition, he could not understand how the city could have been surrendered, and said: "Of a truth the Sung are without a man." Loongan (then Loongdua foo) fell immediately.

Joongshan and Hokien were as obstinate as Taiyuen, and not one of them would open their gates;—thus acting like the Turkish commandants after the treaty of San Stefano.

The Chinese officer, Joong Shwaijoong, defeated the Pingyang army of Kin; and following up his victory, took the two cities of Showyang and Yütsu. In his eagerness he still pressed on, though his commissariat was badly attended to. He got to Shahiwngling (Kill-bear Pass), where Meiho himself, at the head of fresh, strong troops, lay to receive him, well knowing the weakness of his men from want of sufficient food. Meiho ordered an immediate onset, which drove back Joong's right wing, scattered his left, and soon surrounded himself with the small band which clung to him. He fought with desperation; and even after receiving four great wounds, he fought on till he dropped down dead.

Toonggwei, not before time, was executed; and Liangsu, apparently because too urgent in praying for peace, followed him. Li Gang was elevated to be governor of the Two Rivers,\* and ordered to Taiyuen to strengthen the brave men there; but he had not got beyond Hwaichow, when other counsels prevailed, and he received orders to disband his army. His men mostly scattered; but he was able to strengthen the garrisons of the various cities—Fungchow, Liaochow, &c. He had delayed the disbanding, by an earnest appeal to be permitted to hold his army together. But his prayer was in vain. The cities of the north of the river were almost emptied, the citizens flying across to the south. Li Gang was recalled at his own request, on the ground that he had been unsuccessful; and another governor

\* Of "East" and "North" of Yellow River.



was nominated, who, however, did not prevent the fall of Taiyuen, whose brave defender had at last to yield to the long continued, constant, and fierce attacks of Meiho.

No sooner was Taiyuen fallen (Oct. 1126) than Meiho drove the Chinese army north of the river southwards, pursuing it and taking Loyang,\* the western capital. This caused the imbecile and vacillating Chinese court to issue a mourning proclamation, inviting soldiers from all quarters to save the country; and to deliberate as futilely as before, on the propriety of throwing the three chows as a sop to this ferocious Cerberus. But the same minority strongly protested against such cession, because that was the birth place of the dynasty; and for the wiser reason that it would be unavailing, for the Kin would not stay their southward course one day. The emperor decided he would not cut off the northern cities, his "naked children." But he had to change his mind again; for Meiho pressed on, desiring to dictate his terms at the gate of the capital. The emperor was in a state of terror when Meiho approached the capital; but on learning that all the Kin desired was a treaty and the cutting off of some land, he went out to their camp and had their chiefs into his palace, feasting and drinking together with them!

Orders were twice sent to the cities north of the river to open their gates to Kin, but the citizens refused. A diversion was made by commander Kang Wang, brother of the emperor, who took 30 forts of Kin in the north, in the beginning of 1127, but in February he felt himself compelled to retreat. He therefore ordered the various divisions to combine and to fall back on the capital. One of the divisions refused to join the rest, but set out for the south of the river Wei at Weikwun foo of Honan. The scouts of the division soon reported the enemy ahead, and in camp. The whole division was soon engaged, but defeated; and, while retreating eastwards, it was discovered that the camps of the enemy environed them on all sides,—advance being as difficult as retreat was impossible. The commanding officer then issued a bulletin, stating that march or retreat was alike impossible, and that they

\* Near the present Kaifung of Honan.

must now snatch life out of the jaws of death. The men, seeing death inevitable, attacked the camp in front of them like so many furies, slew many thousands of the enemy, and cut their way eastwards beyond the circle of swords some scores of li. The Kin did not know the adage of a later age—to build a bridge of gold for a flying enemy; which was all the more necessary in other days when Sedans were impossible, because there was no artillery. In this connection I am astonished to find a mistake made by Hallam; all the more remarkable in so able a man and so painstaking an enquirer into the middle ages. In mentioning the slain in a certain battle he questions the number, chiefly because those were not the days of improved and scientific firearms. With these, battles are necessarily decided within a shorter space of time, and perhaps more are slain within a given time. But it requires no great reflection to see that the hand to hand combats of early battles, though occupying much more time, must have slain a larger proportion of those engaged in them than modern battles do. Besides, the greatest slaughter was not during the fight, but when the defeated turned his sword from his enemy and fled, with the enemy's sword a few inches behind him. Chinese history is full of such battles.

Dsua, this brave Chinese officer, believing that the Kin men would return to the captured camp at night, and might inflict serious injury upon his rear, had the camp entirely gutted. The Kin men did return by night, but finding their camp destroyed, were afraid to venture ahead. They retreated, and Dsua got on his march unmolested.

The capital of Sung was still besieged by the Kin, though the imbecile emperor would allow no active fighting. He, his heir, his empress, concubines, and household, 3,000 in all, had to go to live in the camp of Kin, outside of the city. The Vice-president of the Board of Appointments, seeing all was lost, bitterly reviled the Kin, with the hope that they would put him to death. He therefore reviled all the more when they threatened to kill him; and when he found his efforts to secure the most honourable of deaths unavailing, he cut his own tongue and died. The Kin



grieved over the loss of this man and said of him, that when the Liao was lost, a thousand faithful men died for it; but only one was found willing to die when the Sung empire was destroyed.

The Kin army was now saddled with the difficulty of finding a proper successor to the emperor in their hands, and were at a loss whether to nominate one of the imperial family, or one of a different surname. The first they nominated would accept if compelled to, but threatened that he would die on the day of his enthronement. And members of the emperor's family said they would murder with their own hand any one outside the family nominated emperor. One Jang Bangchang was at last nominated with the title of Choo emperor. An official, Wooko, led a few hundred men against the new emperor to murder him, but was himself killed, with over a hundred of his men. In May 1127, the Kin retired northwards, leading with them both the old and the new emperor, with the family of the former, 3,000 persons, and took them to Yunjoong. In 1130 they were banished to Woogwo chung on the Hwuntoong, a city supposed to be near the modern Sansing.

Commander Prince Kang, a younger brother of the emperor, after he had united the various divisions of his army, but while still at Tsining chow of Shantung, had secret messages from the capital, urging him not to march southwards to the capital then, but to remain where he was, and wait the course of events. And next month after the dethroned emperor was taken away a captive, this prince, whom all the people desired to be emperor, was enthroned in Nanking; and there he established the "Southern Sung" dynasty. He at once sent Dsua to garrison Hiangyangfoo. Li Gang at first refused office, but was soon installed as Lamp Censor. He drew up new army regulations; and was so useful, that he was quickly made president of a board. But in spite of the more healthy tone of the new court, no efforts were made to strike a decisive blow to save the country north of the Yellow river; every city of which fell, one by one, after a longer or shorter struggle with the Kin.

The Kin had a skilful and brave opponent in Dsua, who had

been nominated governor of the eastern capital (Kaifung). At one time he laid an ambush, and gained a most signal victory. Meiho, however, had his revenge after; but so much did he suffer himself, that he did not again march eastwards, contenting himself with taking the cities west of Kaifung. But Dsua died in August 1128, after having over twenty times vainly prayed the new emperor to return to his proper capital, in order that he might re-assure the minds of the people.

In January 1130, a new Chinese general, Yao Fei, appears on the scene after all Kiangsi had fallen to Kin. He repeatedly defeated them; and on one occasion he set fire to their camp,—gaining a most thorough victory over them in the ensuing confusion. Another officer, Shijoong, at the head of 8000 men, kept 100,000 (!) of the Kin at bay for forty-eight days, and at last completely defeated them. Such were the losses sustained by the Kin in their expeditions south of the Yangtsu, that after this year they did not again attempt to cross it; and the Yangtsu became the real boundary of the Kin and South Sung empires, as the Yellow River had separated the Liao and Sung.

The southern empire was in every part of it infested with robbers, and the law and magistrate were wholly inadequate to cope with the evil. The emperor, therefore, instituted a system of universal police, similar to that which put down robbery in England. Each twenty-five families were formed into a Bao or "security," with a chief; sixteen Bao formed one Doo or "capital," over which there was a "Doo Bao" and "Baojang," or chief of the Baos. These were responsible for the peace of their own districts; and the measure was so far successful.

We have now got the Nüjun family firmly seated on the throne of their extensive empire,\* extending from the Amoor to

\* Geographical notes are interesting to some readers, and most people like to localise the origin of great historical developments. To gratify this interest as far as possible, the following notes are given, culled from the Manchu Great Imperial Dictionary, the History of Liaotung, the Holy Wars, Chinese General History and the History of the Kin. All accounts agree in placing the original seat of the Kin in the same locality as that occupied long before by their predecessors the Bohai and Yilow,—at the headwaters of the Hoorha and the Songari, and to the north of



the Yangtsu, over which they reigned for more than a century, when they in their turn were overwhelmed by the Mongol flood, which established the Yuen dynasty over the whole of China, and made a short-lived empire, extending from Japan into Russia.

the Long White Mountains. Their Shangking or Upper Capital was in Whining foo. But we find the most contradictory statements as to the site of this Whining foo. The "Holy wars," which appears upon the whole to be a trustworthy book, places Whining foo 200 or 300 li east of Petuna (Baidoona). A note to the same states that "Ninguta is 700 odd li east of Hwangloong foo, and the lands under its jurisdiction touch those under *Whining foo* of Corea." "It is on record that a hundred li west of Ninguta is Shaling, where was the upper capital (Shangking) of the Kin; and east of Ninguta 3 li is the village of Giaro, the birth-place of the present dynasty." "Whangloong foo of Liao had jurisdiction of both sides of Hwuntoong River."

"Sixty li south-west of Ninguta, on the south (east?) bend of the Hoorha River, is the site of an ancient city 30 li in circumference, which had seven gates. The Inner city (citadel) was 5 li in circumference, and had three gates,—east, south, and west. The foundations of palaces and royal halls are distinctly traceable, and the site of a Temple of a stone Buddha. Perhaps this is the Shangking or Whining foo of Kin, which was north of Changbaishan, and on the bank of the Hoo River. But there is a Whining foo in Chaosien, which might have been the ancient Shangking; only the remains of imperial palaces, &c., would seem to favour the Ninguta city. The natives call this city *Goodachung*, the 'Ancient Large city.'"

"Whining foo was originally the Whining chow of the Liao dynasty. Taidsoong of Kin erected his capital here, raising it to a foo city. It was afterwards called Shangking, with jurisdiction eastwards to Hooligailoo 630 li, westwards to Jaochow 550 li, northwards to Pooyü Loo 700 li, and south-eastwards to Hüpin Loo 1600 li."

"Jaochow was the ancient *Chooko dien*. It was east of the Hwuntoong River; the Kin 'afterwards changing its name to *Wooking*.' Heiloong kiang was within its jurisdiction, and it was over the district city of *Shuking*."

"Whining hien was originally the Foogo hien of Kin, where Kin Taidsoo made his oaths and vows to heaven before he began his wars against the Liao; and whence he set out on his first expedition. Within its bounds were *Ching ling* and *Maji-ling* Passes, with *Boye ding* and *Yocun ye ding* Peaks of Changbaishan with the mountain of *Duashung tuo*; and the rivers *Hoo*, *Hwuntoong*, and *Lailie*."

"The 'Water Lily Pool' is 80 li south-west of Ninguta, and 20 li west of the Shangking of Kin. It is handed down by tradition that here was the Chujiang hien of Kin, which city was just beyond the outer walls of the capital."

"The present Yoongji chow or Kirin, south-west of the Shangking of Kin, must be in the Circuit of the ancient Hüpin Loo."

"Shangking was the first capital of the Kin, who called it *Shangking whining foo*. When the Kin built a capital in Yen (Peking) they dropped the name Shangking, retaining the foo name; but they soon restored the more honourable title. It was north of Changbaishan, and by the side of the Hoo water. There is now near Ninguta the site of an ancient city in which there were palaces, and which the natives call 'Doongking'—East Capital. After the original capital had crumbled

It is generally believed that the Kin dynasty gave its origin to the name China. The Chin dynasty is more likely, as far as pronunciation of the name goes,—for the word Kin is pronounced Jin (sometimes, but erroneously, written *Chin*), only since the

down, the 'Emperor' Dading (A.D. 1161—) built splendid palaces with extensive temples, the ruins of which form the 'Doongking' of Ninguta."

The Kin history states that 1000 li north-east of Shangking, was Woogwo chung,—the city of the Five Kingdoms. The Ming history locates Woogwo chung, in lands more than 1000 li north of San wan wei, and states that the name is derived from the fact that there were five kingdoms there. "There is a Woogwo chung in the neighbourhood of Sanhing." "As Kin history states that Hooligai Loo was over 500 li north-east of Whining foo, it must necessarily be where the Hoorha falls into the Dakiang," or "Great River."

We have the following clear facts: that Jaochow was east of the Hwuntoong River, and some of the lands under its care touched the Heiloong Kiang; that the Kin Shangking was 550 li east of it; that Pooyü Loo, 700 north of Shangking, was wholly or partly north of the Whuntoong; that Hüpin Loo, 1570 li south-east of Shangking was west of the Hwuntoong,—and a note states that the south-east border of Hüpin Loo would touch the north-west of Hingking; Hüpin Loo would therefore be in the region of the present Kirin; that Holan Loo was 1800 li south-east of Shangking on the north Korean border, from which it was then 500 li distant; and that Hooligai Loo was east of Shangking 630 li, and north-east of Hüpin Loo 1100 li, while Ninguta is supposed to be in what was a portion of Hooligai. We are thus compelled at once to throw the Korean Whining foo aside, and to pronounce Shangking to be outside the land which was originally under Kin. It is distinctly stated in Kin history that Whining foo was over the District cities of Whining, Yichwun, and Chüjiang; also that the rivers Hoo and Hwuntoong or Songari, with several of the northern peaks of Changbaishan were in Whining hien, which therefore must be placed at the point where the Songari and Hoorka head waters are nearest, and also so that part of Changbaishan be south of it. Chüjiang is again said to have been immediately to the south-west of Ninguta. Hence Whining foo cannot have been distant. There are great difficulties however in the way of locating it beside Ninguta, for it is "1800 li north-west of Holan Loo," which is again "500 north-west of Gaoli." But in the history of Liaotung, the sea, where the Toomun enters it, is said to be "right south of Ninguta and distant over 1000 li;" and at *Sikota shan*, south-east of Ninguta, the sea is distant only 1600 li. We feel compelled therefore to give up the fine old ruins beside Ninguta.

Again the regions east of the Hoorka were "uncivilised," those west of it "civilised," because subject to the Liao. And Shangking was originally the Whining chow of Liao. Hence we must look for it west of the Hoorka. Jaochow is east of Hwuntoong at Petuna, and 500 odd li west of Shangking, which would throw Shangking into the not distant neighbourhood of Ninguta; and renders probable the tradition that the Shaling, 100 li west of Ninguta, is the site of Shangking. My own impression from various conflicting notices is, that there were two Shangkings. The first at Shaling, which was the actual capital for a time, and from which the above measurements were taken, fell into ruins during the southward march of conquest of the Kin. Then the



present Manchu dynasty ascended the throne of their Nüjun predecessors; the word for gold having been formerly pronounced *gin* (of *begin*), and is still so pronounced, except in Peking, Mookden, or wherever the Manchus are numerous.

That short lived dynasty which preceded the Han, and which built the first Chinese great wall, was the Chin. Its reign in the latter half of the third century was styled the Jin, sometimes written Chin or Tsin. This style the Coreans always write with that consonant which may be either *j* or *ds*, *Jin* or *Dsin*; to this day they use this *Jin* to designate Chinese writing; and this Jin sound has always hitherto been written by westerns, *Chin*. It is, therefore, much more probable that the name China, which we now "aspirate," is the unaspirated *Ch* or *J* of the Tsin or Chin dynasty. I feel inclined to reject the Tsin of three centuries B.C., because it existed only a few years; and the great wall roused so universal a hatred against that dynasty that the Chinese would never call themselves by that title, as they do to this day by that of *Han*. For the latter was a powerful, long-lived and popular dynasty.

Though the Arabians call China *Sin*, and the Syrians *Tsini*, it is absurd to derive the *Sinim* of Isaiah from either Ts'in or Tsin, or Chin dynasty. For Isaiah died five centuries before Ts'in She Whang began his reign.

name of Shangking was dropped, and the lands under it were placed under the prefectural city of Whining, which city was probably the former Foo, or district city of Whining;—for the Chinese and their eastern imitators have frequently only one city, though widely varying jurisdictions, for the *foo* and the *hien*. This Whining foo would still be regarded as in the place, though not on the site, of the first Shangking, because it had charge of the three *hien* cities which had been originally under Shangking; and the term *foo* does not signify the city alone, but all the prefecture over which the magistrate (Prefect) has authority, his head quarters being in the *foo* city. Then after the Kin were firmly established in Peking, and enormous wealth poured in upon them, they bethought themselves of their original home, sent men and money to build grand palaces and extensive temples,—not to the first Shangking, which was formerly Liao soil and which was now in ruins,—but to their own original home at the head waters of the Hoo and the Hwuntoong, and on the north of Changbaishan, whose grand peaks overshadowed them. And this city would be just where stand the very extensive ruins in the vicinity of Ninguta. This is the only manner in which I can reconcile the various statements made in Liao, Kin, and Ming histories, and it appears to me a natural explanation; while the name East Capital points in the same direction.

## CHAPTER IX.

### COREA.

DURING the interval since the Tang dynasty swept like a tornado over Gaoli and Baiji—levelling the cities, rooting out the villages, and converting the cultivated fields to blood-stained wastes till, in 905, that dynasty ceased to rule over China,—the foundations of the modern Corea were being quietly, slowly, but steadily laid. The Tang broke up Gaoli; and those who could, fled across the Toomun, and to Changbaishan into Bohai land. Kitan destroyed the extensive kingdom founded by Bohai; which doubtless, in its turn, threw many myriads of fugitives south into Gaoli soil, which was then at peace because a desert.

What with immigration, and what with the natural increase of its inhabitants, when acres were numerous and men few, Gaoli had, in 918, so far recovered that Goongcha, a Buddhist priest, believing that the affairs of cities and country required the control of monarchy, assumed the title and power of king of Gaoli in Kaichow city, north-west of the present capital, and south-east of Pingyang, the ancient capital. It would appear, however, that he was scarcely able to keep order in his dominions; for, in 923, he was murdered by his general, Wang Jien, who reigned in his stead; making Kaichow his eastern and Pingyang his western capital. He was a scion of the ancient Gaoli royal house; and what was better, was of a generous and merciful disposition, "and the people had rest." This not merely proves the re-peopled state of the country, but shows its former lawlessness; which indeed was but the rule universal over all those countries subject to the influence of the decaying power of Tang, which were once welded together by its living vigour. But the history of every dynasty is similar in China. Each in its turn



is like a little boat, from the bottom of a sea trough beginning gradually and painfully to climb to the top of the billow, which it no sooner reaches than it begins to go down again.

The lands to the west and north-west of the Yaloo, once in Gaoli hands, were now, and almost ever since the crushing conquest of Gaoli, along with all Liaotung and most of Liaosi, in the power of Bohai to the north, whither many myriads of Gaoli had resorted. But if Gaoli found it impossible to march westwards, it made itself amends by crossing the Datong, Hiwngjin, Han, and other rivers;\* and, in 936-7, annexing, under king Jien, the whole of Baiji and Sinlo, whereupon Jien's right to the throne was acknowledged by all the "eastern barbarians." He thus united, for the first time, into one compact kingdom, the peninsula now known as Corea; which, subject to much plundering from Japan and to the spent force of revolutions in China, has remained intact to the present day, and has long been firmly welded into one. Jien had six foo, nine jidoo, and one hundred and twenty kun cities; imitating the Chinese classification of departmental, sub-prefectural, and district cities. His descendants ruled over Gaoli for 400 years. He made his capital at Soongyao; Pingyang being called the west capital.

In 946, the then Sung emperor, having heard of the renovated life of Gaoli, sent messengers to form an alliance with them to march against the now powerful Kitan, who had lately taken most of Bohai. The messengers found the Corean king willing to undertake the task in order to recover those large tracts of Bohai which formerly belonged to Gaoli; but they pronounced the Gaoli soldiers so thoroughly inefficient, that they would not dare look at the Kitan. The Kitan had soon thereafter become a great power in the north of China, occupying the old kingdom of Wei and Han, and commanding eastern Mongolia, Liaotung, and the Nüjun. They did not pay much respect to the king of Gaoli, who was often insulted by the presence of their brave troops. As he could not however gain any hopes of aid from the

\*See "Modern Corea" Ch. XII.

Chinese government, which was then very weak and badly conducted, he thought it best to acknowledge the suzerainty of Kitan. His messenger was, in 1012, well received by the Kitan, who expressed their pleasure in having Gaoli their tributary, and asked the king to come and make his submission in person. Suspecting they meant him no good, he declined the journey to Peking, or Yenking as it was called, on the score of illness.

As he refused to pay homage in person, the Kitan demanded the restitution of the country west of the Yaloo, with its six cities of Hing, Tie, Dong, Long, Gwei, and Go, all chows, which they had formerly granted to the Gaoli. And as the latter refused to deliver them up, the Kitan prepared to take them by force.

We have already glanced at the manner and causes of the successful establishment of the Nüjun dynasty of Kin over so much of China. Before they came into collision with China, the Nüjun, or men of Bohai, were necessarily thrown into contact with the Coreans. The country of the latter would seem a large kingdom to their Nüjun neighbours during the period before 1114, when the latter crossed the Songari. Compared with the northern nomads, the settled, agricultural Coreans, would also seem a wealthy people,—though then, as now, they were poor as compared with China. Among those possessions which constituted the wealth of Corea, was one article widely famed for generations before and after the twelfth century,—large pearls of a size and brilliancy not to be equalled by the pearls of any country then known to China. These were called "Eastern Pearls," a name given to large pearls even now. The Nüjun were well acquainted with the existence and the value of those pearls. One Nüjun, hoping to derive personal profit from the state of ill-feeling between the Liao or Kitan and Corea,—both countries being then much larger and more wealthy than his own,—went to the Court of Liao, and informed it that a large collection of those valuable pearls was stored up in a fort seven days journey to the east of Kaichow, the Corean capital. That fort enclosed a city much more splendid even than the capital, and it stood in the vicinity of the waters where alone those



large pearls were found. This man also gave the bearings of other two forts south of Shung and Lo chow cities, containing the magazines and valuable stores of Corea. To these cities, with the splendid country in which they were situated, he offered to guide a Liao army along the unoccupied southern border of Nüjun lands, and promised them certain possession of the rich prizes at extremely little risk. He would take them "across the Yaloo, and lead them by the city of Gochow,"—which route would have most probably been that one recently opened, passing through Hingking, and going in a nearly due east direction into the barren wilds of northern Corea. We do not learn whether the inducements held out by the Nüjun man had any beneficial results to himself; but the Liao preparations for an eastern campaign went on, not improbably accelerated by the visions of wealth in Corea; which visions have acted on some European nations of our own day. But the storm did not break upon Corea without indications of its approach; and to prepare, timely overtures were made, in 1014, to the chief of Nüjun for assistance. The Nüjun willingly marched to the help of their southern neighbour. The combined army laid an ambush, into which the Liao army was drawn by a feigned flight, and the Liao men were cut to pieces.

Ten years thereafter a Gaoli official travelled north to examine into the condition of the Nüjun, and a profound impression was made upon him by the extraordinary changes wrought in those few years since the defeat of Liao. They were then rude, wild, lawless, ungoverned savages; but they had become a well regulated nation, were under excellent laws, and possessed of most formidable acquirements (p. 237). He urged upon his king the immediate adoption of a friendly relationship with the infant but powerful kingdom, as the only means of warding off future troubles. The king followed the advice, and took the initiative in drawing the two kingdoms nearer to each other; and among other measures he instituted barter markets for the mutual exchange of the productions of the two peoples. But the same friendly relations did not always exist. We have already seen how

rapidly and widely was extended the kingdom and power of the Nüjun by Agooda, whose reign was begun soon after the changes referred to by the Corean traveller were introduced. It is, we believe, impossible for any people who have been remarkably successful in war, to prevent the growth of a national vanity from such success. The Nüjun were undoubtedly elated to an extreme degree at their unheard of military successes; and they would certainly not regard the Coreans as their equals. In 1117, a party of Nüjun or Kin soldiers approached the city of Baochow on the Corean frontier. As the two countries were on the best of terms, the commandant readily opened his gates; but once inside, the Nüjun took possession, and the Corean messengers got no redress at the court of Kin, nor did Corea dare to quarrel or call in question the high handed acts of its friendly neighbour.

Yü, the king of united Corea, had, a short time before, in acknowledging his suzerain lord, the Sung emperor, petitioned for medical instruction, and had two doctors sent, who were retained two years, and then sent back again. King Yü, having heard of Sung preparations to march against the south of Liao, while the Nüjun were to pour in from the north, sent his advice to Sung, to regard and treat the Liao as his younger brother; for the Liao were his best protection against the Nüjun, who were wolves and tigers. The physicians were too late, for the treaty had been already completed, and the Chinese army had already marched. The Liao were ultimately crushed between the two; and the Sung dynasty had ample reason to regret that they had not carried out the policy recommended by king Yü. Corea itself had to acknowledge the supremacy of the powerful Kin: and thus, for 400 years, it passed a comparatively quiet life, as far as China was concerned; for it never was able to raise its hand against its powerful western neighbours. And it had especial reason to treat the Nüjun with respect; for before the appearance of Agooda, it had suffered two defeats, in two attacks upon Nüjun,—the latter being an attempt to capture nine cities which the Nüjun had planted on



the southern border, right opposite a similar number of Korean cities.

After the Kin Nüjun had fattened on the rich soil of China, they became subject to repeated attacks and plundering raids from the north; for Genghis Kokhan had collected into one whole the various hordes of restless cavalry on the north of Shamo, and the west of Hinganling. Of the numerous defeated tribes he formed a conquering army, crossed the wild desert of Shamo, spread the terror of his arms and the sphere of his reign in all directions. His sons were able successors of the father; and in addition to their other numerous conquests, they drove the Kin off the throne of northern China, and put an end to the weak empire of the Sung in the south. He called his kingdom by the name of Mongol,—Munggoo as it is written by the Chinese; and *Munggoo* or Monggoo in eastern Mongol language means “silver”<sup>\*</sup>—which title he may have assumed, as he was preceded in China by Kin or the “Golden” dynasty, which had displaced “Liao” or the “Iron” dynasty,—all three being Turanian people, though each very different from the other. The Mongols spread everywhere; and long before they established themselves on the Yellow River, all Liaotung and all Manchuria were compelled to acknowledge their sway. Corea did so, as usual, without fighting.

That branch of the Mongols which settled in China assumed the dynastic title of Yuen. The Mongols seem to have meditated the conquest of the world. At all events, in 1299, they ordered Corea, as their vassal, to bring Japan under their rule. But the Yuen emperor had miscalculated both parties. Corea had been sent on a similar expedition some years before, but had to return unsuccessful. This second expedition was much more powerful than the first; and Chwunjiantaha, the Korean king, found himself master of 500 ships, built on the south of the Yangtsu. But it was easier to procure vessels fitted for such an expedition than men; for the Japanese have always

<sup>\*</sup> Howorth, in his “Mongols,” translates the name “brave”; but on whatever grounds he prefers that translation I prefer the above.

been good soldiers. This fleet had to be recalled after three years service, as it completely failed to accomplish its purpose. And to retrieve disaster to Mongol arms in the land of the sunrise, an army was sent south to Annam, which defeated every Annamese force encountered.

In the beginning of the Yuen dynasty, Corea seems to have been in complete subjection; for Yooen, the new king, was ordered into Peking for the purpose of investigating serious charges against him. For he was reported to have put to death a number of the best officials of his father. Five years after, a member of the Hanlin Academy was sent to Corea with secret instructions on the same subject. He sent to Peking Woo, the minister chiefly concerned in and responsible for the government of the young king. And it was more than matter of suspicion, that Yooen's father had been foully dealt with, and a wicked plot successfully executed. Woo was, therefore, banished to Singan. And eight years after he left the borders of his own kingdom, Yooen was again allowed to cross the Yaloo eastwards, as commander of the forces of the "Eastern Province," where an army was still under arms, probably with the view of subduing Japan. The Corean king had a very good reason to plead for the abolition of this heavy tax on the east when a severe famine pressed hard upon his country. His prayer was granted, and he was relieved from the responsibilities of the "Eastern Fighting and Travelling Province." Perhaps he was all the more readily freed from the, to him, impossible task of conquering Japan, as there was then much internal discord among the conqueror Mongols, not to speak of the extreme dissatisfaction universally abroad among their Chinese subjects. Some Mongols found plotting against the empire were banished to Corea, but others actually took up arms against their own dynasty. And henceforth, Corea's connection with China was a very nominal one, till the Buddhist priest rose in his might, and, doffing his cowl and donning his helmet, exchanging the chanting of his prayers for the shouts of maddened warriors, and the melancholy noise of his small bell and mallet for the clang and crack of sword



and spear, marched from victory to victory, driving back the successive armies of, and taking city after city from, the Mongol, who had become as weak as he was wicked, and weak because wicked. This Chinese monk rapidly rose in power, assumed the imperial title of Ming or "Bright," and took a wife to found a family. What with the widely extending "rebellion" of this monk, whom the Chinese welcomed as a deliverer, and with the dissatisfied Mongol princes raising the standard of rebellion in various directions, instead of supporting their own dynasty,—the Yuen family thought it high time to look out a quiet retreat where they could be able to defend themselves and their accumulated treasures, "if the worst came to the worst." This is the only explanation we can think of giving to the fact that, at this critical juncture, Tasutumor was sent from Peking with the title of king of Corea, and with a force to support it. News of his approach flew before him; and when he got to the banks of the Yaloo, Coreans rose up from all sides and gave him such a reception that he fain had to flee to his native capital again; thus weakening instead of strengthening the imperial cause.

In 1368, six years after that abortive attempt, the warrior monk was enthroned in Peking, emperor of all China.\* Next year Wang Jwan, the king of Corea, sent an ambassador with letters of congratulation to the new emperor, to his new capital of Nanking, and the pleased emperor formally acknowledged him king of Corea. Some great men were soon after banished by

\* The Yuen commandant of Liaotung gave in his submission at the summons of the new dynasty; and the new emperor divided Liaotung into districts. The Circuit of *Woolangha*, north of *Yü yang sai*, and south of Heilong kiang, was the *Daning* Circuit or *Loo* of Yuen; *San Wei* was north of the *Hung shwi*, and included the present Kirin. From Sifung Kow, via Kwangning to Hüenfoo, was called *Toyenboo*; and *Fooyü bootoo* stretched from Whangniwa via Mookden, and Tieling to Kaiyuen. *Daning loo* was the regions of Liaosi, now called Kingchow, Yichow, and eastwards across the Liao to Baiyun shan; this was the ancient *Woolangha*; the people there lived wherever they found grass and water. This, therefore, is the southeastern portion of Inner Mongolia, where the people still—except the numerous Chinese settlers—"live where they can find grass and water." The country districts between Shan hai gwan and Kingchow were very largely occupied by Mongols, even in the seventeenth century.

the Chinese court to Corea; and in token of his good will, the Korean king sent his sons and younger brothers to the *Gwodsu* College to learn Chinese. This king was succeeded by his son Yü, who had the misfortune to have a minister more able than himself, and unscrupulous to boot. Yü was therefore thrust aside;—first imprisoned, and then murdered; and his son Mao was placed on the throne. This minister, Li Yinyin, had a son, Li Chunggwei, who made away with Mao, and occupied the throne himself; thus finishing the story of the Korean Mayor of the Palace. He repeatedly sent messengers to Nanking to have his title confirmed; and at length had his prayers granted. He founded the dynasty which still rules Corea, and which has, therefore, swayed the Korean sceptre for more than four centuries. He moved his capital to its present site, to the city of Hanchung, on the Han river,—the name Seool or Sheoul simply meaning “The Capital.” He also changed the name Gaoli, which had prevailed since the Tang dynasty, to CHAOSIEN, the oldest known name of Corea, or of any portion of it. This is the name by which it is now called. The land has remained exactly as he left it,—bounded on the north-west by the Yaloo, on the north by the Nüjun, and elsewhere by the sea.

The Japanese were probably emboldened by their repeated victories over the Chinese or Corean armies sent to annex their land, and were inclined to cross the sea and to retaliate. It was, doubtless, their ascertained superiority over their wealthy neighbours which tempted them to build their ships, and assume the part of eastern Vikings; for immediately on the accession of the Ming, a band of Japanese descended upon the coasts of Shantung and pillaged them. Their visits must have repaid the trouble, and been more frequent than welcome; for in 1387, many fortified cities had to be built along the eastern Chinese coasts to watch them. They were not so successful in a raid on Liaotung; which, most probably, was then not so wealthy along the coast as it is now, and the Japs may have been tempted to march too far from their ships. At any rate, they were thoroughly defeated by Lieutenant-General Liw Yoong; but



whether from the severity of their chastisement or their experience of the poverty of the land, they did not pay a second visit to Liaotung. They were, however, the scourge of the whole coast of China, from Canton to Chifoo, all through the Ming dynasty; and held Formosa as piratical headquarters for many years.

In the latter half of the Ming period, Liaotung was the scene of frequent fighting. The Tooman, a Mongol people, from the north-west of Liaotung, took the city of Fooshwun, and attacked Funghwangchung, when the founder of the Manchu dynasty was a boy of about a dozen years of age, enjoying the quiet mountain life, and delighting to join in the sport of the chase some few score miles east of Fooshwun. At Funghwang, Lieutenant-General Heichwun fought the Tooman for three days and nights, and at last fell in the battle.

At the recommendation of the able Li Chungliang, commandant of Liaotung, of the six "poo" or fortified small towns east of Liaoyang, that of Gooshan was moved to Changchihala dien, Jienshan to Kwandien and Jiang; Jao, Sin, and Ngan to the neighbourhood of Changdien and Changling, to look after the borders and the agricultural interests of the neighbourhood. But though all the six were in narrow vallies, east and south-east of the more recent Hingking, that of Kwandien alone seemed to me to be of any strategical importance; for it is on one of the two routes into Corea, in the midst of a splendid valley covered with immense blocks of lava, of which six feet of the city walls were built; and flanked by magnificent mountains, before which the other mountains all around seem hillocks. Thirty years after, those fortified cities were abandoned as useless; indeed, personal inspection has shown the writer only four to have been finished,—the north wall of Kwandien being only half finished; and of the sixth, never a stone was laid. There were then 64,000 families in those glens, which have for three centuries, under the name of "Neutral Territory," been the homes of the deer and the tiger, the leopard, the wild boar, and the wolf, and the still more destructive robber bands—only three years ago annihilated.

For those families were recalled westwards, where they could be protected ; and only two and a half centuries after, and a couple of years ago, was the land known as "Neutral territory" again thrown open to the Chinese plough. It is now, however, no longer "neutral," but almost all occupied by Chinese farmers.

During that interval of thirty years much had happened in Liaotung. The Tooman Mongols had again and again pillaged the country, and plundered the towns ; and before they were quieted down, the "city" of Joolwun was taken by the young founder of the Manchu dynasty at the head of 130 men,—thirty of whom had coats of "mail," consisting of many folds of cotton. Because of the Tooman ravages, Chungliang was degraded ; but when thicker clouds began to gather, he was, ten years after (in 1601), reappointed generallissimo of Liaotung, with the title of count ; for though seventy-six years of age, he was considered the best man for that troublesome post. His future belongs to Manchu history.

In 1592, a tremendous storm broke upon Corea from the east. There were then numerous converts to Romanism in Japan among all ranks of society ; and, as usual, where Jesuits are present, and have many to listen to them, the civil government found itself greatly embarrassed. It is supposed that this was the true reason of the expedition against Corea ; both officers and men of which expedition were largely composed of Romish converts, who could remain in Corea if they conquered it, and who must remain if they were conquered. Thus victors or vanquished, the Japanese government believed, or is supposed to have believed, it could get rid of a difficulty which it afterwards got rid of by wholesale massacre, as Louis XIV. and St. Bartholomew Charles, in France, of their Protestant troubles.

Some time before, Sinshang, a governor of a province in Japan, was travelling and came across a young slave peasant lying under a tree. As he did not get up and pay his respects, Sinshang ordered the boy to be put to death, but with so much grace of manner and eloquence of speech did he defend himself, that the governor, instead of slaying him, attached him to his own person.



His abilities raised him from post to post, and innumerable favours made him a devoted adherent of the governor. Sinshang was murdered; and the former slave so effectually avenged his death, that he was made his successor. He extended his authority over six provinces in the west and south-west of Japan, and he ultimately became Tycoon, with the title Taiko-Sama. His name in Japanese history is Fashiba: the Chinese called him Ping Siwgi. It was in Siwgi's name that a Japanese army sailed from the rendezvous of Dooima dao\* (island) into Fooshan of Corea, where they broke up the Corean army there. Army after army came from the eight Do or provinces of Corea, all of whom were annihilated. The Corean king, a weak debauchee, had fled before a blow was struck, from Hanchung to Pinyang, and then to Yichow or Aichow on the Yaloo, from which he crossed the Yaloo into Chinese soil and implored Ming protection. His second son was left in charge of the capital, but was unable to save it; for the Japanese were soon masters of it, together with Linjin, Bundao, and Bongda. The Japanese army was soon reinforced; while a Chinese army was sent eastwards in response to the call of the king. This army got to the neighbourhood of Pingyang, but was completely defeated. The commander in chief, when reporting the loss at Peking, pleaded for a larger body of troops to put down the powerful Japanese. This prayer was warmly opposed by the President of war, who had all along objected to the movement of forces towards Corea, as an expenditure of blood and treasure wholly profitless to the well being of the empire. He had perhaps not dreamed that Fashiba had designs on the dragon throne. He therefore, instead of an army, sent Shun Weijing a Chikiang man, who, it is most likely, could talk Japanese; for there was then constant intercourse, by way of Formosa, between Japan and Chikiang. This man was to feign to be a deserter from the Chinese, and to sound the Japanese as to the possibility of peace. He returned to Peking with the reply that if the Chinese desired peace they could have it on condition

\*This Ma island is that point of Japan nearest Corea; Fooshan was the first Corean port opened to Japan by the recent treaty.



that all the lands east of the Tonggang river and Pingyang, already under Japanese arms, should remain in their possession. They were willing to renounce all claim to the lands westwards of that river. They thus demanded the ancient Sinlo and Baiji. The President of the Board of War at last understood that peace could be obtained only after war. He, therefore, prepared a considerable force, which he placed under Li Yoosong and his lieutenant-general, who had been well trained, and had proved their prowess in the suppression of the rebellion of Ninghia.

Yoosong found it extremely hard marching past the magnificent ranges of Funghwang shan, on the top of one peak of which are the ruins of an ancient Corean city,—but got to Pingyang and the Tonggang, in Feb. 1593. He found Pingyang well protected on the south-west by the Tonggang, on the west by a mountain; while the Japanese, most brilliantly dressed, occupied the most important post,—an eminence on the north of the city. Li attacked this eminence, and quickly drew off as if in flight, to tempt the Japanese to follow him; which they did at night, when he drove them back with considerable loss. Two days later he made a general and determined assault on the city, and a desperate fight ensued, in which Li's horse was killed under him, and in which his tenacious bravery alone prevented his men from flight. He mounted a fresh horse, and plunged into the thickest of the meleé. At length the walls were scaled, the Chinese poured into the city, and the Japanese crossed the Tonggang at night, retreating eastwards. They were pursued by Li, and turned upon him, wounding and all but taking him. The battle was fought with surpassing bravery on both sides, and was a drawn one. Li was, however, compelled to retire on Gaichung, as he found it impossible just then to force his way to the capital.

In April, Li surprised great stores of rice, &c., which compelled the Japanese to treat. The Chinese agreed to recognise Siwgi as Japanese king, on condition of the total withdrawal of Japanese troops and claims from Corea. The Corean king sent as ambassador—to congratulate Siwgi on the recognition by China



of him as king—a very inferior official, with a poor retinue and mean presents. Siwgi declared this an insult, not only to him, but to the emperor, and was deeply offended at the indignity offered him. He sent magnificent presents to the emperor; but refused, in the face of that insult from the Korean king, to withdraw any of his forces. 20,000 Chinese had fallen; and the Japanese at length withdrew from the capital, only after their provisions had failed them. They, however, retained fast hold of Fooshan; and the Chinese could not therefore retire out of Corea.

In the fourth year of Japanese occupation, a kind of peace was patched up, when the Korean king was acknowledged by the Japanese; and the Chinese had agreed to the tribute to be paid the Japanese by Corea. The peace was nominal, however; for a Censor, appointed from Peking to Corea, to look after the interests of that country, was recalled in disgrace; for after he lost 20,000 men, he was in terror of the Japanese. It was only in 1598, after severe fighting with the Chinese troops, sent eastwards the preceding year, that the Japanese made terms of peace, and finally withdrew,—Siwgi dying that year. During those seven years' war, the Coreans lost hundreds of thousands of men, and many millions of taels. In connection with this conquest, it is strange that the Coreans persist in believing and stating that Japan has always paid them tribute. We can account for it only on the supposition that the Japanese brought some presents for the Korean king, and that Corea followed the example of China in calling these by the name of tribute.

The preceding account of the Japanese occupation of Corea is proof sufficient of the character of the Coreans as drawn by the Ming historians,—that they were a people timid and weak, though excellent students and capital scholars, full of veneration for their numerous priests, much afraid of demons; and hating the slaughter of men or animals. The same historians state of the Coreans that, when going outside, the least wind would blow off their hats,—implying that they wore three centuries ago the same broad brimmed, high, conical, horse-hair hat worn now. Their dress

sleeves were enormously wide, as they are still. Marriages were then, as in Britain now, consummated by the young people themselves, who were free to see and to choose for themselves. In this they have changed to the Chinese style (see Customs, below). Burials took place only three years after death. Their officials and lower ranks of soldiers and lictors were extremely polite. All public officers were paid in land, as in ancient China. In punishing offenders, they never beat a man to death (comp. customs). Their clothing was made of flax, and they still use a coarse linen; and their houses were built of straw (comp. customs).

The following narrative of the conquest of Corea by the Manchus is translated chiefly from the "Holy wars," which introduces Corea in the following manner:—

"Corea, from north to south, is two thousand li. It is divided into eight provinces, containing forty-one circuits, in which are thirty-three *foo*, thirty-eight *chow*, and seventy *hien* cities, *i.e.* in all a hundred and forty-one walled cities. It is bounded on the north by Liao, and on the east, west, and south by the sea. The whole of its sea coast is locked in by very high mountain ranges and islands cut off the main land, there being only Fooshan, opposite to Madao (island), into which vessels can sail, and which was anciently the resort of Japanese pirates.

"Going to the capital from Fooshan, it is necessary to pass through the two provinces of Chüenlo and Chingshan\* between which provinces is a very high range of mountains, precipitous in the extreme, and easily defended. Liw Ting kept Chüenlo for two years with only five thousand men, in the time of Wanli, and cut out all to the east of him.

"The capital is in the heart of the eight provinces, its north protected by Tsoongshan, and its south by Tsangchiao mountains.

"Joongchow has on its right and left Jinling and Maling, with a winding path where only one man can walk. Here at the south side the Japanese held the path against the Chinese with a few men; while at the north end, a few Chinese blocked the way

\* *Julla and Giungshang.*



against the Japanese. These are most important natural defences.

"Their (walled) cities are few, and they are ignorant of the proper style of etiquette for their king and great men, as also of the art of defence in war. Their soldiers mostly wear long garments of fine linen, and are not properly drilled. Office and honour are hereditary, and they have their hereditary servants (or serfs). The common people always remain the common people; for no amount of ability will entitle a man born outside the official class to become a magistrate.\*

"On the east of Corea is Japan, and on its west Liao, so that it is encompassed by difficulty and danger, and is the refuge for the fugitives of both.

"Pingyang stands between the Yaloo on the west, and the Jinkang on the north, both which run into Bohai on the south. When therefore the Japanese barbarians fought in Corea, they took Pingyang, and cut off all succour from the south-west.

"If a kingdom is able to take care of itself by its own strength, well; the next best thing is to have a sure ally. The Coreans have therefore, under the Ming and Tsing dynasties, looked to China for assistance, which was sure to be given; for the reputation and skill of China were at their disposal. The helmet and coat of mail of Corea is faithfulness; propriety and rectitude are its surest defence."

Corea has been more or less under Chinese influence and control ever since the first emperor of the Tang dynasty drove the Coreans eastwards out of Manchuria or Liaotung, and across the Yaloo river, which he made the boundary of Corea proper. The first contact of Coreans with the Manchus was in 1619, at the great battles of Hingking, where twenty thousand of the former, marching westwards to Kwandien, joined that division of the Chinese army which threatened Hingking from the south. The Coreans were defeated with the Chinese, and their leader with five thousand men deserted.†

\* This is not absolutely the case now. (See Literature, below).

† See "History of Manchus."

The Manchu Taidsoo sent ten of these deserters to the Korean king, Li Hwi, with an epistle, stating that, because of old the Chinese sent assistance\* to the Coreans, it was very natural and right that the Chinese should now be assisted by them; that he was, therefore, not the least offended by their fidelity to their allies; and in proof of his goodwill, he would send to his home every man of the Coreans who had deserted. But his generosity had not the desired effect; for Corea remained firm, and did not even give thanks for the men sent back.

One of the divisions of *Doonghai*, or Maritime Province, right across the north of the Yaloo, south of Hingking and bordering Corea, was Warka, against which Taidsoo sent several expeditions, and took many of its sparse population. Coreans crossed the border to assist the men of Warka. They also abetted Boojantai, chief of Woola, in the north. When Taidsoo died, they sent no letter of condolence, as even the Chinese and Mongols did. They permitted the Chinese Lieutenant-general, Mao Wunloong, to land on their shores with a good many thousand men of Liaotung, whom he had collected at Pi † (Skin) island; for in Corea he had a vantage ground, whence he made incursions into Manchu territory, and annoyed them much and long.

As the Manchus found it impossible to take Ningyuen from the Chinese, while it was under governor Choonghwan, they made the above *casus belli* against the Coreans; and employing two fugitive Coreans as guides, four Beiras led a large army against Corea in 1627, the first year of the Manchu Taidsoong, the seventh of the Chinese Tienchi, and the third of the Korean Li Dsoongsu. They crossed the Yaloo on the ice in February, and first attacked Mao Wunloong, in Tieshan, or the Iron mountains in the west of Corea, at the mouth of the Yaloo. He was defeated, and fled back to Pi island. Yichow was next attacked and taken, then

\* Referring, doubtless, to the assistance against the Japanese.

† An island off the port of Pidsuwo in the south-east corner of Liaotung peninsula, which has often since—perhaps always since—been the head-quarters of thousands of robbers, only lately driven off.



Dingchow, and Hanshan chung. Many myriads of the people, soldiers and citizens, were slain; and incalculable quantities of grain and stores burnt.

That same month they crossed the Chingchüen kiang, and took Anchow, which had been taken by the first Tang emperor, under the name of Anboo. The large city of Pingyang was then besieged. The officials and citizens all fled, and the army crossed Datong kiang and entered Joongho. Next month they arrived at Gwangchow; and the whole kingdom, in great terror, prayed the Chinese to send urgent aid. And in response, Choonghwan despatched a number of large vessels and soldiers to support Pi island; and nine thousand picked men to Sancha ho, on the west of the Liao, just above Newchwang. This move terrified the Manchus, lest the weakness of their position in Liaotung should be discovered, for their army was far away. They, therefore, collected every available man, and kept the most careful watch over the Liao river.

Meantime the Korean capital was besieged; the queen and her children, with all the great ladies, were removed to Ganghwa island, south of the city of Kaichow, and at the mouth of the Han river, which was inaccessible to the Manchus, who were destitute of vessels.

The attacking army encamped on Pingshan, to which the king sent a younger brother, the prince of Yuenchang, with a peace-offering consisting of a hundred horses, a hundred tiger-skins, a hundred leopards, a hundred pieces each of satin, pongee, and linen, with fifteen thousand pieces of cotton cloth. Messengers were thereupon sent to Ganghwa island to make a treaty, at the ratification of which a white horse and a black ox were sacrificed, and a paper with the treaty provisions was burnt to inform Heaven and Earth. The principal part of the treaty was that by which the two kingdoms were called "elder and younger brothers."

The treaty was first sought by the Korean king, but the Manchu chiefs were not slow in making it; for they were becoming apprehensive lest the Chinese or Mongols should advance upon Liaotung in their absence. But the Beira Amin, coveting the

beauty of the situation of the capital, and its noble palaces and halls, refused to be a party to the treaty. The other Beiras, therefore, ordered the division of Amin to camp on Pingshan, concluded their treaty separately, and then made it known to Amin, who, replying that he was not satisfied with the provisions, led out his army and laid waste the country. He afterwards concluded a treaty of his own with the prince of Yuenchang at Pingyang.

Taidsoong sent a courier to order Amin never again to destroy the produce of autumn, and also to order him to garrison Yichow with three thousand men. This garrison was left to make sure that the provisions of the treaty would be carried out; and the rest of the army was recalled from Corea.

In May, Li Jiao, the prince of Yuenchang, accompanied the army to court; and in the following autumn the Korean king pleaded the recall of the garrison in Yichow, promising to redeem all the prisoners. The amount of tribute to be paid yearly was fixed, and an agreement was made to hold a market for exchange of products on the west of the *Joong kiang*, or "Middle river," as the Yaloo is now called.\*

This same year Choonghwan put to death, on Shwang (Double) island, Mao Wunloong, who had gradually risen to power by frequent and successful raids against the Manchus along the south, and east, and north-east coasts of Liaotung. One authority states that this was because Choonghwan suspected Mao of treachery; another, that it was for private reasons of his

\* A wide and deep ditch was cut through a loess hillock on the west side of Funghwang shan, across the narrow gully, westwards. A village was founded by the trade which grew there; and if the city of Funghwang chung was not originated by Corean traffic, it increased largely by the roads thus opened. This original ditch is about three miles directly south of Funghwang chung, and is known as the "Old Border-Gate." The present border-gate, commonly called the "Corean Gate," is a long straggling street running east and west, under the shadow of the south peaks of Funghwang shan, and at right angles to the once wide ditch east of it. Here Chinese and Corean merchants exchange their mutual products thrice, and sometimes four times a year,—the Corean exchanges his excellent ox-hide, paper, silks, ginshing, gold and lead, for the best English cotton, Chinese cotton, sugar, &c. The yearly merchandise amounts to several hundred thousand pounds on each side.



own, fearing his reputation might by and by be overshadowed by Mao. This latter is probably the correct reason; for the death of Mao so shocked the Chinese emperor, that he recalled Choonghwan to Peking. He was, however, again employed by the succeeding emperor; but, in 1629, he was put to death by one of the cleverest stratagems of the Manchus.\*

The death of Mao deprived the islands of the south-east coast of Liaotung and south-west and west of Corea of their master, and most of his soldiers disbanded and crossed to Shantung. The Manchus were eager to take possession of the islands, and ordered the Corean king to provide the necessary vessels. On the third day after the arrival of the ambassador, the king, who was ready to submit to have his hands bound down, rebelled from the idea of active hostility against the Chinese, who, he said, had been to him a father; and how could he attack his own father? By this act he annulled the former treaty.

In 1633, a despatch was forwarded to the Corean king, accusing him of neglecting to pay the promised tribute, of harbouring fugitives, of encroaching on Manchu ginseng and pasture land, of deliberating to withdraw and send no more ambassadors, and of threatening to stop the Yaloo market. But in the summer of this year, the assistance of the Coreans was rendered less essential by the desertion of three men, afterwards very famous, who had served under Mao Wunloong, and who had, at his death, gone across to Shantung, got commissions, revolted, were defeated, took ship, and recrossed the gulf to join the Manchus with twenty thousand soldiers. These were Koong Yoodua, Shang Kosi,† and Gung Joongming; afterwards occupying such important positions under the Manchus in the south of China.

Immediately on their arrival, some vessels were laden with grain, and sent to Corea with an epistle stating:—"Your

\* See Manchu History.

† Professor Douglas in his article on "China" in Brit. Encyclop., divides, in some mysterious manner, the Chinese empire between this "Shang Kohe" and the rebel Li Tsze Ching, both agreeing to fight against the Manchus. But this is only one of several incorrect statements in that article.

kingdom has looked upon the Chinese government as your father, yet it has entirely ceased to give you any grain. We wish now to act the part of elder brother for once. Even though we know you are unwilling to recognise this relationship, when Koong and Gung came over to us with ships, we at once seized the opportunity, and now forward you corn in these vessels. We look in return for the restoration of those fugitives from Hwining,\* and the men of Boojointai, about whom we have so frequently sent you detailed information, and whom you have employed in rebuilding Hwang, Hai, Ping, An, and other cities, twelve in all, in three different provinces."

The Coreans were also upbraided for stopping the market for exchange at the "Gate," for ceasing to deliver the tribute of satin and cotton, and for deteriorating the quality of ginseng. The original price of this article, mutually agreed to, was sixteen ounces of silver per ounce. The Coreans afterwards stopped the tribute of ginseng, and gave instead nine ounces of silver; hence the complaint. The ginseng of Ninguta known to Han dynasty, produced violent diarrhoea if half a catty were eaten! The Coreans were also blamed for interfering with Manchu operations against Warka, because the people were Nūjun, and therefore of the same "family" as the Manchus. The Manchus set up the plea now so common in wars of aggression in Europe,—that of identity of race.

In the spring of 1634, Taidsoong was desirous to come to terms with the Chinese emperor; and asked the Korean king to transmit his letter, for his former letters had all miscarried. The king, instead of doing so, informed the Chinese commandant of Pi island, that he was anxious no terms should be made with the Manchus; and sent a messenger to Taidsoong, stating that he could neither deliver up the fugitives, nor open the market at the gate. This messenger also assumed an arrogant tone, and desired to seat himself above the Manchu ministers in order to

\* Hwining is an ancient city east, and in the neighbourhood of Ninguta; and Boojointai was the last prince of Woola in the same neighbourhood.



mark their inferiority. This conduct enraged Taidsoong, who refused to accept his presents, and detained the minister.

When formerly the Coreans sent ambassadors to the Manchu court, the Manchus returned the visits, and gave "presents" in return for the Corean "tribute." Special ambassadors were sent to condole with the Corean king, on the death of his mother and wife. His "petition" the Corean king now called a "letter," and to the "tribute" he gave the name of "presents." He also wished the term "honourable and humble kingdom," to be exchanged for the term "neighbouring kingdoms"; and that mutual presents be given by the two courts.

Taidsoong, still desirous to gain Corea by kindness, was anxious that all the Beiras should combine in forming a treaty. They agreed, and worked away at terms for a treaty; but after much and angry discussion, it was rejected by the Corean ministers. The Coreans, besides, set a guard over the ambassador Yingwortai, who, probably apprehensive of murder, at the head of his party rode against, pushed open the gate, and fled. The Corean king sent a messenger with a despatch after him, and another to the officer commanding on the border, to warn him to be watchful.

Negotiations were broken off in 1636; and when Corean ambassadors came to the court at Moukden, they refused to pay the accustomed reverence, but handed in their credentials as all that was necessary; there was, therefore, no return embassy sent. Just before that coldness on the part of Corea, the Manchu army had overrun and taken the Mongol Chahar, where the long-lost imperial seal of the Yuen dynasty was found in the possession of an old Mongol princess. The forty-nine Beiras of Inner Mongolia hereupon all tendered their submission to the Manchus. Those Mongols, who have always been excellent horsemen and made capital cavalry when well led, were attached to the Manchus; and the combined army had completely routed the Chinese army in Liaosi. As there was, therefore, no immediate danger of an attack from China, preparations were made to march a second time into Corea.

In January 1637, Mongol and Manchu forces were told off; some to keep watch over internal affairs, and some to guard the Liao and seaside from any possible Chinese attack.

The army formed for the conquest of Corea numbered 100,000 men. Dorgun, who had been made Zooi chin-wang, with the Beira Haogo, was ordered to march from Kwandien through Changshan pass\* with the left wing. Taidsoong himself led the right wing, which crossed the Jun gang, arrived at Gokshan city, received the keys of Dingchow and Anchow, and marched to Lingjingang, more than a hundred li north of the Korean capital; while a portion of the same wing, told off for the purpose, seconded them from the Han gang river, south of the capital. The season had not yet arrived when the river should be frozen over; but on the arrival of the carts and horses, it became fast frozen all of a sudden, and the whole army crossed over, which was, of course, a special miracle.

Yü chin-wang Dodo, who led the van of the right wing, composed of fifteen hundred men, came up with the Korean picked soldiers, to the number of several thousands, and defeated them just outside the gate of the capital. The king sent out messengers to welcome and to feast the enemy's soldiers, in order, doubtless, to gain some little goodwill; while he himself, after sending away his queen and children with the principal ladies of the court to Ganghwa island, started off with his best troops to reinforce south Hanshan city.†

The right wing now entered the capital, and was soon joined by Yü chin-wang and the Beira Yoto, who had taken Pingyang. The reinforced army marched against and surrounded south Hanshan. Thrice were relieving armies defeated; and two sallies by the city army were driven back. Thereupon over three

\* This long and geologically singular pass runs east from the rich minera district of Saima-ji; so that this wing could enter Corea at its remote north-west corner, while Taidsoong passed down by Funghwang-chung and entered by the west side.

† Another name given to Han gang, or "river," is Hiwngjin gang, on which is Hanshan city. By it all provisions enter the capital, and its preservation was of the first importance to the kingdom.



hundred families who had entered Corea from Warka, its northern Nüjun neighbour, came over to the Manchus. Taidsoong ordered the capital to be plundered, while he crossed the river and routed the relieving army from Julla and Joong-ching. Messengers were sent to the Corean king, complaining of his chief ministers, who had caused the misunderstanding, and who were now demanded as prisoners by the Manchus.

In March, the Manchus encamped on the north bank of the river, twenty li from the capital. Zooi chin-wang, who had marched eastwards through Changshan pass, took Changchow, and defeated the relieving armies from An, Hwang, Ning, and the border cities, numbering 15,000 men. He now joined the main body at the capital. The Beira Dodo also arrived with the heavy artillery, having come down by the Linjin river, and reunited with the main army.

The Corean king had early sent messengers for aid from the Chinese; who, however, had their hands too full, because of the robbers then covering the land with their plundering armies. The lieutenant-general of Tungchow and Laichow in Shantung was ordered to cross over; but as a contrary wind was blowing at the time, he dared not set sail. The Coreans had therefore no hope from outside; and their own armies from the east and south, raised to relieve the capital, dispersed; while those on the west and north dared not advance. The city was running short of provisions, while the Manchus were plundering the country around in all directions. What they did not take they burnt, and the greatest terror prevailed. This brought the king at last to reason; and he sent ambassadors to pray for peace, who, however, would be listened to only on condition, that the ministers who urged the king to renounce the former treaty, be handed over to the Manchus. The king was unwilling to grant those terms, and pleaded to be permitted to remain in the city,—to prevent the humiliation of acknowledging formally the sovereignty of the Manchus.

While all this fighting, robbing, and burning were wasting Gingi Do, and while all the mainland was in terror of the Manchu

arms, the queen and her children, with the wives of the great ministers, were safe in the stronghold on the island of Ganghwa. Zooi chin-wang embarked in small boats; took with him some great guns, by means of which he shattered thirty large vessels of the enemy guarding Ganghwa; and crossing to the island in his small boats, he defeated the thousand odd guards who defended the fort. He then entered the city, seized the queen, the heir to the throne, and seventy-six members of the royal family, with a hundred and sixty-six wives of the principal ministers, whom he treated with the greatest respect and kindness. Taidsoong reported to the Korean king what had happened. The king, now completely vanquished, besought leave to go to see his family, and sent to the Manchus the principal ministers, who had advised the annulling of the treaty.

Taidsoong demanded that the Koreans should renounce their allegiance to the Chinese, and hand over two of the king's sons as hostages. In war they were to assist the Manchu, and if attacked, to feed the army sent to their aid. Every year they must send congratulations and presents, as they did formerly to the court of the Ming. No city was to be built or fortified without permission; but the customs left by the three centuries of ancestors, and the limits of their country, were to remain unaltered;—and they have continued unchanged. The king received these conditions, bowing to the ground. In March, several scores of horsemen marched out of the city, and set up an altar at Santien doo, on the east bank, and prepared a yellow tent for Taidsoong; who, after arranging the order of procedure, crossed the river with a guard; and, while music was being played, ascended the altar through the lines of soldiers already drawn up in order.

The Korean king, at the head of all his ministers, started from Nanshan; and when within five li of the altar, came forward on foot. Messengers were sent more than a li from the altar to welcome him, and to inform him as to the proper ceremonies to be observed.

Taidsoong came down from his high seat, conducted forward



the Korean king, who, with his sons and ministers, joined Taidsoong in worshipping Heaven. When this ceremony was over, Taidsoong again sat down; while the king, at the head of his inferiors, prostrated themselves on the ground, confessed their crime, and were pardoned. The king, with all his sons and ministers, then bowed nine times to the ground, returning thanks; after which he was made to sit down at the left hand, facing west,\* above all the Manchu wangs. After the ceremony of conferring these favours was over, all the ministers and the king's family were permitted to enter the capital. In this same month, the separate bands of the army were recalled and ordered westwards; the king, his sons and ministers, accompanying them ten li, and kneeling when taking leave.

Because Corea had suffered so much recently from his army, Taidsoong remitted the tribute of the next two years, fixing the autumn of the third year for the first payment; and if, thereafter, they should find themselves unable to meet their engagements, the king was informed that the abatement or nonpayment could be settled at the time. Just below the altar at Santien doo, the Coreans, ministers and people, set up a slab, with an inscription in praise of Taidsoong's clemency.

Two months after, the king forwarded his two hostage sons to Moukden; and next month Koong Yoodua, and the other deserters, guided the Korean vessels against the island of Pi, took several myriad men on that and the neighbouring islands, and terminated the reign of this Manchu scourge; for the Chinese made no subsequent attempt to garrison those islands during that long-continued war.

At the command of the Manchus, the Coreans, in 1638, attacked and took prisoners the people of Koorka, a tribe of Nüjun living on their northern border, beyond the Toomun and east of Changbai shan, who had rebelled against Manchu rule, and had fled to Hiwng (Bear) island, north-east of the Korean coast. This was their first service under their new masters; but they

\* The emperor and gods are all represented as facing south; the post of honour is on the left hand facing west; the next on the right hand facing east.

served with a bad grace, for in 1641 they were reprimanded, because that, having been entrusted with the conveyance of ten thousand *dan* of grain to Kingchow, where the Manchus were at war with the Chinese, the thirty-two Korean ships, in which the grain had been stowed, had never been seen. The same quantity was again transmitted in a hundred and fifteen ships from the mouths of Daliang and Siaoliang rivers, east of Kingchow, for Sanshan dao,\* on which over fifty ships were dashed to pieces by the wind, or taken by the Chinese. Of the whole, fifty-two made their way across the gulf eastwards to Kaichow, but failed to enter the small river. The Korean officials petitioned to be permitted to forward the grain overland, but received an angry reply. To complete the sum of their sins, three Korean ships, under some pretence, sailed into Chinese waters, where they naturally acted as friends; but it was known to the Manchus that these ships had sailed out of their proper course, and had, therefore, sought, and not avoided, Chinese waters. The Manchus, therefore, wrote an angry disapproval of this conduct, stating that the Koreans were at liberty to do what they would with their grain; to throw it overboard, or recall it to their own country at their pleasure.

The Korean minister, Li Chingye, was terrified, and entreated to be once again permitted to brave the dangers of the sea in transporting the grain. He was allowed, however, to transport it over land. A thousand Korean soldiers, bearing firearms, with five hundred camp followers, were retained in Manchu service, and the rest sent home. But soon thereafter, messengers were again sent to Corea to reprove the ministers, and to make investigation why it was that, after they were long overdue, neither grain, soldiers, nor horses appeared. Several of the principal Korean ministers were apprehended as guilty of treachery.

In 1642, after the crushing defeat at Kingchow, the Chinese sent an embassy for terms of peace, which the Manchus were willing to grant, on terms, however, which the Chinese could not, or would not accept. Immediately afterwards, a despatch

\* An island, forty-five li south of Kingchow.



was forwarded to the Korean king, complaining that two Chinese vessels had been welcomed in Korean waters, and strictly forbidding such conduct for the future. The king was also commanded to cease from slaying his people, and rather to calm them by useful and wise administration ;—an admonition not out of place now, if one half the stories of official atrocities spoken of in that overcrowded land be true.

A deputation had been sent to Funghwang chung some time before, to examine into the truth of a charge made by the Korean king\* against two of his own ministers, who were said to be in secret communication with the Chinese. The charge was proved ; for Tsooi Mingji and Lin Chingye, two of the principal ministers, had, in the temple of ancestors at Pingyang, with Lin Shangho, the governor of that province, forwarded a letter to the Chinese. They were now handed over to the above embassy, along with the messengers who delivered the letters and presents. They were all punished ;—Mingji was imprisoned ; Chingye fled ; his wife was imprisoned ; and Shangho was degraded.

The Korean king had sent eight messengers with presents of silver, rice, ginseng, and friendly letters to the Manchus. The messengers sold the presents at Tungchow in Shantung, and in Ningyuen. The king put these men to death. In the end of the year he sent soldiers to Taidsoong, who were met, welcomed, and feasted. Thus terminated the struggling of the ancient Corea against the fetters imposed upon her by the upstart Manchu kingdom.

The Coreans had a third of their tribute remitted in 1643, after the death of Taidsoong ; and in the following year, when sending home the king's son, who had gone to Peking to have his title to the crown confirmed, a half was remitted, and a pardon proclaimed to all in Corea who were condemned to die. *Kanghi*, *Yoongjung*, and *Kienloong*, frequently remitted the tribute, demanding only a tithe, treating the Coreans like

\* In the *Doong hwa loo* this and several remarks of a similar nature already made, seem to imply that the hereditary ministers lorded it over the king, which is probable enough.

Chinese. Since the time of *Kanghi*, whenever Corea has been threatened with famine, grain has been sent them by sea. If a rebellion has cropped up, soldiers have been sent to their aid, with ten thousand taels to support them.

“When at dinner, the Corean ministers used to pass the time in making verses; and the ambassadors sent to the Manchu court, made impromptu verses superior to those of the Manchu ministers, whether native or Chinese; for though ignorant of the art of war, the learning of the Coreans is of the highest class; a character imprinted on the nation ever since the time of Kidsu, younger brother of king Chow, who founded the kingdom.\*

“The Corean mountain chains run south-east at right angles to and from the south of Changbai shan, and extend over two thousand li to Fooshan, on the coast, a half-day’s sail from the Japanese Ma island.”

In 1638, the Japanese sent ambassadors to demand an increased tribute† of the products of the soil. The Corean king replied by referring them to the change in his position, as being now under the Manchus. The ambassadors, having satisfied themselves that the Manchus were a terrible lot, and not to be trifled with, thought it best to return to their own country, leaving the Coreans unmolested.

The modern history of Corea has brought it into contact and collision with western nations; but up to the present, it has been able to retain its fondly cherished isolation. In an excellent article on Corea in the “*Edinburgh Review*,” No. 278, the writer states that—“The stringent severity with which Chinese and Coreans are kept as much as possible apart, arises, in great measure no doubt, from the ingrained distrust and dislike of everything non-Chinese, which forms so important an element in the character and policy of the Celestial Empire; but it is partly due to the traditions of enmity, which have grown out of

\* *Shung woo ji*, and Corean tradition. We have seen how much truth there is in that statement, for Chaosien and Gaoli were certainly no more akin than the Saxons and Normans in England,—probably much less so.

† Implying there had been a previous tribute.



centuries of warfare, dating from times anterior to the Christian era, when the kingdom of Chaohien, . . . in the second century B.C., gave abundance of trouble to the Chinese emperors of the Han dynasty."

This paragraph, coming from one so able, and usually so well informed as the reputed author, greatly astonished me. The statement regarding "the ingrained distrust and dislike" is much too general. The "stringent severity" does not exist at all as far as the Chinese are concerned; it is all on the Korean side; for the laws or customs of the Chinese on this subject are made in deference to Korean wishes. The Chinese, like the Manchus in Moukden, have always desired closer bonds of relationship; the hostility to which is on the Korean side. The Chinese people welcome all Koreans who fly across the Yaloo; and the Chinese magistrate winks at the presence of Korean subjects, until the fugitive comes under the searching gaze of his native magistrate, or until a crime of more than common gravity compels him to send the Korean back to his own country. All Koreans are gladly received on the west of the Yaloo; but the Chinaman crossing it eastwards is put to death. The small power fears for its independent existence; the large neither fears nor hates. As to the "centuries of warfare," we have seen what they were; and yet we have observed how much the Koreans suffered from Manchu hands for their faithful attachment to the cause of the "Ming" or Chinese, the descendants of their cruel oppressors; yet with the Manchus up till that time they never had any wars. This proves that whatever ill feelings existed during those early wars had long died out. The isolation of the Koreans is their own deed, not the act of the Chinese; and it is caused by fear for the future, not by hate from the past.

Yet one other extract and we are done with the distasteful work of fault-finding:—"When . . . Peking was given up to the victorious Manchus, the reigning king of Corea, who had been taken prisoner some time previously by the conquerors in one of their inroads into his country, was brought in their train to the capital of China, and became acquainted with the

celebrated Jesuit, Adam Schall." . . . This is a strange statement, apparently made upon Roman Catholic authority. The "reigning king" of Corea, who was, as we have seen, in the hands of the Manchus, never entered Peking; otherwise the "Annals," which contain accounts of the appointment of every trifling embassy, and of the visit of every king's son received at court, could not possibly have passed the remarkable event in silence, even though the "Holy Wars" might. The son of the "reigning king," who himself afterwards became "reigning king," was probably in Peking; not as actual king, but as heir-apparent, and we presume this is what is meant.

Few men outside their own order regard the Jesuits with unmixed respect; but whatever our judgment regarding their religious tenets, and the peculiar system of ethics they have evolved, none will deny them the praise due to zeal, bravery, and perseverance in carrying out a scheme which they have resolved upon. Their missions to the heathen began long before those of Protestants. They have been carried on with more system and vigour; and we think they wrought with much more efficiency, and over a far larger base. Taken man for man, we believe too that they have sent far more able men into this work; and I do not know if I am far wrong in considering their average mental capacity, in spite of their intellect-warping system, superior to the average Protestant missionary of even the present day.\* If the Protestant missionaries changed places with the Romish, we believe that no such fruits could have been shown in the east as the Romanists can show in their past. And if those Romish priests had worked under the Protestant system, we believe the indelible work done would have been immensely greater than it has been under the Romish. Indeed, the Jesuits, to begin with, in the days of their greatest success and triumphs, were in a sense Protestants. They acted independently of, sometimes in antagonism to, Rome; yet the Romish system clung to

\* The opposite of this is proclaimed in the "Taiping Rebellion,"—the author of which had far better opportunities of judging. But I cannot change my opinion of the early Chinese history of the Jesuits, though I may be wrong as to its modern state.



them ; and the castles they raised so highly and nobly, tumbled down over their ears in every eastern country. What is true of China and Japan, where they were pampered and loaded with unheard of honours, is equally true of Corea. But long before Romanism gained a firm footing in Corea, it had been discovered in China that converts to Romanism were the subjects of Rome and not of the Chinese emperor. It is needless, and would be out of place here to enquire, by what acts the converts everywhere proved, or were ready to prove, their attachment to a foreign civil power ; but the consequence was the deportation of the priests from China, and latterly the most frightful persecution of their converts ; so that at length there was not a single public professor of Romanism in China, though many remained true at heart. Corea, therefore, never took political notice of the converts, who by and by became numerous within her borders. The presence of foreign priests has always been forbidden, since the very first suspicions in China of political designs by the priests or their converts.

We learn from M. Dallet's "Church in Corea," that the first Corean converts were made during the Japanese expedition above narrated. These were baptised and died in Japan. But soon thereafter one or two Coreans became acquainted with the learned Jesuits in Peking. Science at first attracted them ; but thus began a series of events which has resulted in considerably leavening Corea ; for, according to the statements of the priests, there is scarcely a city or large village in central and eastern Corea, without its quota of converts, ranging from the lowest to the highest ranks of society. European priests have again and again lived in the country, sometimes in considerable numbers,—but always compelled to remain in hiding ; and the best hiding-place has been the capital. How they remain in hiding, may be explained by the words of M. Berneux, the murdered Bishop of Corea : "The abodes of the nobility are hallowed ground. To violate their precincts would be a capital crime. . . . I wished to be a Corean noble, in order to be able to cross rivers and lodge in inns, without fear of being recognised. . . . But inasmuch

as I should have been obliged to wait too long, in order to obtain letters patent from the Corean government, I issued them to myself."

This I quote from the article above referred to. The bishop must have thought it a capital joke to think of the possibility of the Corean government conferring on him the patent of nobility, at a time when he had, by every means in his power, to avoid seeing the face of a single Corean, except those whom he confessed, confirmed, or baptised. To those to whom the end justifies the means, this conduct will appear highly laudable; and he had the example before him of many of his brethren in China, who had not had the same excuse. But its results were lamentable to him.

"Prince Kung," . . . we again quote from the same authority, "in 1860, ceded to Russia the enormous tract of territory between the Amur and the mouth of the Tumen. . . . Passiett, a large trading town and military settlement . . . at the junction of Russian, Chinese, and Corean frontiers. . . . The Corean king died in 1864; and in the end of 1865, Russian ships were in harbour in the north-east of Corea, asking for a treaty of commerce. M. Berneux was asked by the Corean government to get the Russians put off. He declined, though, in case of success, he was promised perfect religious toleration. Soon after he was seized, tortured, and soon put to death, along with several other missionaries,—in all, two bishops and seven missionaries."

The course taken by M. Berneux seemed, doubtless, best to him; but it is surprising he did not make the attempt to negotiate for Corea, even if he should have been unsuccessful; for the attempt would show that his interests were not one with those of the war ships, and that he was not in Corea as the spy of a foreign power. The Coreans believe that all those people who cultivate long beards, and wear tight and short clothing, are, if not the same nation, bound up by the same interests; and "foreigndom" is to them one country. And no wonder, seeing that after such long contact and intercourse with foreigners, there are very few in China who under-



stand even now that there are national differences and conflicting interests in the west. Hence the missionaries would have been supposed to be in league and communication with the war ships. And need we be astonished if men, supposed to be the secret agents of a foreign power, having designs on Korean land and freedom, were put to death, and perhaps thousands of their converts, or "Corean-foreigners," made to suffer the same fate? The Coreans should, undoubtedly, know better; and they cannot be excused for murder on such grounds, yet their conduct becomes explicable, when we understand its cause.

M. de Bellonet was French minister in Peking at that time; and in his natural anger at the murder of his fellow-countrymen, he "bullied" the Chinese government, and declared the Korean king dethroned from the day of that murder. He ordered up the French squadron, under Admiral de Roze, who sailed with seven men of war to Ganghwa, the island taken by the Manchus. He took this island; but on 26th October, 1866, he was driven back from an attempt on the river towards Seoul. He had to retire, and the Coreans rejoiced in their triumph. M. de Bellonet was recalled for his violent language and hasty conduct. But if M. Dallet is an authority, France is not yet done with Corea.

The American ship, the "General Sherman,"—with her owner, master and mate, American subjects; her supercargo, and Rev. Mr Thomas, a young missionary, British subjects, and a crew of Malays,—sailed from Chefoo for the Pingyang river, after they had heard of the French massacre. She sailed up the Pingyang river (Datong) in August, 1866, going up four tides. All accounts agreed that she had been left high and dry, having, in a high tide, diverged from the channel of the river; that the Europeans were kindly treated for some days; but after news from the capital, they were enticed on shore and put to death, the ship surrounded, and set on fire. In 1868, another vessel went up the Han river under charge of a young American, eager to immortalise his name as a successful body-lifter. But he was an unsuccessful one; though a French priest told him he could hold the body of a dead king to any ransom.

In May, 1871, an American squadron, under Admiral Rodgers, occupied the same anchorage as Admiral Roze in 1866. He took the fort of Ganghwa, but did not enter the city; and had ultimately to retire like the French.

The Datong gang river is outside the east gate of the large and hill-defended city of Pingyang. A native scholar of Corea in my service was there in 1876, and saw a large foreign ship lying on the bank of the river, 100 li from the sea, just outside the east gate. This man's story is, that the vessel went up thither with a flood tide "about ten years ago"; and as there had been no rain for long, the ebb tide stranded her: the Coreans manned innumerable boats, set fire to the ship, and killed every soul on board who was not drowned. The Coreans have often put to death every soul on board China junks which sought their shores to do business, but we have never heard of their putting the shipwrecked to death. They dearly love their isolation; though we trust that this barrier to their own advantage will soon be broken through.

The Coreans heard of the French expedition against them with the greatest terror. They gave themselves up for lost. Their subsequent joy was proportionately great. For they attributed the withdrawal of that and the later American navy not to the low tides in their river, which rendered useless the larger vessels of the expedition, but to their own hitherto undeveloped bravery. In the east they were considered and considered themselves as the poorest of soldiers; but after the Americans retired, they carried their heads as high as the donkey who pursued the fleeing lion, whom he believed he had frightened. When the writer was explaining the powers and speed of the railway to a friendly Corean magistrate, how it climbed mountains and bored through hills, he, thinking it was something carried about by an army, said, with an angry toss of the head and snap of the fingers: "What care we for your foreign inventions! Even our boys laugh at all your weapons."

Clearly the effect of the two naval expeditions has not been very satisfactory. The third attempt will be necessarily more



difficult. Corea is said to be the object of solicitude now to England, as well as to her two friends. France talks about moving, America talks about sailing, England proposes a visit; but there is one other power never speaks but acts. What will Russia do? We imagine that the naval power owner of Corea could not only rule the Gulf of Liaotung and Pechihli, but have a good deal of influence over all the Chinese coast; her shadow would fall darkly over Japan; and if that power is to be Russia, we would look for a speedy termination to the abnormal friendship existing between her and America. The immediate future of Corea is certainly a riddle; but whatever it is to be, it must be a complete severance from her past. Already has the beginning of the end appeared. For not only is Russia acting magnetically upon her north, but the Japanese have at length "dared," in spite of the "majestic terror" of the Manchus, to inaugurate a new system, which, for the sake of the Corean people, let us hope will speedily open up Corea to modern thought and civilisation, impart the blessings of a just government, and introduce the religion of righteousness and peace.

We may close this sketchy history of Corea with the treaty concluded between it and Japan; which, however, is not meantime loyally carried out by Corea. This treaty is called "Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the empire of Japan and the kingdom of Chosen,"—the modern Chaosien. In the *first article*, Chosen is declared to be on an equality with Japan; and all future intercourse is to be carried on in the spirit of this equality. The *second* provides for the settlement of envoys from each kingdom to the other. The *third* enacts that the Japanese shall use the Japanese language in official communications, accompanied by a Chinese translation; Chosen using the Chinese language. *Article four* opens Sorio, of Fusan (Fooshan), to Japanese trade, together with two other ports to be mutually agreed upon; these *article five* allows to be chosen out of any of five coast provinces. The necessities of Japanese ships on the Corean coast—compelled to seek the shore for wood, water, or shelter, or driven ashore and wrecked—are provided for in *article*

*six.* The *seventh* binds Corea to place no impediment in the way of Japanese vessels surveying the unknown coasts of Chosen. The *eighth* provides a Japanese consul to look after the interests and conduct of Japanese merchants in the newly opened ports. The *ninth* prevents official interference with merchants in their transactions; and ordains that the person guilty of fraud or in debt, is to be brought to justice by the officer of either country; but no government will be responsible for any such debts. The *tenth article* establishes the right of any criminal to be tried by the laws of his own country. The *eleventh* prepares for trade regulations, and the appointment of commissioners to draw them up. The *twelfth*, and last, binds the former eleven from the date of signature;—which signature was on the twenty-second day of the second month of the two thousand five hundred and thirty-sixth year of the Japanese Zimmu Tenno; and the second day of the second moon of the four hundred and eighty-fifth year of Chosen (26th February, 1876).

A "Supplementary Treaty" was added on 14th October, 1876, ordaining—(1), That Japanese government agents in Corea may visit the scene of any wreck of a Japanese ship; (2), Japanese subjects may despatch letters, or other communications, to any place in Corea; (3), They may lease lands from the people, or those belonging to government, at the rates charged to natives; and the watch-gate and barrier existing near the Japanese establishment in Sorioko, Fusan, is to be removed, and a new boundary established; (4), This boundary shall be distant, from the Japanese settlements in all the ports, ten Korean *ri* (li), within which space Japanese can buy or sell; the same applies to the town of *Torai*, though beyond the limits; (5), Japanese may employ Korean subjects, and the latter shall be free to visit Japan; (6), Suitable ground will be provided to inter any Japanese dying in Corea; (7), Japanese coin may be exchanged for Korean products; and Koreans will be at liberty to use that coin among themselves; if such coin is counterfeited, punishment shall be accorded by the laws of the criminal's country; (8), Any Japanese articles, by purchase or gift, in the



possession of a Corean, is his absolutely ; (9), Any boat from a surveying ship, unable to return to the ship, shall be provided with necessaries by the headman of the place, who shall be afterwards refunded ; (10), If the ship of any foreign country be wrecked on the Corean coast, the men shall be cared for, and handed over, if they so wish, to the Japanese agent, to be sent to their own country ; for "Japan has entered into friendly relations with foreign nations, though Corean has not" ; (11), The preceding ten articles are equally binding with the original treaty ; but if the working of any article is found prejudicial to the interests of either country, after a year's notice it can be reconsidered.

The "Trade Regulations" demand the production of ship's papers, manifest, capacity of vessel, and other particulars, before goods can be landed ; the manifest is in the Japanese language only. Goods are landed by the permit of the Corean authorities, on the receipt by them of the description and value of the goods, which, if examined, must be in a careful manner, so as not to damage them. Exported goods must pass through the Corean government office. Ships desiring to clear, must give notice to the Corean authorities before noon of the day of sailing ; rice and other grain may be exported ; tonnage dues are fixed, from which ships of war are exempted. The government, or subjects of Corean, may charter Japanese vessels to any Corean port. Japanese ships smuggling shall be seized by the Coreans, handed to the Japanese ; and the goods attempted to be smuggled shall be forfeited to the Corean government. Opium is strictly prohibited. And the last article provides for the mutual revision of any of the trade regulations at any time. We are sorry to know that the Corean government, which was compelled, under threat of war, to form that treaty, has almost nullified it, by enormous prohibitive customs. Corean could not possibly defeat a Japanese invasion ; and it is highly impolitic to keep the relationship an open sore.

## CHAPTER X.

### COREAN SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

THE origin of the isolated people called Koreans, almost the only people completely shut in from all intercourse with western nations, is as unknown as that of all other peoples. For though its present high state of civilisation is of much older date than that of the leading nations of the world, its infancy and first tottering steps are as much a dead blank as the infantile experiences of all nations and men. The most reliable statement is apparently that which points to the northern portions of Manchuria as their last resting place, previous to their progress south and south-east into Liaotung and across the beautiful Yaloo, into their own present more beautiful but overcrowded and hilly country. It is more probable, however, that what is now one Corea, which was three kingdoms in the sixth and seventh centuries, and scores of petty kingdoms, more properly independent clans, in the centuries before, had not one source nor was peopled by the same race of men; certainly not at one time. The fortunes of war—now permitting them to overflow into other lands and mingle with other peoples, now driving them back across their boundary rivers, anon introducing myriads of captives into their midst, and again driving other peoples among them for shelter—have been so varied, oft repeated, and spread over so many centuries, that it is impossible the Korean of the present day should be of unmixed blood; yet his language proves him only less different from the Manchu at his side than from the more remote Chinaman. The face of the Korean approaches many degrees nearer the western than that of the northern Chinese, who are again still nearer than their southern fellow-countrymen. They are black haired like the Chinese;



but I have seen ten Coreans with a yellowish brown beard for every Chinaman I have seen whose hair was not a decided black. The colour of the skin, the contour of the face, and often the form of the eye, all point to a relationship more akin to the west than the Chinese can claim, though the eye is decidedly the Mongolic oval. I have seen many grey-headed and bearded men among them, not one of whom, in foreign dress and with silent tongue, who would not pass for respectable and passable, if not handsome, westerns. But like the Japanese, and all the nations of eastern Asia, the Coreans have always bowed down before the greatly superior mental power of the Chinese; and have borrowed from them some of their customs, more of their words, and, perhaps, all the principal books in use between the Yaloo and the western shores of the Pacific. Having already glanced at Corea's history, we shall now describe the principal social customs of this little known people.

#### HOUSES.

The houses of the Coreans, in the cities in their western provinces, are chiefly of stone; and as the land is one of "mountains and valleys," the valleys narrow enough everywhere, there can be little doubt that the houses in the several hundred cities of Corea, as well as the better class of houses in their thousands of villages, are all of stone. The house is built in very much the same style as the Chinese,—a roofed gateway and gatehouse in the outer wall; a compound or yard; a second wall, with smaller covered gate leading into a second or, perhaps, even a third compound, each inner compound having several rows of houses,—the main portion looking south, the secondary rooms flanking in two lines of houses facing east and west. There are never two different families living in the same compound, or entering by the same gate, though there may be over a hundred individuals, forming four generations, in the one family; for the married sons, as in China, live on with the father if they can afford it; but even then, unlike the Chinese, each wife has her own room or rooms, in which her husband is the only man she

ever sees: for even his father does not enter into the daughter-in-law's rooms. But if the father is unwell, she goes into his room to nurse and attend to him. The house is never a double one. From eave to eave it is from 25 to 30 feet wide, the rooms from 15 to 20, the rest of the roof projecting so far on each side as to cover from the sun a wooden platform, 6 feet wide, along the whole length of the house, on which, in the heat of summer, the inmates take their food and often sleep. It is roofed with tiles. The inside is partitioned into rooms, like the Chinese houses, and with "kangs" instead of beds, couches, or sofas.

#### BED.

This kang is, in Chinese houses, of six feet wide, built two feet or more high, with a facing of burnt brick; or in the better houses, of fine wood covering the brick, and always with a coping of good strong wood on the edge of the kang. This kang is internally divided by brick partitions into many flues, running from one central hole in one end of the kang, outside the partition wall, to the other end, where they converge into the chimney. Over these flues is placed one layer of burnt brick,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick, which has over it a coating of clayey earth mixed with water into mud, making the flues air tight. Outside the partition wall, is a low square frame of a few rows of brick, on which rests the great circular wide-mouthed iron pot or boiler, in which all the household cooking is done. This is the fire-place, where the most of the straw grown in the fields is utilised in boiling and the pot heating the kang; for the flame and hot smoke pass directly from under the pot into the flues, so that, with thermometer below zero, the surface of the kang can be so heated at a trifling expense as to make it unbearably hot. A straw mat, woven of the slit-up, outer skin of millet stalk, covers the mud, so as to prevent any dust flying about after the heated kang bakes it dry. A rug of fur, thick felt or padded cotton on the mat, forms the seat or bed; the hardness of which is compensated for by the warmth from the



kang in winter; and, as we know from experience, a kang makes a comfortable bed after the first night or two.

This is the Chinese kang, which occupies a third or a half of the width of the room, the rest of the floor being covered with brick. But the floor of the Corean room is all kang. The door of the room is in reality a window, opening directly from the wooden platform, where man and woman take off their shoes, which never by accident touch the beautifully clean mat on which they sit cross-legged, tailor-fashion, as the Chinese do on their kang.

### FOOD.

In eating, each person has a small round table—one foot in diameter, and as much high—placed before him, with a large silver, brass, or pewter bowl, containing rice enough for two meals. This is eaten with a silver or pewter spoon, similar in size to our dinner spoon; and Chinese chopsticks are used only to pick up the sliced meat, and other accompaniments of rice, off silver or brass plates. In giving a dinner, the small circular table is cast aside, and a long one, seating four, brought from China, used in its stead. There are as many dishes brought in as there are guests at one table, the host being the first to receive and to taste the food. As the rice is always prepared by steaming, and never by boiling, and is therefore "dry," a large bowl of hot water is placed on the table, that the rice may be soaked according to taste.

They eat the beef of their enormously large shorthorns, and pork,—mutton being a rarity, as Corea, like Japan, has no sheep of its own. Yearly there are many sheep crossing the Yaloo, purchased at the Corean gate, but are all intended to be used in the various cities as sacrifice to Confucius. Their large rivers produce many varieties and endless quantities of fish; and in winter, wild boar, venison of many kinds, pheasant, and occasionally, as in Manchuria, a delicious variety of ptarmigan and partridge, make a cheap addition to the table fare. The poultry yard supplies fowls, ducks, and geese. Their vegetables are varieties of pulse, French bean, garden turnip, cabbage, radish,

spinach, garlic, and onion; no potatoes or carrots. The fields produce wheat, barley, buck wheat, and the large millet of northern China, in addition to the more common rice, of which there are five or six varieties, some very fine, grown principally in the hot south; and small golden millet, the only food of the sparsely peopled cold northern provinces.

## DRESS.

The style of dress is unlike that of the present Chinese, because the latter is changed, since the accession of the Manchu dynasty, from the ancient Chinese style still worn by the Coreans. The robe is very full in front, tied by a small piece of the material of the dress under the right arm; and one can imagine the queer figure, when that fullness is further distended by a free application of starch. This applies, however, only to the white cotton robe, made principally of English best cotton; for the Coreans, unlike many of the Chinese, will not have, at any price, the trashy English cottons in our Chinese markets. The common man, merchant or farmer, dresses in a robe, which we call white, but which is divided from the colour of mourning by a tinge of blue. A long strip of blue at each side of a man's white robe, is a badge of literary degree; and the man with a blue entire robe, is a mandarin. Silks of all colours and qualities are in use by men and women; yellow, the present imperial colour, being the only forbidden shade. The enormously baggy trowsers, tightly tied round the foot with a white string, is invariably white; the woman's trowsers differing from that of the man, in that its "bagginess" begins above the knee, at and below which it is as close fitting as our western trowsers, and not tied at the foot.

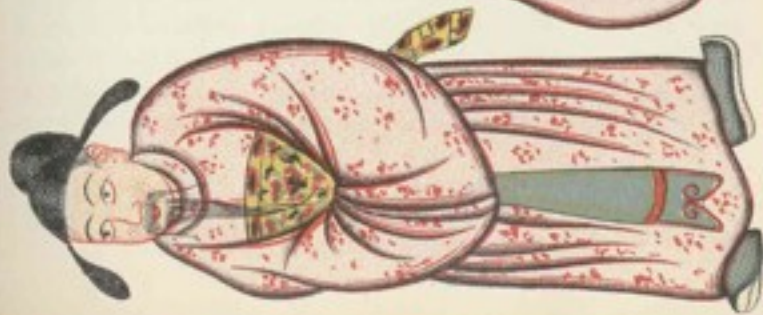
Women dress unlike the men. Their dress, as compared with that of Chinese women, is always said to resemble that of the women of the west (see pictures). For the first two years every child is clad in only a single garment,—a jacket reaching to the knee; his first walking steps being rewarded with a pair of trowsers and a shorter jacket, of the same shape as those of men; but he has no long robe. Girls' dress differs from boys' only



after they are five years of age. Underneath, the women wear a small jacket, reaching just below the breast; having, however, nothing in common with stays but the length; for though a close fit, it never causes consumption by compressing the lungs. A very wide pair of drawers reaches up and ties above the lower part of that jacket. Over this are two trowsers, the outmost as described above. The ordinary outer dress of the married woman is what we might call a petticoat, of the same length and hung in the same way as the western petticoat. It is so stiffened with starch, that it looks as if distended by crinoline; thus differing in toto from the more graceful Chinese dress. The feet of the common women appear beneath the petticoat; but the petticoat of the higher classes touches the ground. Thus their general appearance in the house will bear out the assertion, that they dress somewhat similarly to western women. They must never be seen by any man, except their husband; hence, when they go to the street, as they do freely, they throw over them a long robe, which they pull over the head and face, leaving only the smallest space open before the eyes, necessary to see their way; and their eyes always look to the ground.

#### BIRTH.

The Corean first sees the light, not on the mat, but on a heap of soft rice straw, which has displaced the mat. The new-born child is washed in warm water by one or two of the mother's female relations, the only persons present. These also prepare immediately some food, which they throw outside the door for luck. The mother has a drink of honied hot water, or a preparation of bear's liver, extremely bitter and expensive, intending to act the part of Simpson's chloroform, though not by insensibility. The child is first fed on rice water; and on the third day the mother is able to feed it. Then, also, the rice straw is removed, and the mat restored. The mother's food consists of rice washed down by soup, made of a certain dried sea-weed. The hour of birth is carefully noted, for horological purposes. For seven days no person enters the house, the doors



MANDARIN



& WIFE.



MILITARY OFFICER



& WIFE.





of which are barred against all; sometimes for even ten days. On the first visit, congratulations are usually accompanied with presents. When the child is one year old, a great feast is provided, swine slain, rice prepared, and all friends invited. These guests all give presents,—some clothing, some money. Age is reckoned as among the Chinese:—the year in which he is born, is the child's first; and he is two years old on the next calendar year, even if it begins when the child is only two days old. Only when he begins to speak does he get his first name, by which he is known up till marriage, when he assumes or receives a second, which he retains all his life,—he choosing a third, by which he is known among his friends;—in all this, the Coreans follow the Chinese customs.

As in China, the mortality among infants is very great, smallpox especially causing dreadful havoc; for a very large proportion become the subjects of this foul disease,—the greater part of those attacked succumbing. Innoculation, however, is said to have been known and practised for many centuries. It is effected in a most peculiar way, sufficient to shock more than maternal sensibility; for the matter taken off a smallpox patient is put up the nostril and left to adhere to it, thus saving the use of a lancet, so painful to the mother's heart. The richer people give a liquid medicine; but in either way the pox appears on the third day after the administration of the medicine, whether that has been put up the nostril or down the throat. Nine tenths of the inoculated live, i.e., the proportion of deaths and life is reversed by the presence or absence of inoculation. There can, we think, be little doubt that clean houses, pure water, and untainted air, are beyond comparison the best preservation against smallpox, as against any other infectious fever or disease; and we have often thought that the greater attention paid to sanitary questions has been the real cause of the infrequency of dangerous smallpox attacks in Britain. But the facts here adduced, together with the experience of China, tell in favour of inoculation, much more of vaccination; for neither in China nor in Corea is any attention given to sanitary measures,



*innoculation*

yet in both countries the value of inoculation is unquestionable.

### EDUCATION.

If a boy is precocious, he is sent to school at five years of age, the others up to eight; for education is more common in Corea than even in China. The first book is the *Chiendsu mun*, the "Thousand character door," which is a sort of vocabulary of so many words, beginning with "Heaven, earth, black, yellow, &c." The work is originally Chinese. Like the Three-character classic, it is in rhyme; but the line is of four, not of three words. It is a very clever production, no two characters being alike. First comes the Chinese character, below it its meaning in Corean, followed by its Chinese name transliterated in Corean letters, as "Heaven, Hanul, Tiun."\* This book is "read" by the youngster three times over,—first, as just mentioned; next, dropping the Corean signification, retaining the Chinese character with its Chinese name in Corean letters; and the third time, he reads the character alone: and at this stage the scholar begins to write. Thus they have an immense advantage over the Chinese scholar, who commits many hundreds of characters to memory, so as to be able to repeat them glibly, and to recognise the hieroglyphics at sight, while he is entirely ignorant of their meaning, for at least two years of his scholarhood. The other books which follow this "Thousand character" book, are the ordinary Chinese school books.

At fifteen years of age, it is possible to obtain the degree of Siwtsai, which the Coreans call Tsoshi; a title which they acquire in their district city. In the three hundred odd cities of Corea there are over 1000 Tsoshi, who have, every third year, to go up to the capital to compete for the higher title of Jinsa,—200 being the greatest number that can pass. The remaining 800 are not only unsuccessful, but are said to lose their Tsoshi into the bargain, which they have to regain ere they can again

\* "Heaven" being the Chinese character; *Hanul*, the Corean for "heaven"; and *tiun*, the transliteration of Chinese word in Corean letters.

compete for Jinsa; many taking the first degree a dozen times and never gaining the higher, without which there is no hope of official employment. There is still the third and highest degree of *wunjü*, and *woojü* (literary and military), which entitles to literary or military officership. Favoritism, however, acts powerfully. Pingyang province, which borders China, is divided into north and south; the highest literary degree will gain no mandariate for the northern, and only up to the fifth grade for the southern; and almost all the first, second, and third grades are in the hands of the big officials in the capital.\* The principal offices are hereditary.

The following remarks on literature are translated out of a Corean book, whence a good deal of other useful information has been derived. The remarks apply *in toto* to Chinese literature; for though there is a good deal written in the Corean alphabet, the acquisition of it is so easy † that it is not regarded as worthy the name of literature, nor the knowledge of it as deserving the name of education.

There is first the YIKING (Book of Changes), transmitted from *Fooki* or *Paosi* (B.C. 2832), who invented the eight diagrams. *Wun Wang* (B.C. 1150) invented the six Yao, thus multiplying the diagrams to forty-eight. And Confucius completed the work by annotations. He made the book a unit, by knitting together the detached words and sentences. The literary style

\* The numbers who had superior degrees twenty years ago are appended:

Hanchung (capital)	110 Jüyin.	260 Jinsa.
Joongching Do.	25	90
Chingshang Do.	30	100
Julla Do.	25	90
Gangwan Do.	15	45
Whanghai Do.	10	35
Pingan Do.	13	45
Hamging Do.	10	35
Total	238 Jüyin.	700 Jinsa.
Of whom are Toongdoo	30	30 additional for Capital.
		48 superior Jinsa.

† See below "Language."



is his, and the explanation of the diagrams.\* It is, therefore, said that each of the three kinds of divination was originated by a sage.

SHOOKING, or Ancient History. In B.C. 140-86, Goong Wang of Loo (south-west of Shantung, birth-place of Confucius) was pulling down the house of Confucius, in order to have no rival to his own establishment, when, in the broken wall, were discovered the *Shangshoo* (or Shooking), the *Liki* (Book of Rites), the *Lwunyü* (or Analects), and the *Hiaoking* (or Book of Filiality); all in the ancient or *seal* character.† Goong Wang then entered the house, and heard the solemn strains of the ancient music proceeding from the partition wall. In terror he went out and ordered his men to leave the house untouched!

The SHUKING, or "Book of Odes," was collected, to the number of 305, by Confucius, who arranged them chronologically, from the Yin period (B.C. 1400) downwards to the period of the Loo kingdom (B.C. 7th century). They were originally written on slips of Bamboo, for paper was then undiscovered. They escaped the ravages of Shu, emperor of Tsin, because men committed them to and transmitted them from memory.

LIKI (Book of Rites). In the time when Han dynasty was at the summit of its power, there was, in *Loo gwo*, a man, Gao Jangshung, who wrote seventeen essays on the "Proprieties of Literature." Later on, when Han was waning, How Tsang, a man of great understanding, wrote on the same subject. Among his pupils were Dai Duadsai and Shung Chingpoo, who contributed their share. The "Liki" was thus the offspring of the talents of many men.‡

\*How far this is true it is as unimportant as difficult to know. When the Chinese are critics enough to distinguish and extract all the handiwork of Confucius, they will have learned to place less faith in divination by numbers.

†Hidden under Tsin emperor, who ordered all the works of Confucius everywhere to be burnt. It is unnecessary to say that these statements are made only as a translation.

‡A fact which accounts for its most fragmentary, irregular, and undigested character; a character which my colleague and friend, Rev. John Macintyre, is amending.

In READING the beginner never *doubts*. When further advanced, he begins to doubt; and when his education is thorough, he ceases to doubt.\* Doubt succeeds ignorance, and certainty follows after doubt;—this is the course of true learning.

The object of *Music* is to display the harmonies of gods and men;—of *Poetry*, clearly and simply to recite the subject;—of *Ritual* (propriety, etiquette, &c.), to prevent men from acting unbecomingly;—of the *Shooking* (ancient history), to understand and hear the long past;—of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, written by Confucius, to set forth, in actual life, the value and necessity of Faith; for in this book the Five Constant (virtues) are complete (viz., Benevolence, Integrity, Propriety, Wisdom, and Faith);—and the design of the *Book of Changes*, is the discovery of the origin, and the knowledge of the end. If these six books are thoroughly studied, it is impossible to limit the beneficial influence produced on the mind of the student.

Of CHARACTERS there are six kinds—1st, The pictorial, indicating the object by a picture; 2nd, Those whose form indicates an action; 3rd, Those whose form is explanatory of an idea, or whose composition explains the meaning; 4th, Onomatopoeic; 5th, Compound words, the simple elements of which are mutually explanatory; and 6th, Compounds,—one element of which is indicative of the meaning and another of the sound.

PAPER, PENCILS, and INK. Anciently bamboo was cut up into thin slips, covered over with a dark glaze, and written upon. Mung Tien of Tsin, the general who began the first great wall of China (second century B.C.), made pencils of hare hair, and ink of the soot of burnt pine. In the After Han, Tsai Lwun, a minister, made the first paper of the inner bark of the Sang

\*The reading child believes everything. As he advances in knowledge, he begins to entertain doubts; but with the greater growth of knowledge, he again ceases to doubt; for, as if by instinct, he *knows* the true and the false. The nation which can write thus is one which cannot be classed with the savage.



(mulberry) tree.\* There are many varieties of paper, pencil, ink, and of the stone slab on which the ink is ground. Writing ink is now made almost wholly of lamp-black.

The liberal branches of Education are six—1st, Rites; 2nd, Music; 3rd, Archery; 4th, Charioteering; 5th, Literature; and 6th, Reckoning. The first includes rites (1) of marriage, (2) of death, (3) hospitality, (4) war, and (5) puberty. The second includes (1) *Ywun*, that of Whangdi (B.C. 2697!); (2) *Hienchu* of Yao (B.C. 2357); (3) *Dashao* of Shwun (B.C. 2255); (4) *Dahia* of Yü Wang (B.C. 2205); (5) *Dahoo* of Tang Wang of Yin (B.C. 1766); (6) *Dawoo* of Woo Wang (B.C. 1122)! The third includes (1) Shooting with the white (willow) arrow; (2) with the three arrows (two of which were attached to the one in the bow); (3) with a sharp pointed arrow which can penetrate; (4) a foot grace; †(5) a square of four archers. The fourth includes (1) a bell on the cart, and another on the horse; ‡(2) to drive beside the stream; (3) to leave a clear way || for the superior man; (4) to drive along the high road; and (5) in hunting, to drive up to left of quarry. The fifth has been noted above. The sixth is applied to all kinds of Reckoning in which numbers are used, of which nine are enumerated:—*Fangtien*, square measure; *Sooboo*, proportion; *Powfun*, division; *Shaogwang*, evolution; *Shang goong*, solid mensuration; *Jwun Shoo*, allegation; *Yingniw*, addition and subtraction; *Fangchung*, equation; and *Gowgoo*, trigonometry,—the names only

\* This industry is at the present time extremely common over all the prefecture of Yoongping, in Chihli; and large tracts of rich country are laid out wholly in young mulberries, cut down in their second year, and their inner bark converted into an extremely strong and cheap paper; used there, and in all Chihli, to paper windows; and in the various Yamens and great shops for writing, as it is almost indestructible. The common printer's ink is in Liaotung still made of burnt pine soot, mixed with water and a little glue. The wood is set on fire in an underground tunnel, and the soot afterwards collected. This ink is extremely cheap, and well fitted for printing.

† One foot ahead allowed the prince.

‡ Probably to warn.

|| Possibly to prevent injuring ground or crops. There are no game laws in China; and the only laws of trespass are those of custom.

of which are known both in Corea and China; and these names must have been introduced by the Mahomedans into Peking, though they are ascribed to a minister of *Whang Di* twenty-seven centuries B.C.

#### GRADES OF SOCIETY.

As in England, the people are divided into three classes,—the upper, middle, and lower. First, are the magistrates; second, farmers and merchants; and third, handicraftsmen, tailors, shoemakers, players, the lictors, and other yamen attendants. Lowest of all is the *Beiding*, the ox-butcher,—this classification being probably the result of Corean Buddhism; and next to him is the pig-sticker, in company with harlots. The third rank never dare sit in the presence of a member of the first; and the second, if in the presence of a small magistrate, must sit far inside and very stiffly, as if ill at ease. The son will not sit in presence of his father; but as he cannot always stand, he raises one foot so that the sole is on the kang as if standing. He dare not smoke in his father's presence, or show his pipe. The three classes do not intermarry.

#### MARRIAGE.

In the large city of Hiwngdow poo (Chinese, foo), and the capital, parents generally betroth their children at the age of seven or eight; mandarins of first and second rank always doing so. But in the rest of Corea such is not the custom. As in China, marriage is now consummated at a much earlier age than was permissible some centuries ago. Fourteen is the common age for a man(!), the bride being almost invariably from three to eight years older; in this also following Chinese custom; though all subsequent marriages, whether by widower or polygamist, reverses the order,—men of sixty marrying girls of sixteen,—perhaps one reason being that he cannot find an older unmarried woman, except a widow; and the "rights" of widows in Corea and China consist in remaining unmarried, or marrying with a stigma, and to an inferior.



Ordinarily, the father of young hopeful begins the preparations for marriage; but the father of a girl may look out a husband for her at pleasure. Fathers and mothers are even, if possible, more absolute than in China. The father makes enquiries as to who, of all his acquaintances, possesses a daughter eligible in years, appearance, character, and position. Having ascertained, he consults with his wife, who gets on her long robe, pulls it over her face, and starts for the house of the young lady. If the interview does not satisfy the old lady, the process is repeated. When a good match is met with, a mutual friend of the two parental parties is engaged to perform the task of sounding the girl's parents, who may stop all further advances at once; or the father of the girl may, in his turn, visit the house of the aspirant, and have an unofficial interview with the young man, in the same manner as his daughter was visited before. When both parties are agreeable, formal negotiations are opened by the father of the young man writing a long red-paper letter to his friend; first giving his own name and address, then asking carefully about his friend's health, &c., and expressing the warmest wishes for his welfare; and last of all, like some postscripts, he mentions that he has one, two, or three sons, as the case may be; that number one is unmarried, and of marriageable age; that after careful enquiry among his many friends, he has discovered that his friend has a marriageable daughter, &c., &c. This letter is written in presence of the middle man, to whom it is handed for delivery to the girl's father. There is, however, no engagement on either side, and either may draw back, until the girl's father replies in an equally formal manner, accepting the proposal for his daughter, after which acceptation the young people are virtually married; for, if before the final consummation of marriage the young man dies, the girl is a widow, and acts as such, never marrying except with disgrace. It is a queer custom, and a most unequal and unjust one; for if the woman dies, the youth can marry when he chooses. The custom is borrowed from the Chinese, and is first cousin to Suttee.

An auspicious day is discovered by horology, on which the

COREAN COSTUMES.



SCHOLAR.

PONY & GROOM.





bridegroom sends presents of female clothing, and of materials for a "man's" clothing, to the bride, including stuff for the long outer, wider, manly robe, which he assumes on his marriage-day for the first time in his life. After these are sent, the bridegroom is permitted to tie up his hair in a knot on the crown of his head, in old Chinese style; his uncut hair having been previously plaited in a queue similar to the present Chinese or Manchu fashion. The Corean never cuts off any of his hair and never shaves. There is, however, on the middle of the crown of his head a little spot, which could be covered with a sixpence, which was burnt on the occasion of his first childish illness; and that spot is made a little larger when the knot is tied, as the accumulation of hair on the top of his head makes the head uncomfortably hot, and causes sore eyes. And the bridegroom having become a man, now goes round to pay his humble respects to all the relations and friends of his father. On the night of the day on which the bridegroom sent his presents, the friends of his father collect at his house, sit up all night, and eat, drink, and make merry.

As Corea is an extremely poor country, there are many who cannot afford to get wives for their sons, and there are many men who grow up bachelors of a respectable age; hence we imagine the notion prevalent in China that women are more numerous than men in Corea, as polygamy is so common. The male human being who is unmarried is never called a "man," whatever his age, but goes by the name of "yatow"; a name given by the Chinese to unmarriageable young girls: and the "man" of thirteen or fourteen has perfect right to strike, abuse, order about the "yatow" of thirty, who dares not as much as open his lips to complain.

Another auspicious day, perhaps the third after present-day, is found for "*diang gaighanda*"—the marriage. On the night before the marriage, the bride sends back her husband's garments made by herself, being her first wifely duty done. An auspicious hour is fixed for the departure of the bridegroom and his party from his own house to that of the bride. In front of the



procession is a servant on horseback, carrying a life-size likeness of a wild goose, covered by red cotton cloth, which he holds with both hands. Then follows the bridegroom, also on horseback; his groom riding after him, all his other servants following on horseback. The bridegroom's father brings up the rear, with his servants behind, all riding,—the number of horses and amount of display being bounded only by the purse of the parties, but in all cases implying great expense.

Arrived at the house, the wild goose man first dismounts, enters and places the wild goose on the top of a huge bowl of rice, and then retires. The father then dismounts outside the main gate, and the bridegroom last of all. Etiquette demands that all the company should stand facing the east, in which position they doff their grand official hats, richly embroidered outer robes, and boots, worn by permission on this day by plebeian as by my lord. In their ordinary apparel, they are now led into the house by the bride's father, who has come out to welcome them, the bridegroom advancing first of all. No sooner are they comfortably seated, than a scene of the greatest confusion and uproarious mirth takes place. The bridegroom is a scholar, and has been accompanied by all his fellow-scholars, who now suddenly dash on him in a body, and carry him off in spite of all striving and remonstrance on his part. They hold him a prisoner till his father-in-law redeems him with a handsome bribe, on which they hand him over, and depart to make merry with their plunder.

The bridegroom's party is then regaled with food, after partaking of which they all depart, each of the servants with a little present of money, leaving the bridegroom alone to pay his respects to the ancestral tablet of his bride. And in the evening he is introduced into the bride's chamber, which is decked out with flowers, two bowls of rice on the kang, in each of which is stuck a yellow candlestick and a burning candle. There he remains alone, till the bride is by and by escorted by her mother and female relations in the house, and the married people see each other for the first time. They are at once left

alone and the door closed. On the next day the bride divides the one queue, in which her hair had been hitherto done up, into two; each containing half her hair, and plaited back on the crown of the head, one on each side, towards the forehead, in which fashion she wears it ever after. On the third day, the young couple may return to the bridegroom's father's house; but if not then, a whole year must pass ere they go thither, many allowing two years. When they do arrive at the young husband's house, they both worship his ancestral tablet.

At marriage, a red paper with written characters is handed them, which is afterwards cut in two,—each retaining half; for in case of future trouble, the husband cannot marry again, if he has not the half showing him independent; for many married people separate in Corea, from "incompatibility of temper," or other reasons; nor need we wonder at the fact. The separated husband, with his half of this red paper, can easily obtain another wife, but not without; while she is supposed never again to marry.

One of the lower class informed me that the youth went to the father-in-law's house, a month before marriage, and saw the girl. That if both, or either, were dissatisfied, they could break the match, by persistent opposition, in spite of parental chastisement (!) which is likely enough; for mutual choice was the ancient custom of the country.

A man may marry as many wives as he can support; and the mandarins, besides having several wives, are allowed, or rather bound, by custom, to retain several harlots in their yamen. All the women make their own clothes, and those of their husband and children,—they who cannot afford to keep servants, doing the cooking and household drudgery besides. "The woman is no woman who does not make the family clothes," said a Corean, laughing, who was once wealthy.

The poorer women go to the river with uncovered face, and carry the water for the family in a large jar on their head, Egyptian fashion. Though never at school, they can all, or almost all, use the Corean alphabet, which is the most beautiful



and complete, we know; for one can learn it almost at a sitting. From the faces of the men we infer that Corean women are more beautiful than the Chinese,—though we have seen many very pretty Chinese faces. They are, from all accounts, very much more cleanly, both in house and person, than are the Chinese; though no one, seeing the Coreans in Peking or in other parts of China, would infer so.

The following is from the book already quoted, and is again dependent on China:—Anciently, there was no distinction or separation between man and woman. It was Foohi (2852 B.C.) originated the system of marriage, i.e., the departure of the woman to the house of one husband. The skin of the *Li*\* (or Lan) bird was presented to form the marriage contract. Then also was there a division into distinct families and surnames. Match-makers were also then instituted!

The points to be desired in a husband and wife are thus illustrated:—In the time of Jin (Tsin), A.D. 265-419, there was a prime minister, Wang, who had several sons. Another minister, Si Jien, had a lovely daughter, whom he was anxious to see married in Wang's family. He sent one of his subordinate officials to make overtures to the prime minister. The sons heard with pleasure of the beautiful maiden, and each vied with the other in the magnificence and costliness of the robes in which he was to appear before the middle-man, that, when he returned, he might give a good report of the handsome person of so-and-so,—each hoping to excel. But Sidsu, one of the sons, when he heard of the story, still kept the couch on which he had been reclining,—his body half naked.† He listened to the story of the middle-man, as if he did not hear,—while he never ceased attention to the books which he had been studying. The middle-man returned, and praised the persons of all the sons; but especially praised the son who listened as if he heard not,

\* Of the Phoenix tribe, and more beautiful than any existing now. It was also Foohi who instituted clothing; for men and women had only a pair of large oak leaves for covering before his time.

† This is invariably the *undress* of Chinamen in summer.

which indicated the possession of great mental superiority. The damsel's father at once decided to have Sidsu as the husband of his daughter, and the marriage was consummated. Sidsu afterwards became famous as the first writer in China; and to this day, scholars are then most highly gratified, when their pen is compared to that of Sidsu. The Chinese say that some of his hand-writing is now extant.

In the time of the East Han (A.D. 25-220) there was a Liang Hoong who married a woman, Mung Gwang, who came magnificently dressed, and her hair beautifully done up, as she entered the house as a bride. Hoong said: "I don't want this woman to wife." By and by she appeared without any ornaments in her hair, clothed in cotton garments, and with household utensils in her hands, with which she was working. Hoong was delighted, and said, "This is my wife."

Woo Yüwei had a daughter whom he advised, on going to be married, to manifest no special love. The daughter asked, if she was not to love, whether she should hate? The mother replied: "You should neither love nor hate, according to your private inclinations." This simply means that she should love what her judgment proved to be right and good, and hate what was similarly proved to be wrong; permitting herself to be swayed neither to love nor hate by her own passions.

#### DEATH.

When a child or young unmarried person dies, there is little expense connected with interment. He is wrapped up in the bed clothes on which he died, with an outer covering of rice straw, and buried. But married persons after death are coffined and buried with much ceremony, and at great expense.

When the father dies the son closes the glazed eyes; hence the phrase, *noon gam gimda upda*—"he has no eye closer"—equivalent to, "he has no son." Immediately the person is dead, all the men and women of the family undo their hair and let it fall about their head; while they "weep and wail," as do the Chinese, and as did the Jews. The dead body lies where



and as it died, and is not, like the Chinese, put on a matless floor. A small table is at once laid out with three bowls of rice, three bowls of pea-curd, three bowls of the spirit made of rice, three pairs straw shoes, three feet cotton cloth, three feet linen, three pieces of paper, and one jacket. The dead man's name is then called out three times; if a woman, she is called out as "Mrs Jin," "Mrs Li," as the case may be; for the women have no name. The eatables are then thrown outside; and the paper, cotton, linen, jacket, and shoes are burnt outside the door for the use of the departed spirit.

The body is then washed with fragrant water, the hair combed, and the nails cut; each cut nail is put into a little bag, and the hairs taken out by the comb are put into another. These twenty-one bags are placed in the coffin with the body. After washing, the body is clad in clean every-day clothing, then swaddled in Corean fine silk, next bound in finest linen. The dutiful sons of the deceased long before prepared the "*wonoong*," or burial clothing; made of the costliest, finest, and most beautifully flowered satin that can be had. Robes, jacket, and trousers have been made and held in store. These are now put on over the linen. A rug made of the same satin is placed in the coffin, and the gorgeously arrayed body put over it. The coffin is placed at right angles to the position in which the man died, and a screen made so as to shut in the coffin from sight. Inside the screen is placed a table, with a censer containing burning incense.

At the ordinary hours of the day at which he used to take his food, dishes are prepared and offered, and then wailing and weeping follow. During the time the coffin is in the house, the inmates of the family eat the poorest food, and little of that.

On the fourth day the hair is again done up, and mourning *Shungbog* put on. The mourning consists of the coarsest linen cap and robe, and the coarsest straw shoes, in shape much like the Chinese shoe. Everything on the person is white,—called so;—but coarse Corean linen is of a dirty yellowish white. On the same day, the friends of the dead man come to prostrate

themselves before the dead body, thus paying their respects. Large loaves of bread are prepared, and, with many varieties of fruit, placed on a table before the body; while a feast is got up for the friends, almost all of whom send presents of paper to be burnt, or some money, or long sheets of the strong Korean parchment-like paper, covered over with the praises of the dead. The mourners sleep by turns; for candles burn and wailing is kept up day and night.

The poor bury on the fifth, seventh, or ninth day after death. The wealthy may retain the body for three months; which matters not, as the pine coffin, like that of the Chinese, is air tight, though, unlike the Chinese, it is made to fit the body. Those who bury a few days after death, never consult the horologer; but if the burial is months after death, an auspicious day is chosen for the funeral.

A good deal of paper is used up in cutting out *fac similes* of Korean cash, about the same size as the old Peking cash, or much like our new penny. Many of these are burnt, and thousands are scattered along the road by which the funeral marches.

The coffin is placed on a framework of beams, and carried by thirty hired men. These are coffin carriers by profession, and belong to the lowest of the people. The coffin is covered, top and sides, with finely carved pieces of wood, and with a whole piece, of about twenty yards, of satin, black, blue, or red,—quality, not colour, being considered.

When the coffin was being closed, a literary friend offered up prayers for the well-being of the dead; again when the coffin crosses the door, again when the carved work and satin are put on, frequently along the road, and on returning.

Before the coffin is a procession of hired men, one of them carrying a box containing a garment or two belonging to the dead man, and scattering paper cash on both sides; while lamps and tablets are raised aloft by others. The sons, in mourning, follow the coffin; then friends and acquaintances on horseback, and in sedan chairs.



The graves are on hill-sides, are dug out, and the coffin is placed below the level of the ground, and a very slight mound of earth distinguishes the spot from the empty ground as in western graveyards; being thus unlike the great mounds covering the shallow Chinese grave. These graves are ornamented at great cost. A small temple is built, where the deceased is mourned; the front of the grave is paved with cut flag-stones, which are often guarded by upright stones carved into human and other figures. The geomancer has to fix the site and bearings of the grave, and according to his decision it faces any point of the compass.

The box borne at the head of the procession is carried back to the house, where it is retained. Before it, worship is made for three years; after which time it is cast outside, and the days of mourning are ended with its disappearance. For a mother, one year is the period of mourning if she dies before her husband, three if after.

If the son has no son, it is believed that the buried father is in an unlucky spot or position. The grave is opened at great expense, and the coffin also, to see that the colour of the body is not black, the most unlucky of all; and a new grave is dug according to geomancy. No expense is spared; as much as £1000 being paid, when the man can afford it, to get a lucky grave.

#### MOURNING.

The preceding is an account of Corean mourning, taken down from one who was recently a principal actor. It is sufficiently full for the ordinary reader; but the full translation of a Corean book of ritual, written in Chinese, containing all the Corean mourning ritual, is given below, as it is interesting for comparison with Chinese, from whose ancient, but not most ancient, ritual it is taken. It is entitled the "Funeral Rites of Adults"—every adult being a married person.

#### DYING.

When death seems at hand, a new suit of clothes must be held in readiness, with fresh cotton wadding and a coverlid. A board

must be set in a proper position \* by a servant, on which the dying man is to be placed ;—he must on no account die on the kang. There should be a mat on this board, a coverlid, and a pillow for the head, which must point south. No noise is to be permitted in or outside the house. New cotton should be held ready, over the upper lip, so as to close the mouth after death, to prevent the exit of the *yang chi*,—the fetid breath,—which is sure, if permitted to escape, to kill the first person, tree, or other living thing with which it comes in contact ; and while it is retained, there is a hope of recovery. A dying man must not be supported by a woman ; nor a woman by a man. Before finally pronouncing him dead, a fork or other piece of wood is employed to force open the teeth, to show that he is really dead. At the same time his feet are placed on the kang table (a foot high).

Wailing, with beating on the breast, begins immediately on the departure of the breath,—the duration of which is at pleasure, and not bound by rule ; but it should not be excessive, lest it might prevent the possible return of the spirit.

During this first mourning, a serving person takes a garment, formerly worn by the deceased, and goes with it to the highest point on the top of the house, where—holding the garment, the neck in his left hand, the hem in his right, and looking northwards, † whither the spirits (*Yin*) flee—he thrice calls loudly the name of the deceased ; if a man, calling him by the highest title he had when living ; if a woman, by that by which she was commonly called. This is the last effort to bring back the spirit to the body. This calling over, the man descends and places the garment, which he has folded up, over the dead man's body. One garment, which the deceased had several times worn, and which should be first buried, is placed on the *Hwun-bua*, or

\* Chinese place the dying person on the floor ; but the Koreans have only "kang," see above.

† This fact fixes the date when the Korean Ritual was borrowed from the Chinese, as not being much, if any, before the time of Confucius ; for the spirits were, earlier than that period, supposed to be *Yang*, and to have their habitation in the south.



Title-banner. A screen is put between the body and spectators,—if nothing better is procurable, a door will do.

A man must be at once appointed *Shangjoo*, or male Chief Mourner. The eldest son, if living, or, failing him, his son rather than his brother, is the proper *Shangjoo*. An elderly man, of the family surname, is also nominated to look after mourners, guests, &c. The widow of deceased, if there be one,—or failing such, the eldest son's wife,—becomes *Joofoo*, Chief Female Mourner, standing to the women in the same relation as the *Shangjoo* to the men. Any present of paper money &c. is to be made through a man of the same surname as deceased, i.e., by a relation by the male side. All ornaments and gay clothing must be laid aside. Wives and concubines of deceased dishevel their hair and go barefoot. But sisters, daughters, or other female relations, married into other families, do not dishevel the hair, nor uncover the feet.\*

During the first day of mourning no food is eaten by the family mourners. Sons of deceased eat nothing for three days. Grandsons, who have to mourn (*Ji*) a year,—and their children, who mourn nine months (*Dagoong*),—eat nothing for the same period. Those who have to mourn for five months (*Siaogoong*), and those for three (*Saima*), eat nothing for two days. All other relations present, and the neighbours come to mourn, eat, but only of the coarsest fare. But if there are old people among these more distant relations, they may be urged to partake of somewhat better food.

Mourning cards † (*Foogaoshoo*) are sent out to all relations and friends, inviting them to the mourning. When these friends arrive, they mourn altogether, with the *Shangjoo* at their head. After the mourning, they present their offerings to the dead, and enquire into the mode of his death, his illness, &c. Enquiries

\* This paragraph shows the position of woman;—even the betrothed girl belongs to her mother-in-law.

† These are white or cream coloured; red, the colour of happiness and joy, being the colour of ordinary calling and marriage cards. Mourning garments are white long robes, like Jewish sackcloth.

as to his final illness and death may be made again when the body is being carried to the grave.

Outside the door, but inside the outer wall enclosing house and yard, a tent is erected, with a table at the inner end of it, on which is placed a piece of meat, some soup, two plates, a candlestick, and a duster to wipe the table. A screen before the table hides it from the view of any standing at the tent door. At each side of the tent is left a pathway, for entering into the house, in a room of which the dead body is lying. A straw mat is placed on the floor of this tent, and a fine one forms its roof.

#### DRESSING THE BODY.

Two basons are to be provided filled with fragrant water; one towel to dry the head, another to dry the body, each of cotton cloth, one foot square; a comb; a black satin cord to bind up the hair on the top of the head; and small bags of "five-coloured" (vary-coloured) silk are to be ready. A small pit is dug in the compound or yard within the outer wall, to the south of the dead man, of two cubic feet, into which water &c. is to be thrown.

A serving man takes the fragrant water into the room. Every person, except the Shangjoo, goes outside, stands at the south side of the tent, and weeps, looking northwards. The same servant takes away all the old clothes from off the body. The hair is combed, the comb carefully wiped, and all the hair combed out is put into one of the little silk bags. The coverlid is then moved down, and the body washed with the fragrant water. If the dead was a woman, a woman must perform these offices. The body is washed properly with the cotton towel.\* All the nails are then pared off both fingers and toes, and each is put into a little silk bag by itself; the twenty bags, with that containing the combed out hair, are to be put into the coffin. The towels, water, and comb are thrown into the little pit. Then the dressing is commenced.

\* When Chinese "wash," it is always in the form of wiping with a handkerchief or towel, rinsed out of hot water. Apparently washing the dead also consists of this "wiping."



The serving man provides a second board, lays it outside the screen, but close to the first, which is inside on the other side of the screen. This board has, like the first, a mat, a pillow, and a coverlid. All the garments to be used in dressing the body are placed on the board, which is then moved inside the screen. All buttons must be on the right\* side of the garment. The body is then put on the second board and dressed. The feet are first covered, and the head last of all. The stockings are wadded, and the shoes are of black silk, stiffened with paper; those of women being such, however, as they had always used. The *Dangwa* is a wadded garment to cover the loins, and is next the skin. The *Hansan* or shirt, over this, may be of cotton or silk. Outside the *Hansan* is the long outer robe, which may be a court † dress, or one in imitation thereof, or the collar may be straight up. There is no difference between that for a man and that for a woman. Outside is a wider robe, which is wadded; but for women, that part of it is alone wadded which is below the breast. A large girdle is provided, and a sash of red satin, if the dead had been an official; of silk or other material of a blue colour, if he was not a magistrate; but it is always red for women.

After the body is covered, the serving man, with cleanly washed hands, takes the table of sacrifice or offering, puts on it a piece of meat and some soup, as also a paper containing a list of all the troubles and trials the deceased had to endure during the life now ended,—the more doleful this list is the better, as it tends to deepen sorrow. He then takes some spirits in a measure, which he pours out on the east side of and close to the body; after which he covers up all the sacrificial offerings with a towel. If this offering is made at night, a candle must be lit to reveal the things offered to the dead; and when the offering is completed, the candle is put out, and the things are covered to prevent the flies settling on them.

The mouth of the dead has now to be filled with boiled *whangmi*, a small glutinous *pannicum*; three holeless pearls,

\* Inverting the practice of the living. † See above, verbal description, p. 318.

and a piece of jade. It must on no account be left empty.\* When these are to be put into the mouth the Shangjoo weeps, laying hold with his right hand of his left shoulder, which is bared, and the left side of his clothing he draws forcibly towards his right.† He washes his hands before taking the box containing the pearls; and he is followed by the serving man carrying the vessel which holds the *whangmi* or millet. The pillow is removed on which the head rested; and the chief mourner, from the east side of the body, facing west, puts some millet into the mouth. He then goes to the west side, facing east, and repeats the process; which he does a third time, standing right in front of the body.‡ His left shoulder is bared the while; and when finished, he goes back to his own position, and the serving man puts everything into its proper place.

The first face-covering is now taken away. To prevent those things in the mouth from falling out, a piece of cotton, two feet square, called *Ming-gin*, is provided. A muslin *Wanggin* (face napkin) covers the face; and covering face and head is the *Foogin* (head napkin), of black silk, and slightly fringed. The *Ming-moo* (eye-cloth) is of black silk, to cover the eyes; to each corner of which is attached a cord to tie round the head. The sash is then tied, its end passing below the head-napkin, to the end of which it is to be tied behind the neck. The ears are closed with fresh cotton wool, and the eye-cloth tied round the head. The shoes are put on, and the official robe buttoned. The back of the right hand is then covered with the end of the hand-napkin (of black silk); the other end of it is to be brought

\*This ensures the body from want of any kind; and the pearls, if large, prevent the body from decay!—*Vox populi*.

†If he does not rend, this appears to be a reminiscence of "rending their garments" (see O. T. *passim*). The official robe of Buddhist and Taoist priest passes *under* the left arm. And the Rev. John Macintyre, who has thoroughly mastered the ancient Chinese Ritual, informs me that, in that Ritual, the "baring" of the left shoulder simply means that the *outer* robe is made to pass *under* the left arm, like the official robe of the Buddhist priest.

‡The three pearls are doubtless put in similarly. It seems to imply *completeness* from all directions; for the head is south and the spirit north.



round, underneath the palm, by means of a string attached. The palm is then turned upside, and the strings tied with a knot above the middle finger. The left hand is similarly covered. And, last of all, the coverlid shuts all out of sight.

The piece of wood used to open the jaws (see above, p. 321) is buried in the little pit, along with the napkin which first covered the eyes. A candle must be burning in the room all night.

The three-year mourners sleep on the kang quite close to the body,—grandsons sleeping beyond them. Women also sleep in the same order, but in a separate and adjoining room.

Beside the body must be placed a chair with a mat seat, and on it some clothing, worn, but not worn out, by deceased. A table is set out with incense burner, a box for incense, spirits in a cup, a comb, a wash-bason, a fringed towel, and a candlestick with a handle.

The articles belonging to the Spirit-Flag are,—three or four feet of white silk or linen, and a box for holding the paper to be burnt; a high flag-staff, with a red silk flag, on which are inscribed the dead man's titles, and the flag is long in proportion to his rank; also, white powder, for writing or painting; a hair pencil; glue made of deer's-horn; and a long pole, high in proportion to rank.

On a chair\* is placed a mat, and on the mat the clothing of the deceased. Over the clothing is the Spirit-Flag. The censer is placed before the chair, the box holding the incense, and the spirit-cup. The serving-man also places a bason of fresh, clean water, morning and evening, before the chair, with a towel and a comb. All eatables are also presented on a table before this chair. The flag-staff (*Ming-ging*) is set up at the right hand of the chair; and as this staff is red, the name, rank, and birth-place of deceased are painted on it in white. The deceased wife is accorded her husband's rank.

In mourning, every man is arranged in his proper place of nearness to, or distance from, the body, according to relationship and age,—the Shangjoo, at the head of the men on the east side,

\* This chair is supposed to seat the spirit departed.

facing north; the women all similarly arranged under the Joofoo on the west, also facing northwards. There is a straw mat prepared to sit on; and if there are very honourable men, they must have their separate mats in honourable places. The sons must each have a bason, in which to wash their hands and face, on every occasion of mourning and sacrifice.

#### THE COFFIN.

Ten ounces (*liang*) of resin, and three of bees-wax, are required to fill in the seams of the coffin, and make it air tight; lacquer or varnish to blacken the coffin, as much as the buyer chooses;—the poor are at liberty to blacken with anything; twelve feet black or blue silk to line the coffin;—instead of which the poor may use the thickest kind of paper. The inside corners are lined with green or red silk, and the inside of the lid with the same material, which lines the body of the coffin. The joiner should be ordered to provide the very best wood which can be afforded.

Before the actual coffining, there is a preliminary form to be gone through, preparatory to coffining. This is called SIAO LIEN; we may call it the BEDDING. For the board, on which the body is now to be placed, in order to carry it to the coffin, is called the Bed. For it, twenty feet white fine cotton, two rugs, one pillow, one board, are provided. The *Sanyi*, or outer robe, of any colour, according to choice, is then put on the body;—if a woman, this is a petticoat. The *Shangyi*, upper garment, without button-holes, is also put on; but for women, this is a long robe. New cotton must be at hand to fill in all the spaces and interstices in the coffin at the shoulders, about the feet &c. Three sashes are provided to bind the clothing on the dead body; and the garments are carefully laid out, each in its proper place.

The bedding may take place next day after death. When the serving-men wash their hands and place the body on the bed the pillow is taken away first, and a bundle of the clothing of deceased is used instead, and so made up as to fill in the spaces on each side of the head over the shoulders. Other of his



garments are used to pack the legs, the body being laid out very straight; and some of the remaining garments are used to cover the face. The buttons of the deceased man's clothing, formerly tied on the right, are now placed on the left, but left untied. The sash around his middle, as well as those over the shoulders, are left untied, signifying the desire of the mourners that he would even yet return to life. And the rug is then placed over all. The Shangjoo and Joofoo are close at hand weeping, tearing their hair and pulling their clothes,—all the men looking west, the women looking east; but grandchildren &c. stand out at a little distance. The Shangjoo has his left shoulder again bared; and those who mourn for one year, with their hair done up, have also the left shoulder of their outer robe dropped underneath their left arm; but they are further removed from the body.

A long sash of cotton, like that used for mourning, or a hempen rope covered with cotton, is worn round the loins by the mourners.

The hair of the mourners is now done up, and a skull cap\* put on. The cord tying up the hair must be of hemp, not of silk, and be long enough to come down over the neck. The mourner should have his head covered with a white napkin, but the use of the hempen cord renders this napkin unnecessary. Every mourner in the family must have a hempen sash; and the cap he wears must be of ragged cotton, with holes in it. Besides the waist sash, there is another from the middle of this sash over the right shoulder, and a third over the left.

The board on which the body had been resting is taken back into the hall, and the mourners return to their posts; the aged and more honourable sitting down, the younger and meaner standing.

Four literary men (Confucianists) now appear to chant the Ritual, in accordance with the book of Rites. They stand outside the tent, where they wash their hands; then go to the

\* This is made of horse hair, with a hole in the crown to let out the "top-knot," into which the male Corean's hair is always done up after marriage.

coffin, and stand before it. There they recite their chant, which is as doleful an account as possible of the troubles endured by the deceased while in life, to rouse the feelings of the hearers into bitter mourning. Just before these chanters, incense is being burnt, and paper, on which are poured spirits, to be burnt. Then all dependants and the younger people bow twice. The spirit cup is wiped with a towel, and replenished. The sound of mourning is kept up without a break by all the mourners, under\* the Shangjoo.

#### DA LIEN, OR COFFINING PROPER.

There are four or five pecks of the ashes of millet stalk prepared, and five or six sheets of very thick paper,† to be placed above the ashes; a lined rug of silk, a pillow, twenty feet of white cotton; other two rugs,—one to cover the body on the board, another to cover it in the coffin. All these are wadded. Six sheets of oiled paper of the common size, and four of larger size; fifty small cords, ten stout cords; three thin boards, to put inside the coffin for a covering; two small footstools; cloth to cover the coffin; and in winter, a piece of felt to cover coffin; and a screen to hide it,—are all to be ready for the coffining.

For laying out the body, a board is required, a screen of wood, a rug wadded with straw, a straw mat, a screen of cloth, a pillow, a rug of silk, clothing (see preceding, p. 318), a coverlid, a comb, a wash bason, and a towel.

The coffining of *Dalien* is on the third day after death; all the things being arranged in order in the early morning. The coffin is brought into the middle of the hall by the servants, and placed on the two stools, made perfectly level, and the ashes put in. The Shangjoo is not to weep then. The white thick paper is placed above the ashes; and above the paper is the board called

\*The original has, "All under Shangjoo," which may or may not include himself. During the whole ceremony in China, Buddhist and Taoist priests chant alternately; and as Corea is still more fervent a believer in Buddhism than China, this portion cannot fail to be imitated. Confucianist chanters or reciters are the only ones authorised by the Ritual proper.

†Coreans make paper so thick that it is used for rugs on the kang.



the seven-star board,—there being seven holes in imitation of the Bear. The wadded rug is put over the board, then the pillow, and the three thin boards,—one at the bottom, one in the centre, and one at the top. The cotton sash then ties the clothing over the body; and the other two sashes, in the form of a cross, are tied over the shoulders.

The serving men, sons, and younger brothers (of deceased) now all wash their hands, carry the body, and place it on the board in the coffin; covering first the feet, then the head, then the left side, and lastly the right side. The cross sash is first tied, and then the middle (or waist) one; and several men carry the body to the coffin. The teeth and hair which fell off during the man's life, together with the little bags containing the pared-off nails of fingers and toes, are put into a corner of the coffin. The empty spaces in the coffin are packed full with the clothing of deceased. When the coffin is full the second rug is placed over it, and a third, called the "Rug of Heaven," over all. During all this operation, the Shangjoo and Joofoo mourn and wail without cessation; and the women retire into the inner apartments. The serving men cover the coffin, light a candle, and set the coffin to face directly south; and then the cloth covering is put on the coffin.

The flagstaff is set up east of the coffin, and the board (*Lingdso*) on which the body had been resting is replaced in its original position inside the house. The *Lingchwang* or bed is also placed east of the body. On it are a cloth screen, a wadded rug, straw mat, screen door, pillow, washing articles, and coverlid. The wash bason, towel, and comb are to be placed on the *Lingchwang*, in the position and arrangement constantly used by deceased while in life. Food is offered as in *Siaolien*. The reciters and the various functionaries, washing their hands, place the sacrificial table, with food &c., before the coffin; with chanting, burning of incense, pouring out spirits as before, and the younger and meaner people twice bow to the ground. The utensils used in sacrifice are those of every day use,—except the vessels for containing spirits, which may be of gold or silver.

The Shangjoo does not bow in worship, but he weeps and wails ; while each occupies his proper place. The Shangjoo, during this period, occupies the meanest room, in the poorest section of the servants' quarters, outside the second gate, where he does nothing but weep and wail.

#### CHUNGFOO OR COMPLETE MOURNING.

The poor simply change the cord binding the hair to white, and use their ordinary clothing after the third day ; the wealthy after seven sevens (forty-nine days) pass. For mourning robe, twenty-five feet of white cotton are used, tied with a sash of same material. A white cotton cap, lined with paper, with a white cotton knot on the crown ; the garment over the loins is also of white cotton, without buttons. Grandsons, who mourn for one year, may wear a finer material. The mourner has a staff of wood, or millet stalk, covered with paper. The son has a staff of bamboo, and the grandson of the Wootoong\* tree ; a rope of hemp, long and stout, from the waist, to trail along the ground ; a cap string, also of hemp : the straw hat must be square. Women also wear white in mourning. A straw mat is laid on the path before the house. Mourning garments are provided for the servants also.

Next day after *Dalien*, the fourth after death, all the five generations, wearing their proper mourning apparel, enter the room in the early morning ; and each person, standing in his proper place, weeps and wails ; then an offering of food &c. is made to deceased. The son, grandson &c. go to the oldest living representative of the family, and kneeling before him, weep and wail ; the women do likewise before the oldest female member of the family.

The sons of the family now first eat food,† and that of the coarsest, when mourning is assumed. The early morning

\* The *Elococoeca Sinensis* (Williams). The fall of its leaf indicates the approach of winter.

† This, however, must signify that they now, for the first time, take a regular meal, for it is the fourth day since the death.



weeping and wailing is continued every morning by all under the Shangjoo,—the older sitting, the younger standing. And the morning food is daily offered to the dead just at sunrise,—when also the servants place a bason of water and a comb beside the coffin. The things used in the evening sacrifice are to be removed, especially in summer, for fear of smell, but spirits and indestructibles may remain.

#### OFFERINGS.

The man in charge takes the *Hwunbua* (Title-banner) and places it beside the coffin. He also places several plates of meat, of food, of fruit, of soup, on the table, which is always before the coffin, and there is chanting (as above). He then washes his hands, burns incense, pours out spirits on the fire, and all the mourners below Shangjoo kneel down, to bow the head to the ground and to weep bitterly.

At meal times some food is placed before the body, the Title-banner, which was meantime removed, being again produced outside. The bearer of the Title-banner advances forward one step, and offers food to deceased; and there is chanting, washing of hands, burning of incense, and pouring a libation as before. A spoon is placed in the food (rice &c.), the handle pointing west, and chopsticks beside the meat; and the mourners, under the Shangjoo, bow down twice and mourn. The things are then removed; and during the removal, the Shangjoo, leaning on his staff, weeps bitterly because his father cannot eat.

In the evening offering of food, all the meats &c. used in the morning are removed. The Title-banner is again produced, and placed on the left of the body; plates of various food—fruit, meat, and soup—are again placed before the body; there is chanting and washing of hands; incense is burnt, and a libation poured out; and all below the Shangjoo again twice bow down and mourn.

At the Evening Weeping the Title-banner is taken inside and placed on the bed. All below the Shangjoo enter and take up their proper places, and weep and wail. This weeping is not restricted to any particular length of time.

On the First of the Month,\* in the early morning, meat, fish, cakes, soup, and rice, each in a separate vessel, are placed before the coffin, arranged by the bearer of the Title-banner. Chanting, washing of hands, incense-burning, libations, &c., as before. The handle of the spoon † beside the food points west, and one end of the chopsticks are placed on the edge of the spoon-plate. The double bow and bitter weeping are repeated. If there is any new variety of eatable in the market, whether game, fish, or vegetable, it is to be placed on a large plate and laid before the coffin.

#### ABSENT RELATIONS.

If a son is abroad when he hears of the death, he takes a square piece of ragged cotton, or cotton with a hole in it for a cap; puts on a white outer robe; ties on a rope for a sash; and puts on hempen shoes. His reply to the messenger who brings him the news of the death of father or mother, is a burst of weeping and wailing, which is repeated when he hears of the manner of the death. As soon as he gets mourning apparel, he is to start for home, walking 100 li a day. But he is not to travel by night, lest he meet with people who might molest or kill him. He travels along bye-ways, avoiding streets and ordinary thoroughfares. He is to weep and wail by the way, but not when people are near him. When he sees the border of his native sub-prefecture he weeps, and again when he sees the border of his district. He weeps again when he sees his native city or village, and when he first sees his home.

When he enters, he twice kowtows before the coffin. He then changes his garments to mourning, and again goes to the coffin to mourn. However long the person is dead, the new-comer first assumes the mourning worn immediately on the death of the person. He then changes in accordance with the rules of

\* "Month" and "moon" are the same word in the Chinese, and the Koreans follow the Chinese in having a lunar month, new moon being always the first of the month. This was naturally the first mode of dividing the year.

† Corean spoons are of silver or brass or pewter, as in western lands; "pointing west" means that the spirit-guest is facing south.



coffining. When he is at home four days, he puts on complete mourning (*Chungfoo*). The family take hold of each others' hands and weep; guests mourn, taking one of the hands of a member of the family.

If the son, whether on account of public or other business, finds it impossible to return, he is to weep and wail in the position he would occupy if present before the coffin; but he cannot offer the sacrifice of food. But if there is neither son nor grandson at home, he may then sacrifice. His *Chungfoo* is on the fourth day after he hears the news.

If the body is buried before he gets home, he goes to the grave before going home, and weeps and kowtows. His *Chungfoo* is made at the grave, if it was not made before. Grandsons and other relations not at home, simply take the position they would occupy at the mourning, and weep and wail,—the older in their own room, the younger in another room. Morning and evening, mourning is observed for three days after hearing of the death; and on the fourth is *Chungfoo*, whether the mourner goes home or not. There is weeping and wailing also on the first of each month, which may be continued for many months.

#### GRAVE.

A stone about one foot high, called *Toodi*, is already standing in the ground\* behind the grave, but not directly north of it. Seven pieces of wood of the plum tree are chosen, of about two feet long, and of any thickness. There are four recitators (literates) who chant out the order in which the various duties are to be performed. Men are appointed to superintend the various offices. Two straw mats—one for offerings, the other for kneeling upon when bowing—are provided, as well as the various articles already mentioned for *Siaolien*, food, spirits, incense, &c. The "chant" is now written out on a board,

\* Each family has usually its own burial place on its own estate; the great mounds outside Chinese cities being the graves of people whose relations are not sufficiently wealthy to have the body removed to the family burying place.

instead of on paper, and a "good" or auspicious\* day is chosen to open the grave.

The Shangjoo, in the early morning, weeps and wails in the house; then leading the various managers and the geomancer to the site of the grave, he takes three of the seven plum sticks, puts them in the ground, one at each end, and one in the centre of the plot of ground, and the other four at the corners.

At the left (east) of the central pin the recitators take their stand, facing south, and put down spirits, fruit, meat, and soup before them. They now, as always, in their ordinary garments, step in front (south) of the central pin,—the meeting point of all the lines, the site of the grave, and which is called *Shun wei*, "the seat or throne of the spirit";—the managers standing behind them. They twice bow to the ground, and all together; and then wash their hands. The recitators then step before the incense table, which is at the side of the grave,—and kneeling, burn incense, and pour out the spirits in the vessel on the ground in front of the burning incense. Paper is being burnt in a large pan at the same time. They then twice bow to the ground. More spirits are placed before the grave, and the chanter† goes to the left of the recitators, and facing eastwards, kneels and recites a chant; after concluding which, the recitators again bow twice. The chanter and all the managers do the same after. When these finish, the Shangjoo approaches before the grave, weeping and wailing, and twice bows to the ground. If there are graves of ancestors in that place already, the Shangjoo sacrifices before them also, informing them of the new arrival. The grave is then dug, and a layer of lime, covered with sand or earth ( $\frac{2}{3}$  lime,  $\frac{1}{3}$  sand), is strewed over the bottom. If the deceased is a second, or secondary wife of a man buried there

\* Though many scholars, and the more intelligent of the people in China and Corea, believe that "every day is alike," yet all are subject, as were the Romans, to the choice of lucky days.

† In distinction from the literates whom we call recitators. This chanter recites several pieces of composition, and is a son of deceased, if he can act; if he cannot, one of the recitators acts.



with his first wife, it is not necessary she should be buried in her husband's grave, though she may.

### FUNERAL.

There must be provided a frame for the coffin: four thin pieces of board, like a standard; a small piece of wood, having the name of deceased inscribed, and therefore called a *Shunjoo*; a small box or shrine called *Doo* to enclose it; and a piece of three-foot-wide cotton for front of coffin, black silk, a straw mat, fifteen feet of cotton to go round the lower edge of the coffin; a very thick board of pine, another to be laid across underneath coffin; lanterns, a *lingchua*, or "spirit-cart" (shaped like a miniature house), to enclose incense; chairs, table, a large umbrella, a screen to go before the coffin, and mats to cover the ground.

On the day preceding the funeral, offerings are prepared, and the coffin is moved. The recitators and the managers come out of the house with the Title-banner, placing it at the left of the coffin, and laying out food, fruit, meat, and soup. The chanter then washes his hands, burns incense, and pours out a libation. When finished, he looks to the north, kneels, and in an audible voice speaks thus, addressing the departed spirit:—"As this is an auspicious day, I therefore make bold to inform you." He then slowly rises, his eyes bent reverently to the ground, and all under the *Shangjoo* weep and wail, and twice bow to the ground. The coffin is then borne into the presence of the family ancestors (who have a temple fitted up for them in or beside the house; this is to inform the ancestors of an addition to their numbers). In this temple there is more weeping and wailing, which continues till the coffin is borne out again.

On the rising of the sun the offerings are presented. The proper man takes the Title-banner, goes out of the room, and places it at the left of the coffin.\* Food, spirits, meat, and soup are placed

\* Which is now in the lobby over against the ancestral tablet; this tablet having a room for itself inside the dwelling house, into which room the coffin cannot be carried because of its unwieldy size.

before the coffin, incense burnt, a libation poured out, and then the chanter, looking north, kneels and says: "For ever must you be sent away, according to the rule of propriety; not even over this forenoon can you be left here. To-day, according to the laws of our ancestors, the coffin cart will surely come." He then slowly rises, his eyes bent to the ground, and all below the Shangjoo weep and wail and twice bow to the ground.

This takes place before sunrise, and before the stretcher has come. When the coffin frame or stretcher is brought, the appointed man places edibles before the coffin, and then takes them away. At sunrise, offerings are again made; the chanter, facing north and kneeling, chants, saying: "To-day the stretcher is come to the door, I make bold to inform you." Then a table (*Lingdso*) is placed beside the coffin; all the women retire out of sight, and the waiters approach and place the coffin on the stretcher or cart. The proper man then places the *Lingdso* before the coffin—the *Lingdso* facing south—and orders presentation of the offerings. Its bearer now approaches with the Title-banner, and stands at the left of the coffin; placing food,\* spirits, meat and soup, burning incense, and pouring out spirits. The chanter kneels and says: "The cart is now ready, and is about to start towards the grave. All the necessary arrangements are made, and we can never see each other's face again." Then all under the Shangjoo weep and wail, and twice bow to the ground. The proper men then remove the sacrificial things, with the papers on which the chants were written, and place the Title-banner in the centre of the cart over the coffin.

On reaching the grave the *Lingdso* is placed before the coffin, which is set down on a mat south of the grave, the head of the coffin pointing northwards. Spirits, fruit, meat, and soup, are

\* Repetition is necessary, as a long journey is to be made. The frequent information given, is to make sure that the spirit in the Yin or Negative state of existence will know whither the body goes, and where it rests. For though it leads to no good practical results, the belief that the spirit is undying has a most powerful hold of all the nations of the east. And all these punctilious observances are to ensure a quiet rest to the departed, so as not to trouble the living; quite as much as from respect or affection for the departed.



again placed before the coffin; and the Shangjoo, lying on the ground east of the spirits, is weeping and wailing. Great care must be taken to let down the coffin at a perfect level. The Shangjoo and the others cease weeping, and go to see the coffin let down. The flag of the *Ming ging* is taken off the pole, and thrown over the coffin; but it must be laid out quite evenly, without a crease. The four thin boards are placed, one at each side below, and one at each side above. The Shangjoo puts a piece of black silk at the side of the coffin, bows twice and then kowtows, while all the surrounding relations weep and wail.

The manager then arranges all the mourners in their proper places, beside the grave, to worship the god of the *Toodi*, or stone above mentioned; which god has charge of the grave. This stone, formerly to the north of the grave, was previously removed and placed beside the grave;—and spirits, fruit, meat, and soup, are now set before it. The recitators advance in their ordinary clothing, and stand before the *Toodi*, the manager standing behind them. These all bow twice, wash their hands; and the recitators burn incense, place the spirits on the ground, and bow twice. Spirits are placed before the *Shun wei*; and the chanter, at the left of the recitators, facing east, kneels and recites a chant to this guardian god of the grave, praying him to look after the quiet sleep of the deceased.

Immediately above the coffin is a layer of lime, of charcoal, and of pulverised white stone, so that when the grave is being dug for wife (or husband), the position of the preceding coffin may be known, without actually touching it.

On the return journey from the grave, they weep, all except the Shangjoo, being seated on the cart which carried away the coffin; and they look towards their home while weeping. They weep again on dismounting, and wail going into the house, where the mourning chant is again read.

The Shunjoo is brought back from the grave and placed on the Lingdso, and all below the Shangjoo weep and wail in the house. The serving-women wail before the Lingdso. When this wailing ceases, the guests come to burn paper, are met and

bowed to, but received with weeping. All the near relations are brought together, and again weep. Then those who have to wear mourning for only a year or nine months (grandsons, nephews, &c.), are provided with meat, food, and spirits; the family, however, cannot eat or drink, but wait on the others. But though acting the host, they wear the aspect of mourners, and not of those who rejoice in feasting.

## OFFERINGS (JI).

The mere presentation or pouring out of spirits, is not regarded as a sacrificial offering. Sacrifice consists in the offering of the four dishes, so often mentioned, and in the double bow. The first sacrifice, called YÜJI,\* is offered on the day of the burial, on which day all below the Shangjoo wash † the face and body.

There is a man specially appointed to manage all the affairs belonging to sacrifice. There are three varieties of fruit; one piece of meat, offered to the dead man as food; one dish of boiled vegetables; of soup, one plate; one dish of unboiled vegetables, ‡ or dish of seasoned sauce; one of vinegar, beside the uncooked vegetables; one of fish, which must be very fresh; one dish of meat containing three || varieties, cut into small pieces; five dishes of differing soups (the poor may have but three); biscuit and boiled flour; soup, with pieces of meat in it; one spoon, and one pair *kwaidso*; some of the *mao* § grass; sand; a slab for a censer; a censer; incense box; candle; spirit cup; and a second spirit-flagon on the table, with the edibles. The *Ding* is a large vessel for holding edibles; and *Dsoo*, a smaller, for the same purpose;—both must contain flesh and fish as their

\* Yü—seven days' mourning.

† It will be observed that "clean hands" are requisite before every offering. It is unnecessary to draw attention to the antiquity of the practice, or of other customs mentioned.

‡ Onions, garlic, or any kindred vegetable, is not offered.

|| Pig-liver, fish, and pheasant—three kinds of life.

§ Of white colour; grows in water, but is not a reed.



principal dishes ; for those things possessing (animal) life are the immediate product of heaven, and are, therefore, of the *Yang*\* (or positive) principle ; and the less common kinds are the most valuable for sacrifice. *Bien* and *Dow* are wooden trays to contain the produce of the earth (fruit, grain, and vegetables). These are the *Yin* (negative) principle, and must be laid out with more than a single specimen of each. Other plates are provided, with varieties of food, fruit, spirits, and *jwan*. †

The serving-man places the fruit vessel to the east of the *Lingchwang*, Spirit-Bed, on the outer edge of the table ; the plates containing the piece of meat, the boiled vegetables, sauce, meat-soup, uncooked vegetables, are arranged inside the fruit in one row. The third row is, meantime, left an empty space, to be filled with the *jwan* when the "spirit" descends ‡ to eat. To the north of the Bed the spirit-cup is placed, with a spoon beside it ; this is on the west side of the table ; a plate of vinegar, with another spoon on its own plate, is on the east side, forming the first row with the spirit-cup. The flagon containing the spirits is at the south-east corner of the Bed.

The chanter produces the Shunjoo, opens the shrine exposing the Shunjoo to view, and places it on the left of the bed. All below the Shangjoo enter the room, and weep and wail ; the Shangjoo, with his brothers, stands outside holding his staff. These, with the family man, who is to act as the "priest," or offerer of sacrifice, enter the house all together,

\* According to Chinese teleology, the limitless produced the great beginning ; the great beginning produced the *yang* and *yin*,—the positive and negative, or active and passive principles,—the type of which is the male and female ; the former being *yang*, the latter *yin*. Heaven is also *yang* (sun, rain, &c.), the earth is *yin*. From this yang and yin acting and reacting upon each other came all life, animal and vegetable.

† *Jwan* is a collection of dishes of meat, fish, flour, biscuit, soup with meat in it, and rice, each on a separate dish.

‡ The spirit is supposed to descend on the burning of incense and paper, and to begin to eat the food already on the table. A feast in China, reversing western custom, as in almost everything, begins with the fruit, and finishes with light soup and rice.

weeping and wailing, and stand before the Lingdso, looking north, each in his proper place; those in heavy mourning before, in light mourning behind; the older and honourable sit, the others stand. The various husbands are on the east facing west, the women on the west facing east. In going out, the older retire first, the youngest last, and the servants in the rear.

When the spirit descends there is chanting, but no mourning. The Shangjoo washes his hands, goes before the Lingdso, burns incense, and twice bows. He then kneels, and a servant pours out some spirits into a vessel, brings it, and, kneeling, gives it to the Shangjoo, who pours it out, three several times, upon the *mao* grass. He then hands the cup back to the servant, slowly rises, his face bent to the ground, and in the same slow manner retires a few paces, and again twice bows; after which he goes to his first standing place.

The *jwan* is now presented. The serving man places fish, meat, roast meat, liver, flour, biscuit, meat soup, and rice with vegetable soup, at the left of the Lingdso but a little in front of it. A small portion of each dish is thrown on the paper which is being burnt; thus etherealising the food, so that the spirit of deceased can partake of it.

The (boiled?) meat is set south of the spirits, the flour west of the meat, the fish south of the vinegar, the biscuit east of fish, the roast meat south of spoon plate, the meat soup is east of vinegar, the rice west of spirits. Then the various kinds of soup are placed in the third row; and the serving man or "priest" retires to his former post.

#### THE FIRST SPIRITS OFFERING (CHOOHIEN).

The Shangjoo goes in two or three steps, and kneels before the incense table. The serving man takes the spirit vessel from off the table, fills it, approaches to the side of the Shangjoo, kneels beside him, and presents the spirits. The Shangjoo takes the vessel, and pours out a small quantity on the *mao* and sand. He then rises slowly, his head bent to the ground, hands the



spirit vessel to the serving man, who goes and places it in its place before the Lingdso. The Shangjoo again kneels, and again slowly rises. He steps back a few paces, again kneels, and all kneel together.

The chanter takes the chant board, and goes with it to the right hand of the Shangjoo, facing west, kneels and recites his chant. When finished he rises, and the Shangjoo and all under him weep and wail; after which they slowly rise, bow twice, and return to their former position.

### SECOND SPIRITS OFFERING (YAHUEN).

Either the Shangjoo or any of his brothers may be the offerer. The offerer goes before the incense table and kneels. The serving man goes before the Lingdso, takes the spirit vessel, and pours the spirits into another vessel. Then putting fresh spirits into the first vessel, he goes as before, kneels, presents the spirit vessel, with the fresh spirits, to the offerer, who pours a little on the *mao* and sand, and then slowly rises as in the first offering; the serving man taking the spirit vessel back to its own position. The offerer then twice bows, and returns to his former post.

### THIRD SPIRIT OFFERING

may be by a son or a younger brother. The offerer goes before the incense table as before, receives fresh spirits, and performs exactly the same ceremonies as mentioned for the first offering.

### FOOD OFFERING.

The serving man takes some spirits, with which he goes before the Lingdso, and pours the spirits into the vessel; he also puts a spoon into the food dish, the handle of the spoon pointing westwards. The *Kwaidso* or chopsticks are placed quite straight beside the spoon. The Shangjoo and all the others go outside, and the door is closed by the *Gao* or chanter. If there is no door before the Lingdso, a screen is drawn down. The Shangjoo stands east of the door, looking west; the younger and inferior standing

behind him. The Joofoo stands west of the door, looking east; and the most perfect silence is to be observed. The more honourable mourners stand apart from the others. The food is all arranged in order (p. 341); and the chanter (*Gao*) goes in, standing over against the door. He looks north, sighs audibly three times, and calls the spirit, inviting him to eat of the food prepared for him. He then calls out, ordering some one to open the door, or to fold up the screen before the Lingdso. The Shangjoo then goes in with all the mourners, by the opened door, and all weep and wail. The serving man then takes away the meat soup, and presents tea, placing it beside the spoon; he also places three dishes of biscuit as dessert. In a short time the serving man again takes these, places them before the Lingdso, and throws all the various dishes together; mixes them, and covers them up, placing a spoon beside the mixture.

The chanter then stands at the right of the Shangjoo, and proclaims that the rite is completed. This whole ceremony is intended to feed the deceased, who is represented by a son; and this son, on hearing the words, "*Lichung*," "Rite completed," rises off the seat on which he sat representing the deceased. Anciently this representative was an essential actor in the proceedings, not necessarily so now.

The Shunjoo is then replaced in the shrine, taken inside and placed on the Bed. When this is being done, the Shangjoo and all the others weep and wail, and twice bow. They wail bitterly for some time; and when they cease, the chanter takes the paper on which his chants were written, and burns it. He then goes out; and with his departure, all the serving-men go out, and the service is finished by all the members of the family bowing twice.

This *Yüji* is the work of one day subsequent to the funeral; and after it an offering, such as that presented before the funeral, is offered every morning and evening. This offering may consist of burning paper and a libation of spirits; while it may be more elaborate if desirable.



## SECOND YÜJI.

The forms are precisely similar to the first. A lucky day, called a *Yo*, or "soft" day, is chosen for this second service. The *Yo* days are those whose names contain any of the syllables, *yi*, *ding*, *su*, and *sin*,\*—each of which occurs every tenth day. The first of these four, after the funeral, is chosen for the second service. On the preceding day, there are presented various dishes of food, fruit, spirits, and *jwan*. In the early morning the chanter takes the shrine, exposes the Shunjoo on the Lingdso, and the first *Yüji* is repeated in every particular.

## THIRD YÜJI

is on a *gang*, or "hard" day; those days whose names have any of the syllables,—*ja*, *yin*, *woo*, or *gung*,—are *gang* days. These are *yang* days; while the soft are *yin* (note, p. 340). The third sacrifice is a repetition in all particulars of the first and second.

## DSOOKOO, OR AFTER MOURNING.

Three months after the *Yü* sacrifice and mourning, the *Dsookoo* begins on a *gang* day. On the preceding day the various vessels, utensils, and *jwan*, are prepared and arranged.

In the early morning the food is laid out, with spirits, fruit, and *jwan*; a vessel is set with fresh water, drawn in the early morning,—for this is the original, unadulterated wine, and is placed on a separate small table. This water is on the west side, the real spirits on the east side.

At daybreak the chanter opens the shrine, places the Shunjoo on the Lingdso; the Shangjoo, and all under him, enter, and weep and wail. The *jwan* is set out properly when the spirit descends. The *first offering* is in every respect like that of the *Yüji*, except that the chanter takes the chant board, goes to the left side of the Shangjoo, and kneeling, recites, facing the east.

\* These are four of the twelve horary characters, which the Chinese combine in couplets to form distinctive marks for their beautiful cycle of sixty years; the first half is used to denote the days of the month.

The second and third offerings are also exactly like the first, the chanter still facing east. Henceforth there is no weeping and wailing at morning and evening ; but grief should be manifested by the countenance.

On the day following the *Dsookoo*, is the *FOOJI*, or sacrifice to all the ancestors, which must be offered by the principal member of the family. If the family can afford it, this sacrifice is like the other great sacrifices ; but if not, a very small offering is sufficient.

#### LIGHT MOURNING.

The *Siaohien*, or light mourning, is after one complete year's mourning. The chanter uses the same words as in *Choochien*. The *guan* or cap is a piece of coarse white cotton ; four rounded sides, resembling a four-leaved shamrock leaf. The clothing must be that of the *Dagoong*—of those who mourn nine months. The skirt of the outer garment must have an unhemmed hole in it, and be of white cotton. The sash is to be of boiled flax, a cross sash (over the shoulders) is made of the same material ; the shoes of hempen cord, and the staff, are as in full mourning. The *lien* (garment for the loins) must be of a quiet colour. If the father lives, and the mourning is for the mother, the *lien* is worn at the end of eleven months. The *Dahien*, or "great mourning," is worn till after the completion of the thirteenth month. After the thirteenth month is over, mourning may be laid aside, and, after a sacrifice, ordinary clothes assumed. The *Siaohien* means, however, twelve full months in mourning.

On the day preceding the completion of the full twelve months, the Shangjoo and the other mourners wash the head and body ; then the vessels and utensils are prepared, and *guan* got ready. The *lien*, or change of clothing, is also provided, and laid out in a separate place. The males put off their head napkin, and rip open the seam of their collar ; the hem of their skirts is also cut away, so as not to touch the ground, and they each carry a small board. Within this full year of mourning, no gold ornaments are to be worn, or pearls, embroidery, or scarlet, purple or any reddish colour ;—for red is the colour of rejoicing.



In the early morning of the day after the completion of the full year, dishes of vegetables, fruit, spirits, and *jwan* are got out. The chanter opens the shrine, and places the Shunjoo on the Lingdso; all under the Shangjoo enter and weep and wail,—the Shangjoo standing against his staff outside the door. All the members of the family enter in their ordinary mourning clothing. Those more distant relatives who had changed their mourning at the end of five and nine months, also enter to the sacrifice; but their gay clothing is laid aside, and they mourn bitterly, till their grief finds full expression, when they desist. They then go outside to their proper positions; and when they change their mourning for ordinary clothing, they re-enter, and again weep and wail till the recitator cries "Stop."

During this weeping and wailing, paper and incense were being burnt, and the spirit descended. The offerings are again in all respects similar to those of the *Yüji*. Then when the three offerings are over, the Shunjoo is locked up.

During the period of mourning—whether for father or mother or both; or whether from thirteen months to two full years—no spirits of any kind are drunk, no flesh or fish of any kind, and no garlic or any of the garlic tribe eaten. But if a member of the family is unwell, and unable to eat the ordinary coarse food, and is therefore in danger of death, he may take both spirits and meat, which he ceases to use as soon as he is better. Old people over fifty may also eat meat to support their infirmities. Neither is it proper to go beyond the premises; but if unavoidable business demands his departure, the mourner must have both saddle and stirrups covered with white cotton, in token of mourning.

After *Siaohien* is completed, the morning and evening offerings are stopped; but food is presented morning and evening before the Shunjoo; and though no sound of weeping is heard, there should be mourning in the heart and on the face. Thenceforth there is no restriction as to the kind of food to be eaten. The women mourning father or mother now also return to their husband's home, and the unmarried women of the family may be married.

## DAHIEN, OR GREAT MOURNING.

The chant at the Dahien, or the end of two full years' mourning, is that of *Chookien*, and the cap or *gwan* as in *Siaohien*. The clothing must have a straight up collar, and the shoes be of boiled hemp.

On the day preceding the completion of the two full years, the head and body are washed, and everything prepared as in *Siaohien*. The offerings, as in *Siaohien*, are laid out before sunrise; and in the twilight, the chanter opens the shrine &c. (346).

When the three offerings are completed, the chanter takes the Shunjoo and places it in the temple devoted to ancestors, which every wealthy family possesses. All below the Shangjoo wail on the way to the door of the temple, where they desist.

When all is finished, the Shangjoo should offer sacrifice at the temple of his ancestors; the Shunjoo should be placed in the east, looking west; and after three full years, put in its proper position, facing the south.

The Lingdso is then taken away. The staff is broken, and thrown out into the compound. The mourning is then ripped up, and given to the servants and the gravekeeper.

## DANJI, OR SACRIFICE ON CHANGE OF CLOTHING.

The *Danji* is offered a half month after *Dahien*. Ordinary clothing is prepared, a black cap, and a black sash.

On the preceding day the head and body are washed; a place is provided for the Shunjoo, on the spot previously occupied by the Lingdso before it was destroyed; and vessels, utensils, and *jwan* are arranged.

In the early morning before daybreak, vegetables, fruit, spirits, and *jwan* are orderly arranged. The Shangjoo then goes to the ancestral temple. The chanter takes the shrine, places the Shunjoo at Lingdso, and all below Shangjoo weep and wail, till their grief finds adequate expression, when they stop. They then go out to their places, lay aside their mourning apparel, put on their ordinary garments, and again enter, standing in their proper order. The three offerings are then made, as



already described; but there is no audible mourning till the "spirit" is sent away (i.e., the Shunjoo replaced), when all weep and wail bitterly. But there is no wailing when it is being sent to the ancestral temple. Then, for the first time, meat may be eaten and spirits drunk by all the family.

### SECOND FUNERAL, OR CHANGE OF GRAVE.

The site must be carefully sought out by the eight diagrams; and the ceremonies to be performed are exactly as at the first burial.

If the first coffin is rotted away, a new one is required; but if the old one is good, it may be used. In the event of change of coffin, the bones, which have now lost all their flesh, are arranged each in its place to form a skeleton, which must be clothed again. A stretcher is required for coffin; some cotton, a sash, a rug, and clothing. But these are not required if the old coffin is entire. Each man is to be dressed in proper clothing; the three-years mourners (sons) in linen, and no one in gay clothing. When opening the grave, the *Toodi*, or small stone behind the grave, is first sacrificed to, as at the first burial. A good day must be selected to open the grave, and to sacrifice to the *Toodi*. Lime &c. are used in the same way as in the original grave.

The ANCESTRAL TEMPLE is INFORMED by placing spirits and fruit in the temple on the day preceding the second burial. The Shangjoo and the others stand in their proper relative positions, and the shrine is opened. The man who is to lead the procession takes out the Shunjoo, which, on its appearance, is kowtowed to. When, on the burning of paper and incense, the spirit descends, the Shangjoo washes his hands, and stands before the incense table; burns incense, and twice bows; places the spirits, and pours some out over the *mao* grass, and again twice bows. After pouring out the spirits he rises slowly, his face towards the ground, and again kneels. The chanter (a member of the family) takes the chant-board, and kneeling, recites that ". . . is to

be buried on the . . . year, in the . . . moon, on the . . . day, the dutiful son (or grandson, as the case may be), &c., &c., informs . . . (name), . . . (relation), that on this day, at such an hour, the grave is to be changed ;” and now he tells the spirit, so that he may be aware of the change, and not be ignorant of the resting place of his body ; that thus he may be saved from the future trouble which he would experience if he knew not whither the body had been removed.

Then the Shangjoo and all the others stand in their proper places, and twice bow. When the Shunjoo is put away, the Shangjoo again twice bows. He then places the Shunjoo in the shrine, and retires backwards, facing it.

A tent is erected at the old grave, so as to be able to arrange the men and women in their proper positions. In the early morning of the funeral day, all go to this tent, and are arranged in their order,—the Shangjoo clothed in coarse linen ; all the others in ordinary garments, but none in gay clothing. All weep and wail, and sacrifice to the *Toodi*.

Before the grave is opened, a place is prepared for the coffin on the left (east) of the grave, in front of which are arranged spirits, fruit, meat, and soup. The Shangjoo then washes his hands, advances, kneels, burns incense, and twice bows. He then pours out some spirits on the earth, and again twice bows. A second time he pours out spirits, and slowly rises, facing the ground ; and then again kneels. The chanter then kneels, recites, addressing the *Toodi*, mentioning the name of the person to be removed, with his title, with the name of the chanter, and prays the god to aid those now in his presence, and offers him food.

As the grave is about to be opened, all are standing in their proper rank, and weeping bitterly. They twice bow. The Shangjoo kneels, burns incense, and twice bows. He places the spirit vessel, pours out some upon the earth, and again twice bows ; a second time pours out spirits, and slowly rises. The chanter then sighs thrice audibly, as if calling the departed ; after which he takes the chant board, kneels and recites his chant, addressing the dead man, informing him of the change and



telling him to "be not afraid, be not troubled," for that he will find a sure resting place.

The servants then open the grave; and during the process both men and women weep and wail. The coffin is laid on the stretcher placed for it, men and women wailing in the tent; the men in the east side, the women in the west. The chanter wipes the coffin with a duster, and throws a rug over it. Offerings of vegetables, fruit, meat, soup and rice, as usual, are placed before the coffin. All wail bitterly and bow twice; then the incense table is approached, incense burnt, spirits placed in position, some poured out; and the actor slowly rises, wailing bitterly, and again twice bows. In a short time the things are all removed, the spirits and fruit alone being left behind.

The new coffin was brought to the tent door, facing south. It is now carried to the grave mouth. The proper man then places a board to the west of the new coffin; opening the old coffin and placing the body on this board; and the new coffin is laid on the stretcher. And the man removes the things offered in sacrifice, the chanter kneeling as before, reciting whither the dead man is to be removed. And again an offering is presented. All below the Shangjoo weep and wail. The chanter washes his hands, burns incense, pours out spirits, kneels, and says, "The carriage of the *ling*\* is ready to go to the new house."

The funeral cortege is precisely similar to the first funeral. Men had gone ahead who prepared a tent and a Lingdso, at the new grave, by which men and women could be again separated. When they arrive, weeping and wailing are indulged in, as at the first funeral. And sacrifice is offered to the new *Toodi*.

The proper man places spirits, fruit, meat and soup at the left of the grave. The Shangjoo washes his hands, kneels, burns incense, twice bows; again places spirits and again twice bows, pours out the spirits and slowly rises, and again kneels. The chanter takes his board, kneels and speaks, addressing the god of the *Toodi* (*Toodi ju shun*), informing him of the arrival of the new visitor, praying him to look after the dead man come thither,

\* *Ling* is used for both "coffin" and "soul."

and to prevent his being troubled in time to come, adding that the spirits &c. now offered are for his own (the god's) use. The Shangjoo twice bows; and the chanter and manager bow twice.

*Yüji* is offered at the Lingdso, in a manner precisely similar to that of the first funeral. The only difference being, that in the *first offering*, of the second funeral, the chanter says that "If they had not changed the grave, they would not have dared to make offerings and worship as at the first." The second and third offerings and the "departing" of the Shunjoo are exactly as at the first funeral.

Next day after the second funeral they *inform* the Ancestral Temple, the Shangjoo and the others observing their proper order; the foremost opens the shrine and all thrice bow towards the Shunjoo. When the "spirit descends" the Shangjoo washes his hands before the incense table, bows twice, pours out spirits and slowly rises. Again, just before the Shunjoo, he pours out more spirits, kneels, and all kneel. The chanter then addresses the Shunjoo, informing him with the proper dates and names where his body had been buried. The Shangjoo rises slowly, bows twice and goes to his proper standing place. The Shunjoo is put away and the Shangjoo and all under him twice bow. After placing the Shunjoo in its proper place, he walks out backwards.

Three months after, there is a change of clothing. It is proper the family should have an appointed place for mourning.

#### SORTING THE GRAVE, OR "CHANGE OF SWOTSAO."\*

Though the preceding is in itself complete, it is well that this addition be attended to. A good day must be chosen (fifth of fifth moon,—June; and fifteenth of eighth moon,—September, are the best), and spirits, fruit, meat, and soup, are arranged before the grave. The Shangjoo washes his hands, approaches, kneels, burns incense, pours out spirits upon the ground, and twice bows; pours out a little more spirits in front of the grave,

\* *Swotsao*, *sedge* (Williams); but here simply the grass growing on the grave. This is certainly an addition to Chinese Ritual, for they leave their graves in a disgraceful state of neglect.



and slowly rises, and again kneels. The chanter makes three sighs, kneels, and speaks, saying, that as many years have gone by since the burial, and as none has been looking after the grave, it now requires to be repaired, &c., &c.

When changing the *Swotsao*, sacrifice is again offered to the *Toodi*. Spirits, fruit, meat, and soup, are placed by the proper man on the left of the grave; the Shangjoo washes hands, approaches, kneels, burns incense, pours spirits upon the ground, and twice bows; pours out a little more before the grave; slowly rises, and again kneels. The chanter also kneels, addresses the *Toodi* god, mentioning names and dates as before, saying that as the grave had fallen into disrepair, they had now come to repair it; "we, therefore, pray the god to help us, and to aid the deceased to avoid future trouble, &c." The Shangjoo then bows twice; the chanter and manager (who laid out the offerings) also now twice bow. Afterwards, they wish the buried to be at rest. When the labourers are finished, the manager places spirits, fruit, meat, and soup, before the grave. The Shangjoo washes his hands, burns incense, pours out spirits before the grave, and slowly rises. He again kneels; the chanter kneels, and informs the deceased that now the grave has been renovated, and that afterwards he will never again be molested.

From the preceding may be inferred, at a glance, the immense inferiority of woman to man, according to Corean notions. Her position is not merely secondary, but she has any actual position whatever, only as wife and mother. It will have been observed in the article on "Dying," that the daughters and sisters of a man dying, are not to go into mourning, i.e., they are not to be treated as the near relations of deceased, but as the wives of their respective husbands. So much so, that in Corea, a woman living or dead, has no name of her own, but is called Mrs so and so,—the name of her husband. Women call themselves by the term "slaves," in China,—it is even worse, apparently, in Corea, though in both countries there are clever women, who, by dint of an eloquence unknown where woman is esteemed, compel some respect to their wishes. It is an undoubted fact that



MERCHANT & WIFE.



CHILDREN & HOUSE.





Christianity alone can place women in China and Corea,—in number more than all European women,—in their proper social position ; Christianity alone can confer upon them the dignity of that position, and enable them to perform its duties pleasantly and beneficially to wield its influence. And if women demand, as they are justified in demanding, the removal of all real inequalities between the sexes in western lands, should Christian women not be more earnest still in their endeavours to ameliorate the wretched condition of those eastern women, whose state is now of such a nature, that their earnest prayer is, that in the next life they may be born men? Only Christianity can save them.

The excess of mourning, the accumulation of ritual, the calling upon the departed spirit, and any other custom referred to above, which may seem strange to western notions, are to be understood as implying profound grief at the loss to the survivors, and the expression of the wish that their dead might return to life again ; and must not be supposed to imply any hope of an actual return to life, or a belief that the departed can indeed partake of the offerings. The *origin* of it all is not superstition, but the idea of filial devotion, which stands out as the first of all the virtues in China, and in all countries which have borrowed Chinese moral philosophy. If therefore the various rites and customs may appear ludicrous, the true meaning of those rites is one to be highly respected ; though alas ! like every other virtue in the east, it is beautiful in theory, but lamentably lacking in practice ; for the man who may have killed his parents by his vicious courses, regards himself a most filial son, if he wails sufficiently over the coffin, and burns some paper before the grave.





## CHAPTER XI.

### RELIGION.

THE Coreans have one native name, and one borrowed from the Chinese, for the Supreme Being. The former is *Hannonim*, from *hanul*, heaven; the latter *Shangde*. The name *Hannonim* is so distinctive and so universally used, that there will be no fear, in future translations and preachings, of the unseemly squabbles which occurred long ago among Chinese missionaries on this subject;—even though the Romanists have introduced the name which they employ in China. The idea conveyed by the term *Hannonim* is much like that of *Tien laoye*, the popular Chinese name for the Almighty, the all-present, but invisible One.

Taoism, which divides Chinese attention with Buddhism, is almost unknown in Corea; while Confucianism is a moral system, and not properly a “religion.” Hence Buddhism has no rival, unless indeed Romanism, which has had many adherents for nearly three centuries, may be regarded as such.

*Booldo* or Buddhism is profoundly believed in, and the celibate *Joong* or priests or monks are so numerous, that they are said to form a fourth of the male population; several myriads of them are said to be in the capital alone. The principal images, *Bootte*, are of brass; the secondary, *miriug*, of carved stone; none being of clay, as almost all Chinese images are. The priests are held in greater esteem than in China; and apparently a better class of men shave their heads in Corea than in China, for they are frequently ministers of State, commanders of armies and governors of Provinces, and occupy other important magisterial posts. The priest *Samiungdang*, celebrated to this day, was commander-in-chief, during the Japanese invasion three centuries ago. The Governor General (Tsongdo) of Pingyang in 1877 was a priest.



This magisterial priest is addressed, not *Joong*, but *Desa*, "He, the Temple."

The dress of the priests is black or grey, their trousers being as universally black as that of the rest of the populace is white. Their official robe, *gasa*, which they wear at worship, is in shape like the Chinese; passing over the right shoulder, and under the left arm. They also use a crooked staff in their chanting. Their rosary consists of one hundred and eight beads, which they diligently count over in prayer. Their remarkable similarity to the various ecclesiastical grades and the ordinary forms and ceremonies of Romanism, is very extraordinary; so much so, that the priests accuse the devil of having stolen the rites of holy mother church and of teaching them to Buddhism. The priest is severely beaten if discovered breaking his strict rules of vegetarianism and chastity. In this respect they seem to be superior to the Chinese.

The believers in Buddhism are not in equal proportions over the kingdom. In some places scarcely a third follow the priests; in others, almost all the people. Fervent believers assiduously frequent the temples; others once a month, or once a year, at the great festivals. There are more believers in the god of the mountains than in Buddhism. This god is the representative of the mountains, and his temples are on the highest and most precipitous slopes. This god is worshipped once a year; the family making it the occasion of a picnic. Seven days before, and as many after the day of worship, no meat is eaten; and the cereal and vegetable food must be of the cleanest possible kind,—the rice being pounded many times more carefully than during ordinary times, and the vegetables are washed with seven-fold care. Everything on the person and in the house must be without spot. It is in this respect like the Pongol of India. Though the mode of worship differs *in toto* from the Chinese, we imagine the idea of gods for the mountains came from China, where it exists and has long existed much as it did in ancient Greece.

Loongwang, the god of rain, is believed in by all the believers

in the mountain god ; comprising all the believers in Buddhism, in addition to many more who do not believe in Buddhism. The god of war is worshipped only in the capital, where there are two temples in his honour ; but China has one in every city.

Confucius is worshipped twice a year,—once in spring, and again in autumn ; but only by the magistrate who is over each city. The king worships him in the capital. Some of his disciples are also worshipped. The magistrate in all cases sacrifices sheep in the stone built temples. There are no sheep in Corea ; those sacrificed are purchased at the “Corean gate” from the Chinese.

The doctrine of immortality is necessarily believed in, wherever the Chinese form of Buddhism flourishes ; for the ambition of priest, monk, or vegetarian believer, is that, by his abstinence and his diligent chanting of litanies, he may become a “god,” the equivalent of the Roman Catholic saint,—attained in much the same fashion. But the highest aspiration of Buddhism, is that the soul should be absorbed into Nirvana or nothingness, which really means annihilation ; for the soul is to cease to exist as a separate entity. Yet that the soul of every man is immortal, does not seem to be a universal,—it is certainly not among the Coreans universally a practical,—belief. The first Corean with whom the writer ever came in contact, regarded the notion that all had souls destined to endless existence, one to be ridiculed ; for only the priests and pious people could thus live. True, he was a very ignorant youth ; but when the Corean scholar, who is with me now, came under my notice, he was about to drink some opium, to end a life of poverty among strangers ; and to one capable of such a deed, immortality can be only a fiction.

The sacrifices and addresses to the departed, as recorded above, might seem to imply a belief in immortality ; and it cannot be denied that there is, of necessity, a hazy kind of spiritual existence, after death, believed in wherever Buddhism prevails ; and especially where dead ancestors are sacrificed to, in the belief that the departed spirits can exert an influence for good or evil upon the living. We do not believe that any of the



eastern people have yet attempted to solve for themselves even an approximation to an idea of the nature of that disembodied state. It is very evident from the above Burial Ritual, that death is regarded as an eternal separation between the dearest of friends and the best of men. The bitter wailing of survivors, to whom the departed was very dear, is the necessary accompaniment of that black despair, which says to the departed, that he must go hence "for ever;" and what a contrast this, "We shall never see your face again," of eastern philosophy and religion, compared to "Not dead, but gone before," of the Christian. Even supposing it could be false, the belief that death is but a temporary separation of those dear to us as life, is one full of soothing comfort to the living one, for which we owe deep gratitude to Him who has "brought life and immortality to light," if even He had done no more for mankind. The condition of Corea, as of all eastern lands, proves that the most ordinary morality has no foothold, apart from the belief in an endless existence hereafter, whose character is to be decided by the "deeds done in the body."

The following is again a translation from a Corean treatise on Religion:—

There are four sects in Corea—1st, THE RELIGION OF REASON. Its teaching is summed up in the two words: "Clean"\* and "Empty."† It teaches its disciples to be humble and not arrogant. But if a man join them who is of a disreputable character, he ceases prayers and music (which can restore a man), and forsakes benevolence and uprightness.

2nd, GEOMANCY, originated with Hü and Ho, two ministers of Yao Wang.‡ If a man joins them who is of some mental

\* "Clean" in heart, in person, in temple.

† Void of thought and desire of any kind, either good or evil; for perfection is the absolute serenity of mind consequent on the total absence of all thought. Ergo, the man who did not waste his talent but kept it in a napkin, should have been a good man. And therefore ceasing to exist as a separate individual is the perfection of happiness. Though called *Tao* here, the name and description really belong to Buddhism.

‡ This gives Geomancy a much more recent date than the *Fuki* of the Chinese.

capacity, he induces men to act according to his rules, as to when there is a lucky opportunity of doing anything, and when he should abstain from doing. If a man of very limited capacity joins them, he forsakes the rules of human conduct, and becomes a devoted servant of *gweishun*—"demons and gods,"—or superstition.

3rd, LAWYERS or LAW SECT, consisting of those appointed to be magistrates over the people, to reward the good and to punish the evil, and to act according to principle and law. But if a selfish man is in office, he ceases to instruct the people, and casts away benevolence and love.

4th, INK SECT. Ink is that by means of which every man gains knowledge. Ink is therefore most valuable and highly to be honoured.\* The founder of this sect, contemporary of Mencius, called himself Modsu (Son of Ink), and instituted the Mojiao. He regarded a poor house or a mountain cave as a proper home. One of their tenets orders the younger people to get up at the fifth watch (2 a.m.), and wait upon the Three Elders (father, mother, and elderly guest); and they teach all to "love." But if a narrow-minded man join this sect, he follows out the doctrine of universal love too logically, and makes no distinction between his nearest relations and the outer world.

"But," says one writer, "under heaven there is only one true doctrine, and all the rest are false; the true man must be treated according to his truth, and the false according to his falsehood." "That," says the Annotator, "is the speech of a child; for who can equalise the unequal? Among one hundred men there is one thief; but if you dont know who it is, how is it possible to treat ninety-nine of these as honest men? One cock pheasant crows, one hundred hens follow him. Swift as the wind, quick as the lightning, man has no standing ground. Who is there in this world who has not at some time been the object of groundless suspicion and back-biting? This is what is hard to endure. Wun Joongdsu said that in rectifying the conduct, the mind must be inflexibly bent in one direction (i.e., regardless of the *vox populi*).

\* Compare the English saw about the "Pen and Sword."



This is a statement of the utmost consequence. It should be thought of constantly, and acted out always till knowledge is added to knowledge; each sentence more pregnant of meaning than each last; branch should spring from branch, and bud increase on bud, till, when you hear words hard to bear, you will resemble Boo Yi when accused of stealing the silver, and Bo Yen when charged with designs on the revenue; who continued faithful to their post, even though charges were made against them by the hundred cart load. The bird wounded by an arrow afterwards fears every crooked stick; and the ox who has suffered from the sun will bellow when the moon appears." Here we stop the Corean moraliser while proving the difficulty of distinguishing the true from the false, and only wish that all men "calling themselves Christians" had as much real knowledge; and were ready to cultivate the same forbearance.

## CHAPTER XII.

### GOVERNMENT.

#### LAWS.

ON the subject of Korean laws, we can give no special information, and must be satisfied with general remarks. The Koreans permit no intercourse with other nations,—not even with the Chinese, except by special government permission, and under the most stringent supervision. At the time of their greatest power in Peking, the Jesuits were encouraged to go to Corea, into which their science was opening as wide a door as it had done in China; but as the Jesuit fatal tendency to meddle with state affairs manifested itself in the latter country, with an unfortunate effect upon their mission work, they were forbidden Corea; and as lately as the last few years, the Jesuits, hiding among their converts in Corea, were subjected to a bitter persecution, from which only two French priests escaped, and which carried off large numbers of their followers. China had done otherwise in persecuting; for the government took the utmost precautions to save the western priests from the populace, and had them safely escorted to the Portuguese in Macao; while they persecuted only their own subjects who refused to submit to the ordinary laws and magistrates of their native land. The Korean successful defence against the French fleet, which steamed up the Han to revenge the murder of these priests, led to stricter rules than ever against any contact with the “foreign nation,”—for all westerns are lumped into one “outer kingdom,” both in China and Corea. On this notion was based the law forbidding the introduction of cottons, which, though English, were supposed to be in close connection with the kingdom whose ships they had driven off, and which kingdom would



suffer materially by shutting up the Corean-gate market! Two Corean merchants, who smuggled in those cottons at that time, lost their heads, as did two assistants. It was only on the accession of the present young king that the prohibition was removed, and western Coreans were again permitted to dress in their beloved English cottons. If a Chinaman is known to have landed on any part of the coast, accessible to the knowledge of the nearest local magistrate; this magistrate is responsible for his apprehension, and must answer with his head if he connives at the Chinaman's escape.

Once a year there is an important national tribute, under charge of high officials, sent to Peking; which is taken advantage of largely by Corean merchants, who act as the retinue of these tribute bearers, or are permitted for a gratuity to do so, in order to sell their gold and ginshang in Peking. There are other less important embassies during the year. The chiefs of the embassy get a passport for each man in his train; and if it is known that any follower overstays his term, he is punished on his return to Corea; but those who do prolong their stay after the return of the tribute bearers, always take care to return with the following embassy, and thus escape detection. A man I saw with a front tooth knocked out was more unlucky. He went in the usual manner to Peking with a bundle of medicines; for Corean medicines are in high repute in China. His story was, that having got to Tientsin he was called in to see the sick son of the viceroy, Li Hungchang. He treated the youth successfully; and remained three years under the roof of the grateful father, who, when he was starting for home, gave him Tls. 100 (£30) to buy himself a horse &c. Mr Tien got to the west bank of the Liao on his way home, when he was beset by robbers and plundered, after losing that tooth. The story may or may not be true, but we know that then all Manchuria was infested with robbers, and the story did not appear on that account improbable. As the local magistrate is nominally responsible for everything which happens in his district, Tien went to the Yamen, and demanded the restitution of his lost fortune; whereupon arose a

wrangling and disputing, which ended in many communications from and to the Corean government, which ordered Tien to be brought in custody to his native home, where he was sentenced to three years transportation for overstaying his passport leave. He, however, got his younger brother to take his place, and fled back into China till his term should expire. It was then he related to me his story, which is curious if true.

The Coreans are extremely fond of the strongest spirits, and invariably get drunk on the strong whisky of northern China, when they can get it. They themselves make a strong spirit of rice, on which they often get drunk. The government levies a malt tax on it. But in the year 1876, when there was only the third of a perfect crop, distillation and the sale of spirits were strictly forbidden in Corea under severe penalties. This is always done when grain is scarce. As in the one city of Aichow alone, over 1500 families were supported by the sale of intoxicants, it is not wonderful that some sold in spite of law, and got banished.

Beating on the shank with a heavy stick is a very common mode of punishment; which is said to end in immediate death, if a badly aimed blow comes down just below the knee cap,—the result of awkwardness on the lictor's part. A murderer is tied down on a piece of wood, and beaten to death; the thief is punished in the same way: hence theft is unknown where the magistrate is known to enforce the law. The gambler, and the man unable or unwilling to pay his debts, are also beaten; sometimes on the shank, and to death. The man known to be an opium smoker is beheaded; yet we have seen many slaves to the bewitching and pernicious drug. The opium flower was grown in Corea, on account of its "beauty," long before it was known to contain the seductive "smoke;" though the juice and plant were used long ago in the apothecaries' shop to relieve pain, and very much as opium is now employed in modern medicine. The Coreans, indeed, seem to have used it before we did in the west. We hope foreign cannon will never open a way for opium into Corea; after which we would be told, as we



have been told of China, that the government is not in earnest in its professed desire to prevent the traffic. In the treaty between Japan and Corea, the opium traffic is strictly forbidden. And death is the legal penalty now to any Corean known to smoke opium.

Smuggling is variously punished. Beheading is the sentence against smuggling ginseng and ox-hide. This ginseng the Coreans grow extensively in their gardens; but the root grown by cultivation is regarded as nothing like so efficacious as the old roots on the wild mountains, which sell at enormous prices. Other kinds of smuggling are punished by a more or less severe beating, or by banishment. People caught fighting, are beaten in the same way as naughty children,—but with a bamboo instead of the palm of the hand. And for disobedience to parents, a man is severely beaten.

To prevent the magistrates from condoning offences for a consideration, there is a periodical visit, at irregular intervals, paid to some city or district, by a very high official in plain clothes, called *Usa*. *U* is the king, and *Umiung* the law. As soon as the *Usa* has made all his enquiries among the common people of the district, where he is investigating the magistrate's conduct, his followers, also scattered about in plain clothes, shout out, at a sign from him, *Umiunga, Umiunga*, and with the shout collect around their chief, whose presence is first suspected, only when thus discovered. He wields absolute power, and immediately proceeds to the yamun to transact his business. If the magistrate is found guilty of receiving bribes, he is sent to the capital, where he is beheaded. The *Usa* can go anywhere, and punish on the spot any crime,—as disobedience to parents, reviling one's elders, &c. He is unusually active in years of scarcity. The power of this tremendous spy is greater far than that of the Chinese censor, who can do no more than memorialise the throne. But in spite of all, the Corean mandarins, like most of their neighbours, from highest to lowest, have their market value; and the laws, well intentioned as they are, serve but as thumb screws to squeeze out silver out of the

lower officials. "The big fish eat the little fish, the little fish eat shrimps, and the shrimps eat mud."

## ROYAL FAMILY.

Since the Tang dynasty overwhelmed Corea, it has had only glimpses of absolute self-government; but, at the same time, it has had only brief intervals when it had not virtual self-government. Its vassalage to the Manchu government, secured at a sacrifice of a few years' dispeace and slaughter, and of some further years of somewhat severe taxation, has mainly been virtually nominal. For, from pity or policy, at one period after another, the taxes were lightened, till the amount is now one which is, on account of the merchandise accompanying it, more profitable for the Coreans to pay than not to pay. In treating of the government of the country, therefore, it is unnecessary to refer to its nominal dependance upon China, further than to say that a yearly or half-yearly tribute is sent in to Peking, accompanied by a host of merchants, who bring back profits much greater than the amount of the tribute. The Chinese emperor has also to acknowledge the heir to the throne, ere he can be regarded as such; though the choice of the king is always sanctioned. The Chinese emperor also invests the new king with his title, sending a special ambassador for the purpose. The Coreans, however, are masters of the situation; for it is the Corean government, not the Chinese, which prohibits intercourse between the two peoples, and which demands and receives any of its subjects known to be hiding on Chinese soil; while absolutely forbidding access of Chinese subjects to its shores on pain of instant death.

The Corean king is perhaps the most absolute in the world,—at all events among peoples who are wholly or semi-civilised; and however cruel the king, revolution has been impossible, for Chinese resources are pledged to support him. But like all kings who grind the bulk of their subjects to the dust, he is considerably at the mercy of his hereditary nobility, who, though not so numerous as in ancient times, nor possessing so much of



of the actual government of the country, and administration of the laws, in their hands,—are yet too powerful for a king of ordinary stamina. In ancient times they were, indeed, absolute lords of their cities, like the barons of England. Yet though fewer in number, and shorn of much of their ancient power, they, or a clique of them, can usually dictate to the king.

The present dynasty was founded by a man surnamed Li, by the murder of his sovereign, as appears in its proper place in the history (p. 269). He was Taidsoo, or founder. The following is a complete list of the dynasty up to the present:—

	<i>Ascended Throne.</i>	<i>Had Sons.</i>	<i>Daugh- ters.</i>	<i>Died at.</i>
Taidsoo Kanghien, Great King, - - -	A.D. 1392	15	8	74
Dingsoong Goongching ,, (2d son) - - -	1398	15	8	63
Taidsoong Goongding ,, (5th son of Taidsoo)	1400	12	17	56
Shudsoong Gwangdua ,, (3d son of last) -	1418	18	4	54
Wundsoong Goongshwun ,, (eldest son of last)	1450	1	2	39
Dwandsoong Goongyi ,, (son of last) -	1452	—	—	17
Shudsoo Whijwang ,, (son of Shudsoong)	1455	4	1	52
Duadsoong Hwajun ,, (eldest son of last)	1468	2	1	20
Yoidsoong Hiangdao ,, (son of Shudsoo)	1468	2	1	20
Chungdsoong Kangjing ,, (son of Duadsoong)	1469	16	11	38
Lord Yenshan ° - - - (eldest son of last)	1494			
Joongdsoong Goongsi ,, (2d son of Chungdsoong)	1506	9	11	57
Yindsoong Yoongjing ,, (eldest son of last)	1544	—	—	31
Mingdsoong Goonghien ,, (son of Joongdsoong)	1545	1	—	34
Huendsoo Jaojing † ,, (Hochung Prince)	1567	14	11	57
Lord Gwanghai ‡ ,, (3d son of last)	1608			
Yuendsoong Goonghiang ,, (6th son of Huendsoo)	1623	3	0	46
Yindsoo Hienwun ,, (eldest son of last)	1623	6	1	55
Hiaodsoo Hienwun ,, (2d son of last)	1649	1	6	41
Hiendsoong Janghiao ,, (son of last)	1659	1	3	34
Sodsoong Yuenhiao ,, (son of last)	1674	6	0	60
Gingdsoong Hüenhiao ,, (eldest son of last)	1720			37

\* He was “banished” to Gaotoong, after 11 years’ reign; hence he is styled “Lord,” not king; the former being the title of kings’ sons, not their successors.

† Son of Mingdsoong should have succeeded, but the Prince of Hochung became king instead. It cannot have been a revolution, yet his name is not among the royal line;—perhaps he was royal by female side.

‡ Was banished after fourteen years’ reign.

			Ascended Throne.	Had Sons.	Daugh- ters.	Died at.
Yingdsoong Hienhiao	„	(4th son of Sodsoong)	1724	2	12	83
Jundsoong Hiaojang	„	(eldest son of last)	1776			11
Jungdsoong Jwanhiao °	„	- - - -	1776	2	2	49
Chwunjoo Chinghiao °	„	- - - -	1800	2	3	45
Yidsoong Hiaomin	„	(eldest son of last)	1834	1	0	22
Hendsoong	„	(son of last)	1834	no child		
Chuadsoong, or Chiuljong	„	(next of kin)	1849			

Dang Jie (adopted by widow of Yidsoong) 1864;—was then an infant. During his infancy occurred the two wars with France and America. He has only recently assumed the reins of government. His title of Dang Jie is that of every Corean king while living, the historical title being invariably posthumous. The *dsoong* of Chinese is always *jong* in Corean.

The above list will serve to illustrate the statement, that the reigning king chooses which of his sons he pleases, or even passes them over for a cousin or an uncle, according to pleasure. If the king has many children he has many wives; 300 being the “round number” of his secondary wives or concubines. If a chief queen has a son, the son of a concubine cannot ordinarily succeed; but the son of a concubine is considered the proper heir if a chief queen has no child or daughters. The present king, son of *Dewun Goon*, adopted when the late king despaired of an heir, had a son by a secondary wife, who was three years (four *swi*) old, and would, on the following year, be proclaimed heir; but that the queen was pregnant, and in due time gave birth to a son, who is heir. This heir is seven years old (1879), and the other eleven. The heir is a *Wang*, the other sons are *Kün* princes; in Corean, *Goon*.

#### DEPARTMENTS.

To advise and consult with the strong king, to guide and command the weak, there are three great councillors, called *Yijung*, and six presidents (*Pansie*) of as many state departments. The Prime Minister is *Niungijung*—in Chinese, *Ling Siang*—“Chief Councillor.” The second is *Dso Siang*—in

\* See note †, p. 366.



Chinese, *Dsoijung*—"Left\* or Senior Councillor." The third is *Yow Siang*—in Chinese, *Wooijung*—"Right or Junior Councillor." The Korean king, like his imperial Chinese majesty, has three queens—chief, left, and right—each in a separate palace, and with a separate establishment. The Left councillor superintends the left palace, and the right the right palace. When a new king is proclaimed, or the choice of the heir to the throne is to be ratified by the emperor, the chief councillor is the ambassador to Peking. A *Pansie* or *Tsampan* is head of the ordinary tribute bearers. *Dso* and *Yow Tsandsan*, or Left and Right Tsandsan, are ministers inferior to the three councillors. The *Li Pan*, President; *Li Tsan*, Senior Vice-President; and the *Li Yi*, Junior Vice-President of Board of Appointments, complete the list of the eight members forming the Privy Council, or "Inner" Government.

The chiefs of the other departments or boards are "*Hoo*," or *Ho Pan*, or *Pansie*, President of Revenue; *Li Pan* or *Pansie*, of Rites; *Bing Pansie*, of War; *Hing Pansie*, of Punishment; *Goong* or *Gong Pansie*, of Works. These six are each assisted by a Vice-President or *Tsampan*, and a *Tsame* or Secretary. The *Pan* is of the second grade, the *Tsampan* of the third, and the *Tsame* of the fourth. The eighteen members forming the six departments are called the "General Council" of the king; but the first three, corporately called *Jiungsung*, hold the real power. Each of the six departments, however, has a body of soldiers and a mint of its own.

M. Dallet, in his "Church in Corea," calls the presidents "*Pantso*"; but my Korean book authority calls them merely "*Pan*," while my Korean teacher calls them "*Pansie*." *Tso* is the name given, in the book to which I refer, to the offices of the various departments—as *Bingsto*, offices of Board of War; *Litso*, offices of Board of Appointments &c. Though therefore M. Dallet had doubtless some authority for his rendering, I prefer to follow the Korean book published by the authority of the Korean Government.

\* "Left" is place of honour, adopted from Chinese.

The *Panyijin* is the official in charge of the Lamps and Lights of the Palaces, and who has a Jin Foo, Lamp-lighter's Palace, as his office. The *Dasusien*, *Da sujien*, *Da suchung*, appear to be grades of Censors. The *Doochungju* is the Keeper of the Rolls. There is a *Hanlin* academy, a *Yü Tang* (Precious Hall), or the "Ocean of Sages," probably the Temple of Literature; and a *Yingkiao* (Must-be-learned), apparently the offices where newly appointed magistrates go to learn their duties. The offices of the Privy Council are called *Kweijanggo*; the two chief censors have "palaces" called after their office; the *Jungfoo* is the Palace of the Royal Secretariate; the *Hüweisu*, the headquarters of the Royal Guard; the *Chungwun Yuen*, of the Recorder; and the *Chungjingwun* (the *Gwodsujien* of China), the Royal Academy. There is a Medical Hall; offices of the Royal Kitchen, of the Ritual Officials, of Superintendents of Royal Servants; an Armoury; an Astronomical Board; Eunuch offices; offices of Music; a National Granary; and a Treasury.

The Provincial Officials and Magistrates are—*Gamsa*, the Governor; *Pooyuen*, *Seyuen*, *Taipoosa*, *Moksa*, *Poosa*, *Goonshon*, *Hienling*, *Hiengam*—in their order. "The dignity is for life; actual office for a limited period. Governors are of the fourth grade, and Prefects of the sixth. Theoretically, office is open to all who have taken the 'Doctor' degree; actually, the higher offices are in the hands of the nobles"—(Dallet). This agrees with what we have learned privately from Coreans.

An appeal may be carried from a local magistrate to the *Gamsa*; from the *Gamsa* to the King; who, however, is not accessible in the palace. The petitioner waits till the king goes out to the Ancestral Temple to worship, whither he goes once a month or so. The petitioner has in his hand a piece of hollow wood or something else to make a noise. This he strikes by the roadside, as the king is about to pass. The king hears this, stands, enquires into the business of the petitioner, and acts in it.



## MILITARY.

As in civil matters, so in military, there are three chief officers. 1st, *Hoolien Dejang* (Ch. Hün giang); 2nd, *Uyung Dejang* (Ch. Poogiang); 3rd, *Hoyung Dejang* (Ch. Ginkün); who are superior to the Board of War. Each province has a commander for the province, called *Biungsa*, who may be compared to the Chinese Taotai; the *Gamsa* may also hold the office of *Biungsa*. Each province has an army and strongly fortified camp, or *ying*, of its own;—Giying is that of the capital; Goonying, of Choongchung; Lingying, of Giungshang; Gienying, of Julla; Doonying or Yuenying, of Gangwan; Haiying, of Hwanghai; Beiyung and Giying, of Pingan; and Hienying, of Hamgiang. There are, besides these, four camps in each of four Prefectural cities;—Soonying, in Kaichung; Chinying,\* in Ganghwa; Swichung, in Hwachung; Nanchung, in Gwangchow foo. Each province has also a fleet of its own; the capital having three,—one north and one south of the city. There are, besides, five small fleets in remote stations, as Yichow, Dongtsai, &c.

## POPULATION.

## CENSUS.

Province.	Cities.	Cantons.	Families (Hoo).	Soldiers (Ding).
Giunggi Do -	36	409	136,600	106,573
Choongchung Do	54	552	244,080	139,201
Julla Do -	56	740	290,550	206,140
Giungshang Do -	71	990	421,500	310,440
Gangwen Do -	26	202	93,000	44,000
Hwanghai Do -	23	295	138,000	153,800
Hamgiang Do -	24	233	103,200	87,170
Pingan Do -	42	440	293,400	174,538
	332	3,861	1,720,330	1,221,862

Of the cities, only some are fortified, being unlike China in this respect. The Cantons are composed of groups of small

\* Which was taken by the French and American expeditions.

hamlets; large villages being uncommon, nor are the large cities numerous. From the above Census, it is as difficult to compute the true population as from the same basis to infer the exact population of China. In China a *hoo* supplies a *ding*, or perhaps two, who may become a soldier; but a certain number (10 *ding*) furnish one soldier; the nine being supposed to be able to support an actual fighting man and his family, besides their own families; which is very nearly the proportion in which the Israelites were to support the Levites, though for other than fighting purposes. But Corea averages  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *hoo* to a *ding*; the proportion changing in each province. It is unnecessary to say that not a fifth of those called soldiers are actually drilled in Corea, and that scarcely a hundredth portion have firearms. In China there are more families than there are *hoo*. The *hoo* is a military term,—arbitrarily dividing the country into so many acres to an efficient soldier,—for China has never known what perfect peace means. The Corean arrangement is borrowed, like so much else, from the Chinese; and, to estimate a *hoo* at six members, would, from the peculiar family life in both countries, be certainly too small, while ten would, we think, be too much. The average might be taken as a proximately correct estimate; and that would give to Corea a population of about fourteen to fifteen millions. And as we know the country is swarming with population, this is probably not an excessive estimate.





## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE COREAN LANGUAGE.

SUPPOSE a clever Bengalee, who knew Hindee well and Chinese fairly, came across a book in Hindee purporting to represent the English of the "Three Character," or "Thousand Character Classic," and suppose him ignorant of any other English language different from this transliteration, it would be a very natural mistake for this clever Bengalee to infer that the English language was monosyllabic like the Chinese. It is in some such manner that the Corean language has been classified among monosyllabic languages in our Cyclopedias, and not later than a year ago by Professor Douglas of London. The mistake is all the more readily fallen into, inasmuch as the Corean pronunciation is so unlike that of northern China, whether Pekinese or Nankinese Mandarin,—approaching much more nearly to that of Canton. This difference, however, instead of proving the monosyllabic character of the Corean language proper, serves only to justify the belief of those Sinologists who maintain that Cantonese more nearly resembles the ancient pronunciation than does Mandarin, either northern or southern; for the Coreans, having an alphabet independent of the Chinese hieroglyphics, were able to stereotype that pronunciation of those Chinese hieroglyphics which they first learned. China, on the other hand, destitute of any such stereotyping process, if we except the uncertain and inadequate one of hymnal rhythmic terminology, seems to have changed its pronunciation with every succeeding dynasty, and to have changed it less in those regions of the empire remote from the immediate influences of such dynastic changes; for, as far as memory serves me, no dynasty has ever been given to China from the south of the Yangtsu.



It is necessary, however, to know only two or three sentences of Corean to at once explode the notion of its monosyllabic character. Indeed, Chinese itself is gradually losing its monosyllabic nature; for a dissyllabic or polysyllabic language is now spoken over sixteen of its provinces, and over the three "East Provinces," of which Liaotung is the principal. Though the pronunciation of these polysyllables of Mandarin varies in each province, the collocation of "syllables" and the accent are all but, if not wholly, identical over all. And the tones, of essential importance where monosyllables prevail, are the less necessary in proportion to the distinct articulation and correct accent or "rhythm" of these collocations.

If the Corean language was, as probably all languages at one time were, monosyllabic, it lost this feature long ago; and it is now no more so than English: perhaps less so than pure Anglo-Saxon. And though the subject is to be treated superficially in this paper, as full an account will be given of this long-sealed language of a still-sealed people as will suffice to place the Corean language in its proper pigeon hole in the philological library, and a comparison with its chief neighbours may not prove uninteresting to readers interested in language.

#### THE ALPHABET.

Coreans are unwilling to acknowledge to strangers the existence of a written national language, always declaring that they write only Chinese; and when it is known to exist, they are unwilling to teach it, and more unwilling to write words in it. This is, of course, because of their jealousy of foreigners, and their fear that the latter are yearning to acquire their hilly lands. Besides, they do not regard the ability to read and write their own language as sufficient to entitle to the rank of an educated man. This term is applied only to those familiarly acquainted with Chinese; and if the "Holy Wars" of the Manchus is trustworthy evidence, Coreans excel the Chinese themselves in the dexterity with which they manipulate Chinese characters. Their

alphabet is so beautifully simple, that half-an-hour's study is sufficient to master it; and as, like Pitman's Phonography, it is employed phonetically, it is universally known and used by men, women, and children. So much so, that a Corean, who "did not know a single character"—implying Chinese—sat down to a MS. copy of John's Gospel, and left it off only when he had read it all, not a single word having escaped him. This proves the great superiority of Corean over Chinese for the purposes of translation.

This alphabet consists of thirteen initial consonants, which, in the order of the Corean alphabet, are—*g, n, d, r, m, b, s, h, ds* (*j*), *ts* (*ch*), *t, p* and *k*;—five simple vowels—*a, u, o, oo, i*;—nine compound vowels—*ia, iu, io, iw, (i-oo), wa, wo, wi* (Eng. *we*), *wu* (Eng. *won*), *woo*;—two composite vowels—*e* of *let*, by combining *a* and *i*; and *é*, the *a* of *made*, by *u* and *i*.\* There are besides, nine finals proper, though any vowel may be a final—*g, n, d, r, m, b, s, i, and ng*; and as the vowel always rests upon a consonant, a circle or cypher stands before the vowel, which initials a syllable. *D* final is, however, never employed; the letter for *s* occupying its place. The following notes are extracted from my Corean Primer:—"The same letter stands for *ds* and *j*, for *ts* and *ch*, for *l* and *r*. But Chinese *l* is transliterated by *n*, not by *r*. Our *w* (double *oo*) is formed by prefixing *o* to the vowel." When closing a syllable the finals *b, g* are pronounced like English final *p, k*; and *s* for final *d*, like English *t*, holding an intermediate position between Corean *p, b, k, g, t, d*, which are like the Chinese; *d* and *t* are as in Chinese, pronounced from the edge of the upper row of teeth instead of from the roof of the mouth." "In pronouncing *lip*, the Chinaman is compelled to make two syllables, *li-pu*; the English speaker opens his lips after forming the *p*, but utters no

\*All the vowels are named with the uniform and constant value which is given them in my *Mandarin Primer*—*a* of *far*, *u* of *fun*, even when closing a syllable; *o* of *lot*, *oo* of *moon*, and *i* of *it*. I felt compelled to adopt *oo* to avoid the inevitable confusion arising from the double power of *u*, from which duality Japanese alone seems happily exempt.



audible sound. The Corean keeps his lips closed on every final consonant, permitting no breath to escape; neither audible like the Chinese, nor inaudible as in English. This renders some finals very indistinct."

"Euphony plays curious tricks with these finals, especially with the final *s*, which remains an *s* only before another *s*. It is assimilated by the succeeding consonant, becoming English *t* before *d* or *t*; *k* before *g* and *k*; *n* before *n*, and sometimes even *r*; *b* final is usually English *p*, but becomes *m* before *n*; and initial *b* becomes *v* before *i*, sometimes before *a*; *g* occasionally becomes *ng*. If initial *n* succeeds after final *r*, both are pronounced *l*; and an initial *r* after final *n* is reversed, for it becomes *n*. A final and initial *r* coming together are, as often as not, pronounced by a double *l*. "To indicate a very acute accent, the initial consonant is repeated, or the sign of the letter *s* prefixed. Hard *g* between two vowels, becomes mollified into a *gh*. But *ogat* is as readily understood as *oghat*." "The Corean alphabet, though always written in syllables, is from top to bottom, and right to left, like Chinese; and the current hand in English is no more unlike the printed letter than it is in Corean."

Neither the alphabet nor the language of Corea contains the letter *f*; nor are there letters for the sounds *l*, *v*, *w*, which are spoken. The Corean cannot, however, pronounce *r* at the beginning of a word, any more than the Chinaman; and he much prefers the sound *l* at the end. But, unlike the Chinaman, he almost prefers the sound *r* in the middle of a word, whether beginning or closing a syllable. The three sounds, *l*, *n*, and *r*, are, however, interchangeable. One strange feature of the spoken language is, that the man who invariably translates the Chinese initial *l* by *n*, as *ni* for Chinese *li*, turns the tables; and for *ni* (you), also says *li*. The Corean often softens the *b* between two vowels into *v*, as does Celtic with *b* and *m*. This *h molliens*, if I may be allowed to call it so ( $v = bh$ ), is extremely common in the spoken language, but unnoted in the written language; for though pronounced *gaghassum*, *gaghatda*, these words are written *gagassum*, *gagatda*.

This *h molliens* is probably a feature of all languages. In Hebrew we have the softened forms of the *Daghesh forte*, *bh*, *ph*, *dh*, *th*. In English we have *ch*, *sh*, *zh*, (*azure*), *dh* and *th*; for it seems quite reasonable to suppose that the soft *th* of *the* is but the old German article *die*; and any one can observe the difference in the breathing of *th* in the two words, *that thing*, the former corresponding to a *d* with *h molliens*, and the latter to a *t* with the same. This softening is more marked in Celtic than perhaps in any other language,—Hebrew not excepted,—for every one of its consonants is subject to it.

With the exception of the few defects pointed out, the Korean alphabet, for simplicity and utility, is the best known to me. In simplicity it is greatly superior to the complex alphabets of its neighbours, Manchu, Mongol, and Japanese, for these are Tables of syllables; so that in the majority of instances the "letter" of the Manchu and Mongol syllabary is composed of two consonantal sounds with an intervening vowel, the Japanese syllabary being more simple, inasmuch as it includes in it only syllables ending with a vowel, while these form but a small proportion of the Manchu, in which *shan*, *shang*, *choong*, *chiwng*, are each a separate letter. Thus the so-called Manchu twelve Radicals, which are really *finals*, are multiplied into many hundred letters. But while it is all but perfect in its table of syllables, the complexity of Manchu is quite a contrast to the beautiful simplicity of Korean. Besides the invariability of its vowels, Korean has the advantage over English of possessing separate letters for *ds*, *ts*, or *ch*, and *ng*; but it has to represent *sh* by inserting the double vowel beginning with *i* after *s*; as for *sha*, *s-i-a*, for *sho*, *s-i-o*, &c. Like Manchu, it lacks a sign for French *ü* so common in Chinese; but while Manchu clumsily supplies the vacancy with the vowel combination *i-o-i*, the Korean uses one of its two forms of the letter *u* (of *fun*).

Manchu, on the other hand, has separate letters for *f*, *w*, *l*, *r*, and the *zh*, or French *j* of Chinese. It has letters for *ds* and *ts*, which, however, appear as if supperadded long after the formation of the alphabet proper, and were possibly formed to



represent Chinese sounds, and after the Manchu conquest of China. If it be so, it would partially account for the softening process through which the Nanking dialect passed at the hands of the Manchus; the result being the present Pekinese, which, as was natural, is developed at least as fully in Moukden as in Peking. This will not wholly account for the softening, for Manchu has separate letters for *king* and *ching*, for *ging* and *jing*; but south of Kaiyooen, the Manchus have lost their own language, except for state purposes, and they, therefore, pronounce both forms with the same sound. So much has the Chinese superseded the Manchu, that the best Manchu scholar in Moukden can no more close a syllable with a consonant than can a Chinaman;—all that the Manchus have retained of the vocal peculiarities of their language is the ability to trill the *r* sound.

#### THE VERB.

The Corean verb has properly three tenses,—the Present Imperative, the Past, and the Future; but both past and present are subject to certain modifications to express past-definite, past-indefinite, &c., time. Many verbs have also a form for the present indicative. From root *gal* (English *go*, German *gängen*, Scotch *gang*), is *gashi*,\* imperative; *gassummé*, pft., “has gone;” *gaghatdapidé*, fut., “will go;” *muggushi*, eat; *mughussumé*, has eaten; *moghatdapidé*, will eat. The interrogative of Past and Future is formed by terminating the verb with the vowel *a*, the vowel *é* is affirmative; as *gassumma?* has he gone? *gassummé*, he has gone. The imperative is used for infinitive, as *boollu ona*, “call (him to) come.”

The verb has properly no persons, though sometimes the first person differs,—as *mughussum*, I have eaten. But each verb and each tense has three various forms, according as the person addressed is superior, equal, or inferior in rank or age, to the speaker. The middle form is ordinarily applicable to all,

\* The *sh*, *ss*, *t*, are changed by euphony from the same letter *s* (see above).

excepting very old persons and parents. In this matter the Koreans are much more particular than the Chinese.

There are three Negatives in Korean, all verbal, implying the verb "to be," or incorporated in that verb. The Chinese negative *mei* is used at once as the negation of *existence* and of *possession*. The Korean *an* is the negation of *existence*, and *up* of *possession*. The Chinese *boo* or *puh*, always connected with the future tense, has, as pointed out in my "Mandarin Primer," a double force according to its position relative to the verb; in one position being the negation of *ability to* (=cannot), in the other, the negation of *will* (=will not). The Korean uses *an* for the latter, and *mot* for the former, e.g. :—

*Dioti anta*.—Good not=it is not good.

*Bumun issumma upsumma?*—Tigers are are-not?=are there tigers?

*Bumun upsowé*.—Tigers not=there are no tigers.

*Bumun manta upsowé*.—Tigers many not=there are not many tigers.

*Bumun manta anta*.—Tigers many not=tigers are not numerous.

*Dalliji mothaghé*.—Ride cannot=cannot ride (as horse is wild).

*Sarami gami derul tami upsummunni*.—Man dare him ride not=there is no man dare ride him.

*Muggushi*.—Eat (Imperat.).

*Mugdi ansupdé*.—I shall not eat (Simple future).

*Mugdi mothummuni*.—I will not eat (Implying inability).

*Mugdi ankatdupdé*.—I will not eat (Implying unwillingness).

This brief sketch of the main features of the verb must suffice, for it will be supplemented by the following complete sentences; which are written because it is now a philological axiom that the grammatical construction of a language, and not any number of mere verbal resemblances or differences, determines the character and philological position of that language. The few following sentences will present variety sufficient to show this construction :—



*That dog bites* is translated, *dé gai saram moonda*, that dog man bites.

His Excellency sat in Court and examined him (the prisoner)—

*Sadonun dangé antsusu désaram moonundé.*

Excel'cy Court sat him examined.

He who in heart is a man-hater knows not what it is to pity man—

*Maum sanaongusun saramul boolsiangi anniammé.*

Heart hate men pity not-know.

The father dearly loves his child—

*Avani arunarul gukki saranghanda.*

Father child dearly loves.

He is old and cannot travel—

*Degha milgu nungi gil gadi mothanda.*

He old can road go not.

I have come to meet you— I go along with you—

*Ne nul gwahangé ghapsé. Ne wasu nerul madsa oghassumme.*

I come you meet have come. I you together go.

Order the smith to do the iron work—

*Dejiung boollu tiul mool mendurushi.*

Smith order iron work do.

We ought to bear with bad men to see whether they will not repent—

*Maddangi jiongne dioti anun saram dérul boni gottighassupda,*

Ought bear good-not man him see repent

*gottiji-mot-haghassupda.*

repent-not.

The grammatical comparison of Corean with Chinese will, perhaps, be most simply represented in giving a sentence (1st) in its English, (2nd) in its Chinese, and (3rd) in its Corean construction :—

English—This house is not very large.

Chinese—This house not very large.

Corean—This house large very is-not.

English—Invite a good teacher to teach me (to learn) Corean well.

Chinese—Invite one good teacher (to) cause me well learn  
 Korean.

Korean—Good teacher invite me Korean well cause learn.

Though there are expletives in Korean corresponding to our marks of time and emphasis, these, as well as many of our prepositions and adverbs of place, are supplied by particular affixes to the noun or verb, e.g., the first verse of John's Gospel reads thus:—

<i>Chu-ume</i>	<i>dogha</i>	<i>isuni</i>	<i>donun</i>	<i>Hanunimuro</i>	<i>dubooru</i>
Beginning	(in)	word	was;	word	God company
		<i>hanggungé</i>	<i>isuni</i>	<i>donun</i>	<i>got Hanunim-uro.</i>
		together	was;	word	just God.

The words singly being *chu*, *do*, *isu*, *Hanunim*, &c.,—the affix representing emphasis and time. Indeed, the beautiful flexibility of the Korean verb, can find no equal in the west among modern languages; old Greek being the only language, it appears to me, which can compare with it.

Leaving out of sight its polysyllabic character, it is evident at a glance that the Korean is a language entirely different from Chinese. Judging from grammatical construction, the true test, English can claim a much closer relationship with Chinese, if it has any ambition that way, than Korean can. And it is scarcely necessary to draw attention to its numerous terminative additions, in order to at once classify it with the Turanian or agglutinative family of languages. Indeed any man seeing the Korean physiognomy would almost unhesitatingly so classify Korean even if he knew nothing of the language.

#### COMPARISON WITH ITS TURANIAN NEIGHBOURS.

More interesting than the grammatical relationship of Korean with Chinese, is a comparison of this language with Manchu, Mongol, and Japanese; from some one of which one could readily suppose Korean to have sprung. And we would look for the closest possible kinship between it and Manchu; for all the



best Chinese writers, whose works bear on Corea, agree in stating that the people moved into their present beautiful country of mountains and of floods from the kingdom of Fooyü, which was powerful in the time of the Han dynasty; though the emigration must have taken place ages before the Han. They would then have moved southwards and south-eastwards along the north-east and east of Liaotung; which province they occupied for long, and which they still regard as their proper patrimony. Thus they would pass from and over the lands afterwards occupied by the savage but vigorous *Sooshun* or *Nüjun* stock, which gave the *Kin* (gold) and the present *Tsing* (clear) dynasties to China. And though Dr. Williams can be regarded as scarcely accurate in stating that the *Kin* are the ancestors of the *Tsing*, except in as far as the Prussians are the ancestors of the English; yet all the *Nüjun* spoke substantially the same language, which language still prevails over immense tracts of country away from Chinese influence, and which is now called Manchu, and is daily heard in the country said to have been the home of the Koreans. Hence we would naturally look for a close resemblance, if not a thorough identity, between the two languages. We have noticed the great difference between the alphabets of the two peoples; but as both began to write long after the Koreans had settled down in the north of their present lands, differences in detail would not materially affect the question of their original unity. We shall now compare these languages in a table of common words, where resemblance should be expected, and where difference is the more easily detected; and then append Manchu, Mongol, and Japanese sentences to compare their grammatical structure with that of Korean given above. The Mongol is Eastern Mongol.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Chinese.</i>	<i>Manchu.</i>	<i>E. Mongol.</i>	<i>Corean.</i>	<i>Japanese.</i>
one	yi	umoo	niga	hanna	htotsz
two	ur	jwo	hoya	door	ftatsz
three	san	ilan	goorba	suit	mitsz
four	su	dooyin	torbu	nuit	yotsz
five	woo	swunja	taboo	dasut	itsztz
six	liw	ninggwun	jirkok	yusut	mootsz
seven	chi	nadan	tolo	nilgo	nanatsz

English.	Chinese.	Manchu.	E. Mongol.	Corean.	Japanese.
eight	ba	jakwun	naiman	yadul	yatsz
nine	giw	wooywun	yiso	aoop	kokonotsz
ten	shu	jwan	arba	yul	tō
eleven	shu yi	jwan umoo	arban niga	yul hanna	tōamarih'to
twelve	shu ur	jwan jwo	arban hoya	yul door	tōamarifita
twenty	ur shu	worin	hori	sumool	hatachi
thirty	san shu	goosin	gochi	shiurun	misoji
forty	su shu	dusi	tochi	maoon	yosoji
fifty	woo shu	swundsā	tabi	shooiun	isoji
sixty	liw shu	ninggwun joo	chira	ésoon	moosoji
seventy	chi shu	nadan joo	dara	nirun	nanasoji
eighty	ba shu	jakwun joo	naya	yadun	yasoji
ninety	giw shu	wooywun joo	yinran	ahun	kokonosoji
one hundred	yi bai	umoo tangwoo	jio	yil beg	Hyak
two hundred	ur bai	jwo tangwoo	hoya jio	yi beg	ni b'yakoo
one thousand	yi chien	umoo mingga	mingka	yil chiuun	sen
ten thousand	yi wan	umoo toomun	toman	man	man or ban
heaven	tien	abka	tunggali	hanul	ten
earth	di	boihon	siro	da	chi bam
man	zun	niaman	goong goong	saram	hto
house	fang	bow	guru	jip	takoo
father	foo	ama	yichika	abani	chichi
mother	moo	umu or aja	yika	amooni	haha
son	ur	ju	kokan	adul	goshisokoo
daughter	nür	sarhan	wochin	dara	—
girl	nür, yatow	sarhanjooi	wochin	yimina	onango
he	ta	yi	tara	dé	anohto
you	ni	si	chi	né	anata
I	wo	bi	bi	na	washi
head	tow	woojoo	tologai	murri	atama
eye	yen	yasa	nidoo	nun	me
mouth	kow	anshan	ama	ip	—
ear	ur	shan	chiki	gwi	—
eat	chu	juaku	idi	muggushi	tabe
food	fan	boodu	booda	bap	gozen
water	shui	mooku	woosoo	mool	midz
south	nan	joolargi	womona	name	—
west	si	wargi	omora	shéniug	—
gold	jin (gin)	aisin	alto	so or gum	—
silver	yin	munggwun	monggoo	un	—
copper	toong	sirin	gaolin	toong	—
iron	tie	sulu	tamoli	tiul	tetsz
wood	moo	mow	motoo	namoo	ki
fire	hwo	twa	guru	bool	hi
tobacco	yenye	tamagoo	tamaga	dambe	tabako
sun	uz, zutow	shoon	nara	nar	hinata
moon	yoce	bin	sara	dal	ngatsz
year	nien	aniya	on	niun	nen
wind	fung	udoon	salkin	baram	kaze
rain	yl	anan	boro	bi	—
is	yoo	bisiru	bi	yisul	imas
is not	woo	akoo	oogwi	upda	nai
know	judao	sa	adi	adi	ronji
walk	dsow	yaboo	yaboo	gal	yooke
it rains,	hia yu,	anambi,	boro oroba,	bionda,	—
eat food,*	chu fan,	boodu juaku,	booda idina,	bap muggushi,	gozen nasare

\* For the purposes of this comparison, I think it needful to retain the new system of spelling *Pekinese*, which I took the liberty of introducing to the public in the



This table, because of the universal and constant use of its words, may be regarded as affording as fair an idea as is needful as to the mutual relations of the four Turanian languages. Yet we find in it no resemblance whatever between Corean and Manchu words; though, in a few instances, as in *thirty, forty, thousand, I, walk, food, &c.*, we can trace a mutual acquaintance between Manchu and Mongol, a relationship whose existence can be shown in other instances. Corean shows traces of kinship with none of them, but gives proofs of having borrowed largely from the Chinese, from which, curious to say, all the numbers above ninety are taken. But an acquaintance with the old books of Corean literature will probably show that Corean, like Japanese, anciently had names for all numbers; for Japanese now borrow Chinese numbers for everything above ten, and often for units. The Japanese numbers given in the table are the ancient names, the better to compare with the kindred language.

The Mongol for come, says *ira*; come quickly, *ootooi ira*; you sit here, *chi ata sao*, you here sit; eat hot food, *kagoon booda ida*, hot food eat; drink lukewarm tea, *bookan chai ida*, lukewarm tea drink; whither going? *kana uchina*; whither do you go? *chi kana yiliba*, you whither go? I know, *bi maduko*; you dont know, *chi woolu maduko*. Manchu is *sa* I know, *sarkoo* I dont know; Corean *adi mothamme*, I dont know.

A few phrases from the Manchu verb to go, with a sentence or two, will show considerable difference from Corean:—go is *gunu*; if (I) go, *gunuchi*; gone, *gunuhi*; about to go, *gunutalu*; all who go, *gunuhulu*; all who have not gone, *gunuhukoolu*; will you go? *gunumow*; let him go, *gunikini*; if he wants to go let him go, *gunuchi gunukini*; going, *gunuranggi*; has he gone, *gunuhisumow*; will you not go, *gunurakoon*; you will

“Mandarin Primer.” For as every language has its *b, p, &c.*, while no two nations pronounce them all with exactly the same breathing,—and as Manchu, Mongol, Corean, and Japanese, have their *b, d, and g* letters, I think it most illogical to reject the use of those letters in transliterating Chinese, for the only reason that they happen to be pronounced with a stronger breathing than is common in English; especially as such use gets over serious difficulties, arising from the system hitherto employed.

not go, *gunurakooni*; I shall not go, *gunurakoonggi*; I will not go, *gunurakoo*; cannot or must not go, *gunuchi ojarahoo*; may go, *gunuchi ojarahonggi*; to go, *gunumbi*; cause to go, *gunuboombi*; there are some gone, *gunurunggi bi*; there are some who will not go, *gunurakoonggi bi*.

There is no hindrance to your going—

*gunuchi ojarahonggi akoo*  
if-go may-not (is) not

There is no place whither you may go—

*gunuchi ojarahoo bi akoo*  
if-go may is not

Better not go than go—

*gunusu angala gunurakoo dua yisirakoo*  
can-go rather go-not equal-to-not

Has gone, but if so, better not have gone—

*gunufi hono oottoo badu gunurakoo bu*  
gone moreover thus beyond go-not  
*ai hadooru*  
pity better-not

The *dua* and *bu* of the last two sentences are expletives, marking emphasis and time.

These examples, which do not exhaust the changes rung on the Manchu verb, are sufficient to show a wide gulf between Manchu and Corean,—Manchu verbal modifications being much more numerous, more like Turkish. Though too much space is already occupied with examples, one or two more will show that Manchu changes the verbal suffix where Corean would introduce a second verb:—*habshan*, is a lawsuit; *habsha*, accuse; *habshambi*, to accuse; *habshaboombi*, cause or employ another to accuse; *habshanambi*, to go to accuse; *habshanjimbi*, to come to accuse.—*Ambi* or *lambi* indicates the active indic., *-boo* preceding *-mbi* denotes the causative.

The most marked distinction between these three is the manner in which the negative is used. The Mongol inserts the negative between the subject and predicate; the Manchu affixes



the negative to the verb, and incorporates it in it; the Corean prefixes the negative to the verb, also incorporating it in the verb, while the Mongol prefixes, but causes the negative to stand an independent word. Thus all three differ, while it is Mongol and Corean, and not Manchu and Corean, that approach nearest each other. But they all, with Japanese, agree in placing the object between the subject and the verb.

There is no distinction of gender in any of the four Turanian languages; and in this respect Chinese keeps them company. But all, including Chinese, though destitute of a regular plural termination, have words possessing a plural number. In Manchu the names of all human relationship have a plural, and Corean follows suit. But the plurals of Greek and Latin are much more alike than those of Manchu and Corean.

I am indebted to Brown's "Colloquial Japanese" for the opportunity of comparing this language with Corean. From it is culled the list of Japanese words in the "Comparative Table," but a thorough search over all the book has still left several blanks in common words. The original spelling is retained, as I find it corresponds with my own,—except that the *u* of Brown is changed to *oo* for the sake of uniformity; and the further liberty is taken of marking the sign of the lengthened vowel (*ô*) instead of repeating it (*oô*). Nor is it clear to me what the author means by saying that *dz*, &c., &c., have no vowel sound, unless it be that those finals are pronounced as *su* of Chinese, often written *sz'*; but neither this nor any consonantal sound can be enunciated without the aid of some vowel.

The Japanese alphabet differs from the Corean, chiefly in that it is not an alphabet properly speaking, but, like Manchu, a table of syllables; and it possesses a *z* sound of which Corean is destitute. The Japanese softens the hard *g* of Corean, Chinese, &c., into *ng*; it has no *l* sound, so that *London* becomes *Rondon*, *dollar*, *dora*; and it wants the sound as well as the letter *v*, *Victoria* becoming *Bictoria*. Japanese could borrow the Corean alphabet with very great advantage and profit, for radically, the syllabaries are the same.

Like Corean, Manchu, and Mongol, all Japanese nouns referring to human relationships have a plural, though of irregular form. And like them it has several forms of the verb employed according to the rank of the person addressed; Japanese apparently making this a matter of as great importance as the Coreans.

But in attaching the negative (*na, nai*) to the verb, it resembles Manchu, and not Corean,—as *kikoo*, to hear; *kikanoo*, hears not: *koo*, to eat; *koowanoo*, eats not. The verb is, like that of the other Turanian languages, without gender or number, but is inflected according to time and mode. The interrogative form of the verb is like the Corean—*a*, for it affixes the syllable —*ka* to the verb, as: *anata nani wo nasarimaoka*, what are you doing?

Japanese syntax also resembles the other three, as:—

Get ready my attendants—

*Watakski no tomo no shtakoo wo shiro.*

My attendants get-ready.

Vaccination was first introduced into Japan about thirty years ago by the Dutch—

*Ireboso wa san jiw nen izen Oranda jin Nipponye*  
Vaccination three ten year before Holland man Japan  
*mochiwatarimashta.*  
introduced.

He does not understand his business well—

*Ano o kata wa kangio no michi wo wakimaete oraremasenoo.*  
He business well understand not.

He is an American not a Japanese—

*Ano o kata wa Amerika no hto de Nippon no hto de go*  
He American man Japan man  
*zarimasenoo.*  
is not.

He denies that he did it—he says that he did not do it—

*Ano o kata wa itashimesenoo to osshiyarimas.*  
He did not says.



This last sentence is peculiar, as the Corean would begin it with the word "says."

The grammatical construction of these sentences is exactly like the other Turanian languages, nom., obj., verb. The preposition of Aryan becomes a postposition here; Corean resembling Japanese in this respect. The adverb also precedes the verb. But the position of the negative in Japanese resembles that of Manchu, and Corean approaches nearest to Mongol; the latter placing the negative before the verb, Manchu and Japanese after it.

One notable difference among these four languages, is their various degrees of obligation to Chinese,—which, it is scarcely necessary to say, never borrowed from any of them. Notwithstanding a diligent search, comparatively few Chinese words proper have turned up in Manchu; Mongol is equally free from admixture. But it is curious that while the Chinese call tobacco by the characteristic name of *yen ye*, "smoking leaf,"—Mongol, Manchu, Corean, and Japanese, give it the same name as English.

The proportion of Chinese words and phrases now embodied in the Corean language is very large; and the same is generally true of Japanese also. This remarkably large proportion of Chinese words in Corean, proves the truth of the Chinese historians, who ascribe so early a connection with and dependance upon China; and is evidence of the large and constant influx of Chinese fugitives, from justice or injustice, fleeing for shelter to the then thinly peopled and remote mountains of Chaosien, Gaoli, Baiji, or Sinlo,—the various kingdoms into which the present Corea was anciently divided. How much of the learning, civilisation and manners of China, were possessed by the first Chaosien, shattered to atoms by the legions of Han, it is and will be impossible to say. The second kingdom, that of Gaoli, had better facilities, if it availed itself of them, of borrowing from the Chinese; but neither the former nor the latter had much more to do with creating the modern Corea, than had the Celts who opposed Cæsar's landing in making modern London.

It was during and after the Tang dynasty, about the period when Buddhism was introduced into China, that those Chinese influences began to penetrate the social and literary life of Corea, which have made the modern Chaosien as different from the Chaosien of Han, as Paris is different from the ancient court of the roving Franks. The immensely superior literature of the Chinese, and their higher civilisation, necessitated changes in, and additions to, the Corean language, which were most readily supplied by the language which revealed to the Corean people their deficiencies. These additions to and displacement of their ancient language, also shows what we learn from history,—that Corea became subject to the Chinese form of civilisation ages before the Mongols, who received their civilisation directly from Buddhistic lands, and many more ages before the Manchus became the disciples of their subjects. And this addition remains in the Corean language as distinctly different from that language, as fossils in their older rocky bed, and cannot be disguised by the ancient pronunciation still retained, or by the affixed particles which represent punctuation, emphasis, declension, and conjugation.





## CHAPTER XIV.

### GEOGRAPHY.

THE name Korea or Corea is, as we have seen, derived from the Gaogowli of the beginning of the Christian era. The first syllable was ultimately dropped, and the kingdom was known as Gaoli even before the 7th century. The descendants of those who survived the wholesale butcheries of the Tang empress Woo, pronounce this name Gori, which name was, a couple of centuries ago, written Corea in the west. The Coreans now call themselves Gori people, but give the name Chosen—the ancient Chaosien—to their country.

The beautifully clear waters of the wide and deep Yaloo separate Corean from Chinese soil, along its course from its source in Changbaishan to the point where it falls into the Yellow Sea near Takushan. The Toomun, also rising in Changbaishan, separates the northern border of Corea from both Chinese and Russian territory. The Japan Sea divides it from Japan, and the Yellow Sea washes its south and south-west coasts.

On both its east and west seaboard coasts, its shores rise in high precipitous mountains, and are flanked by numerous uninhabited and desolate rocky islands. On the east of the southern promontory, there is the one fort of Foosan, opposite the Ma Island of Japan. It was by this port the Japanese were wont of old to make predatory incursions into the country. It is now one of the few ports opened by Treaty to Japanese trade. From it there is a road leading direct to the capital, through the provinces of Julla and Giungsang, between which provinces the road runs between high, precipitous, and unscalable mountains;



and the path is there so narrow that one man can block it. Here the Chinese and Japanese armies confronted each other, nearly three centuries ago, neither being able to damage the other.

The following notes on the coasts of Corea are gleaned out of the "China Pilot," published by the Admiralty, London. Those on the east coast are principally from the surveying voyage of the Russian frigate Pallas, which sailed along the shore in 1854; which survey was, indirectly, the cause of the murder of the French missionaries (p. 293).

Chosan harbour, another name for Foosan, is pronounced one of the most important of Corean ports, because it is the *entrepôt* of the Japanese trade;—but that was in the end of the eighteenth century, when Broughton gave it that name. The neighbouring shores are populous, spotted with many villages, by which numerous streams fall into the sea. The coast for full sixty miles N.E. of this harbour is very mountainous and barren desert. CAPE CLONARD, in lat.  $36\ 5\frac{1}{2}'$  N., is the south side of the Bay of Unkofsky, which is four miles wide at the mouth, trends south-west with good anchorage in deep water, though the neighbourhood of the cape is unsafe. PINGHAI harbour, sheltered by an island, is 30 miles further north than Clonard, the shores steep and the waters deep. The high mountain Popof is west of CAPE PELISSIER, to the north of Unkofsky bay. Thence the desolate coast runs 120 miles N.N.W. to Cape Duroch. Sedlovaya, or Saddle-mountain, rises high in lat.  $38^{\circ}\ 10\frac{1}{2}'$  N. DUROCH is the cape forming the southern point of Broughton Bay, which is ninety-three miles wide and fifty-five miles deep. Twenty-four miles W.N.W. from CAPE PETIT THOUARS, the north of Broughton Bay, rises Mt. Hienfung, 8,113 feet high; the Belavenz mountains, fifteen miles S.W. of Cape Duroch, being 6,092 and 5,884 feet. Immediately to the north of Broughton Bay is YUNGHING BAY, with the excellent harbour of Port Lazaref, into which falls the large Dungan river, its various branches occupying the whole plain between two ranges of hills, and winding from one side to the other. The extraordinary

statement is made that this river "probably extends to Seoul," the capital, which is only "30 miles distant from Yunghing"! From CAPE BRUAT, or Boltin, sixty miles north-east of Petit Thouars, is the eastern extremity of a long range of mountains, in which Mt. Taokwang rises 6,309 feet. The coast thence is very mountainous and inaccessible. Kolokzev point is very high, and in lat.  $41^{\circ} 47' 40''$  N. The coast, leaving the small bay here, trends north-east again to GOSHKEVICH BAY. CASY point, the south extreme of the peninsula of Susora, forms the south end of this bay. Eighteen miles west of this point, and rising 4,215 feet above the sea, is Mt. Chienlong; four miles to the east of the point a large river enters the sea. This is the Toomun, whose mouth is in lat.  $42^{\circ} 19'$ , its southern bank formed of high mountains for at least ten miles; but to the north no high hills are visible. Here the Pallas finished her survey.

The Island of CHODO lies in a bight of the south-west coast in lat.  $38^{\circ} 27'$  north, long.  $124^{\circ} 34\frac{1}{2}$  east. The island is populated, and the neighbouring coast crowded with villages. JOACHIN BAY is in lat.  $36^{\circ} 53\frac{1}{2}$  north, and long.  $126^{\circ} 17\frac{3}{4}$  east. The coast there is also teeming with villages, and the sea is mostly a lagoon. CAROLINE BAY is a narrow one in lat.  $37^{\circ} 1\frac{1}{2}$  north, long.  $126^{\circ} 25'$  east, with numerous villages on the shore. DECEPTION BAY is in lat.  $37^{\circ} 3'$  north, long.  $126^{\circ} 33'$  east. A few miles further north is the PRINCE IMPERIAL ARCHIPELAGO, whence were seen junks anchored before every village,—some of them of 150 tons,—and everything betokened the presence of a large river, which, however, was not explored by the French *Virginie*. From the great crowds of people on the shore, the numbers of mandarins looking on,—many of them professedly from the capital,—and from the native information that the ship was within the provincial jurisdiction of the capital, the *Virginie* implied that Seoul was not far distant. The mountains also seemed to indicate that the river went south-east then east. As the French ship gives little further information interesting to general readers, we may bid her farewell, stating that she inferred that the coasting trade was important to the Coreans,



because they have well kept beacons along the shores at Shoal gulf. QUELPART island is oval, with a pleasing variety of hill and dales, and agriculture carried on to a height of 2000 feet above the sea. Forests cover all heights above that, even to the peak of Mount Auckland, 6544 feet above the sea. The city is in the centre of the northern coast of the island; but there are other two cities on the island not seen from sea. And with this we leave the "Pilot."

Corea is essentially a land of mountains and of rivers,—the principal mountains running south-east from Changbaishan, and at right angles to that great water-shed of eastern Asia. Corea's greatest length is from north-west to south-east,—extending, according to Chinese geography, to 4000 li; north to south it stretches 2000 li, and measures about two-thirds of that in its greatest east and west breadth.

Corea is divided into eight provinces, called Do. From Funghwangchung of Liaotung, skirting the west side of the splendid pile of high, precipitous mountains of the same name, the road to the Corean-gate is thirty li south-east. This is the western point of what has been, up till lately, the "Neutral Territory;" and at the village is the Barter market, between Coreans and Chinese. South-east, from the gate, is the western bank of the noble Yaloo, on the eastern bank of which, crowning the summit of a round hill, is the pretty Corean city of Aichow, surrounded by a white granite wall, and in the neighbourhood of magnificent mountains. To the south of the city is the high, serrated, extensive range of *Bengma*, affording almost boundless forest shelter to innumerable game, large and small; fowl and quadruped, ruminant and carnivorous. The nooks and corners of the *Gumgang* range to the east, are crowded with numerous and well filled temples or monasteries,—the monks of the east having, for many centuries, been as fully alive to the grand and the beautiful, indeed perhaps more so, than their monastic brethren of the west.

Aichow is the city nearest China, of the large province of Pingan Do, which skirts the Yaloo from near its source to its

entrance into the sea. Journeying south-east from Aichow, crossing a river navigable for small junks, the city of Bagchien is entered. Another river also navigable for small craft interrupts the road between Bagchien and Anchow, 160 li; south-east of which is the large city of Pingyang, the capital of the province, well fortified by art, where undefended by the unassailable mountain sides on which it partly rests. It is 500 li, south-east, from Aichow, and was the capital of the country of Gaoli, till it fell before the Tang dynasty in the beginning of the seventh century. Outside the east gate of this fine, hill-fenced city, is the large river of Datonggang, up which the American ship sailed, and on the east bank of which the hull still lies.

This river separates Pingan Do from HWANGHAI DO, the capital of which, Whangjoo, is crossed on the road; and 400 li from Pingyang, bring the traveller to Hiwngdao city. The large river Linjang is only thirty li south-east of Hiwngdao, after crossing which Sheool ("The Capital") is entered,—in all, 1000 li from Aichow. Sheool, the ancient Hanchung, which name it still retains as a prefectural city, is the capital of the province of GIUNGGI DO.\*

South-east of the capital, and in its immediate vicinity, is the large Hamgang† river. CHOONGCHUNG DO is south of this river, its capital being Gongjoo. GIUNGSHANG DO is both east and south of the last, its capital being Giungchow. <sup>South</sup> North of this province, and east of Giunggi Do, is JULLA DO, to the north of which, and east of Whanghai, is GANGWAN DO. HAMGIANG DO, the most northerly of all, is extremely mountainous, cold, and unproductive. Giungshang is very hot, and is the most populous of the eight Do,—having 71 cities; the others but from 30 to 50 each.

The modern is the third capital of Gaoli, if we do not include the capitals of Baiji and Sinlo. The first was Pingyang; the

\* Williams, in his Dictionary, translates Kingki Tao, the Chinese of Giunggi Do, as the capital of Corea. This mistake is the more remarkable, inasmuch as China was at one time also divided into so many Do or Dao.

† Ch. *Hankiang*.



second, from the seventh to the fifteenth century, was Kaichow, 200 li west of the modern capital. Sheool is well guarded by nature, being delightfully situated in nearly the heart of the eight Do, and surrounded on all sides by mountain ranges. The city furthest east of it is Ninghai, 745 li; west, Gangwen, 525 li; south, Hainam, 896 li; and north, Onseong, 2102 li.

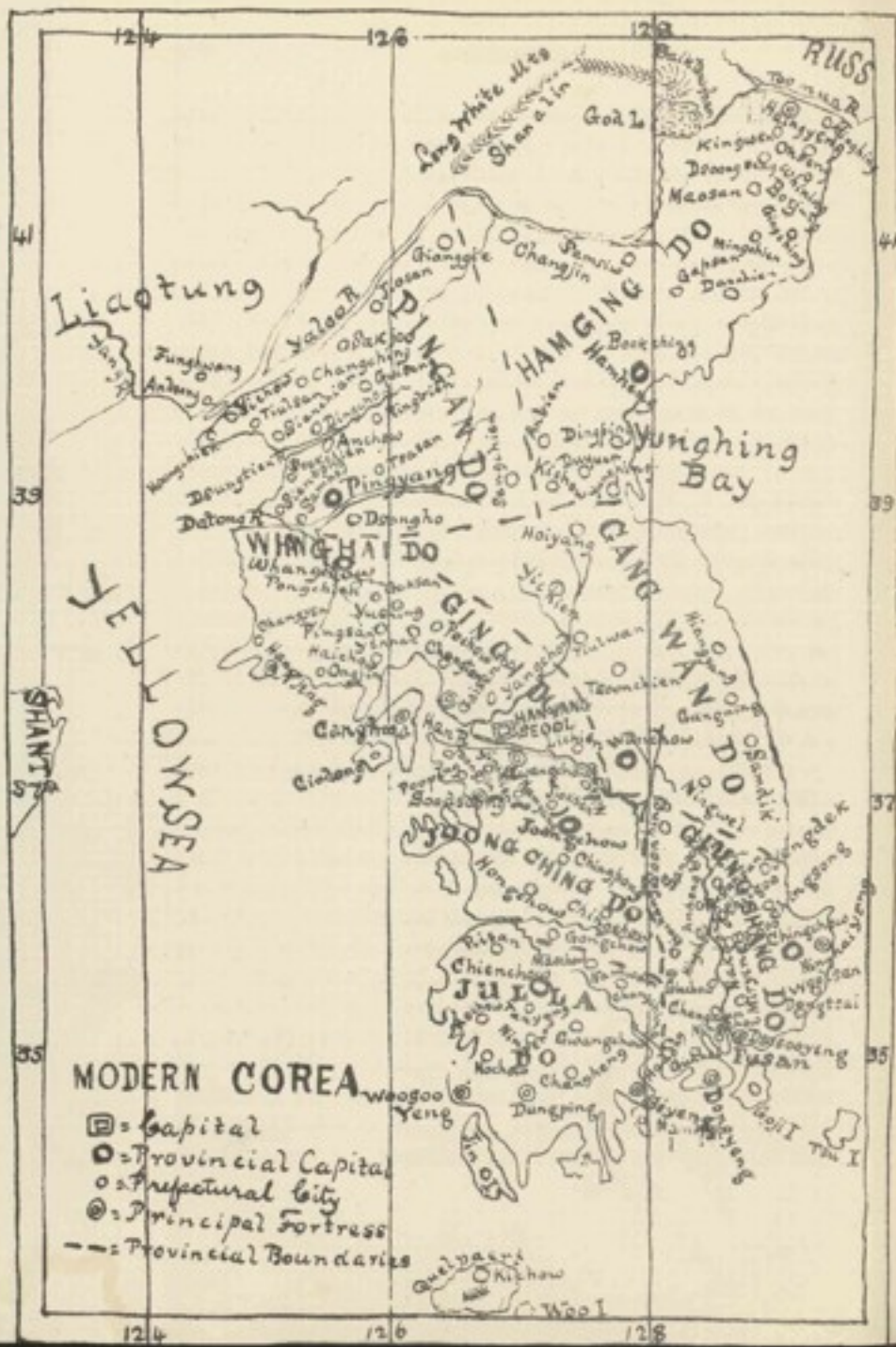
Corea stretches from  $33^{\circ} 15'$  to  $42^{\circ} 31'$  N. lat; and  $122^{\circ} 15'$  to  $131^{\circ} 10'$  E. long. Hence the greatest length of its mainland is, as the bird flies, about 600 miles, and greatest breadth, east to west, over 300 miles. The Chinese account is therefore not so far out, when we remember that the calculation is along the road, which, in so mountainous a country, has necessarily many winding turns between Onseong and Hainam.

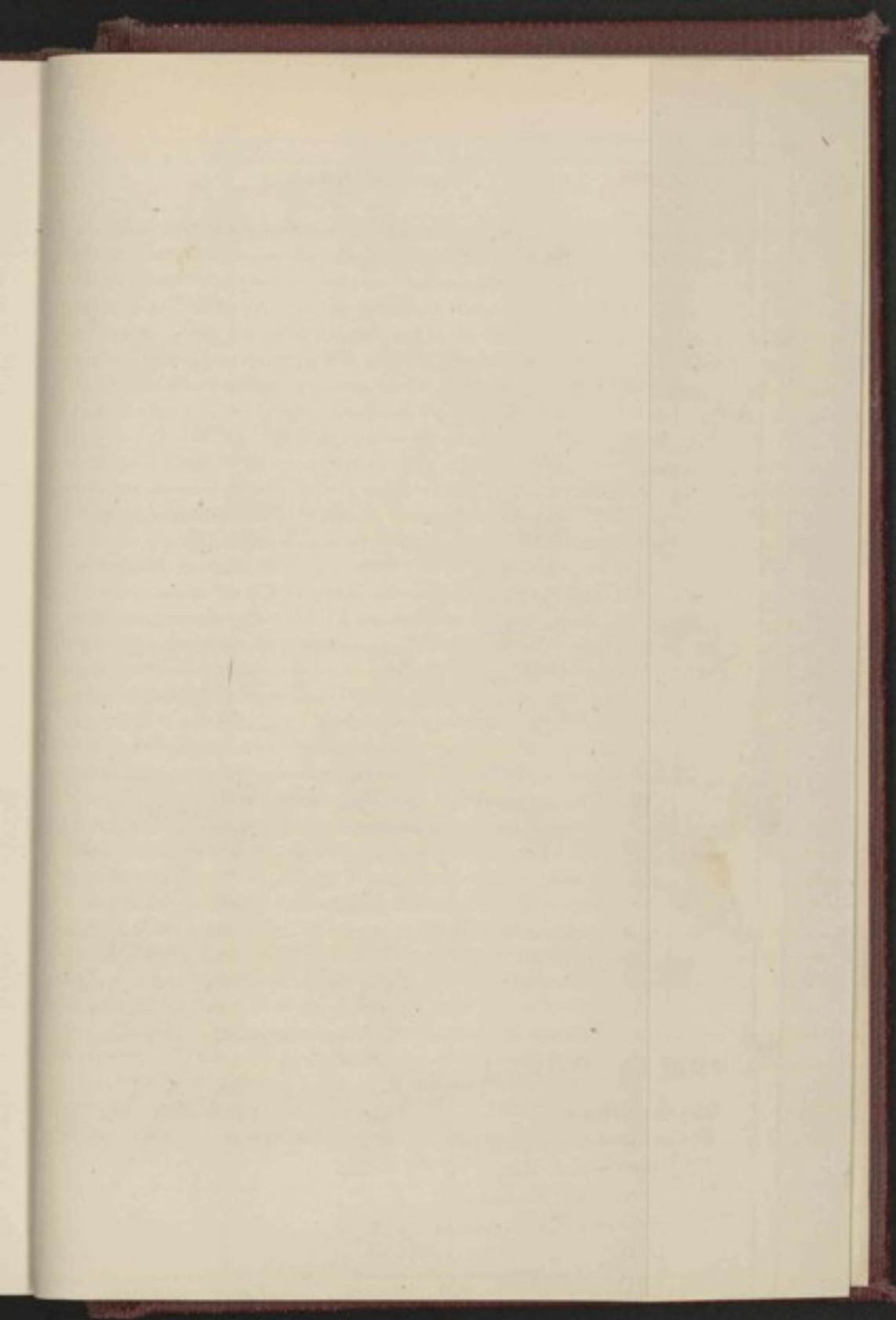
The following complete list of all the cities, or magisterial towns, of Corea is translated from a Corean geography, written in Chinese, from which, and not from Corean, the pronunciation is taken. The map gives the Corean pronunciation. The first column contains the modern name of the city, the second its ancient name, and the third the distance of that city from the capital in *li*. The map is indebted to M. Dallet's "Church in Corea"; but his map, judged by the native geography, is very inaccurate, very many of the cities being either too far or too near the capital as compared with other cities.

Chinese cities are divided into three classes, after the provincial Capital, which itself also belongs to the first of the three classes, being only *primus inter pares*. This division is into *Foo* or Prefecture, *Chow* or Sub-Prefecture, and *Hien* or District city. The Corean classification, though founded on the Chinese, differs greatly from it; for the Coreans divide into six classes. *Yin* is the first grade of city, and of this there are extremely few. After it comes the *Moo* city, with an hereditary nobility for its magistrate; anciently almost every city had its hereditary lord. The third is the *Foo* or Prefecture; then the *Kün* or Sub-Prefecture, akin to which is the *Ling*, and last of all comes the *Hien* or District, as in China. The *Kün* and *Ling* were also anciently used in China, but then there was no *Chow* or *Hien*.











From the scraggy notes appended to the list of cities for each Do, it will be seen that the full history of Corea must be ransacked out of Corean books on Corean soil. For example, in the notes below the list of Pingan cities is the name of the mountain "*Miaosiang shan* or *Taibo*, 130 li east of Ninghien, where Tan Jwun submitted to Gaoli." This seems to point to the time when, after the destruction of Chaosien, the Gaogowli men began to move downwards and eastwards from the head waters of the Yaloo. Of this, however, and most of the merely internal ancient history of the Corean history, we must be content to be, meantime, kept in ignorance. For, as already stated, Chinese history is too dignified to notice anything beyond its borders which did not have an immediate reference to the "Central Kingdom."

The names in the following list are spelled according to the Chinese pronunciation of the Ming dynasty. When compared with the names written on the accompanying map (III.) as pronounced by the Coreans, these names will help to show the great difference between the Chinese and Corean pronunciation of the same words. The Chinese *f* becomes *p* or *b* in Corean; *chuen* and *chwan* become *chien*; *chung*, *seng*; *yoong* and *ying*, *yeng*; *l* at the beginning of a word is changed to *n*, and *l* and *n* are transposable *ad lib*.

The title *Yin* is given to a secondary national capital. *Moo* is a city held hereditarily by a noble; anciently all walled cities were baronial. The *Foo* is a prefectural city as in China, and the *Kun* and *Ling* correspond to the Chinese *Chow* or Sub-Prefecture; while the *Hien*, as in China, indicates a District Judgeship. Only a portion of these cities are walled in, while every one of the Chinese cities are enclosed within high substantial walls.

*Shan* or *Ling* in the names of cities, or in the notes following the names of cities, mean *mountain*; *gang* or *kiang* is *river*; and *gwo* is *kingdom*.

Of the Eight Provinces, Hamgiang and Pingan are the largest, but they are very mountainous, covered with forests, thinly

peopled and poor; and, as will appear from the map, the southern portion of Corea is thickly peopled, and crowded with cities. The Gamsa of Hamgiang, because it is the home of the present dynasty, is the highest in rank; the Gamsa of Pingan is the most luxurious; Giungshang provides the largest income, and Gangwan the lowest.

### COMPLETE LIST OF THE NAMES OF THE COREAN CITIES.

The Notes which follow the city list of each province give the names of the ancient kingdoms (*gwo*) and their location; the more remarkable mountains (*shan*, *gang*, or *ling*), and the larger rivers (*gang* or *kiang*).

#### I.—GINGGI DO.—34 Cities with Magistrates.

<i>Modern Name.</i>	<i>Ancient Name.</i>	<i>Distant from Capital in li.</i>	<i>Modern Name.</i>	<i>Ancient Name.</i>	<i>Distant from Capital in li.</i>
<i>Moo cities</i>			<i>Kun cities—con.</i>		
Lichow	Hwangli	180	Jinpo	Jinling	60
Pochow	Hwangping	80	Jiaoho	Huenchung	80
Yangchow	Ginchuen	60	Jiaping	Jiaping	130
—	—	—	Yoongping	Yoongping	140
<i>Foo cities</i>			<i>Ling cities</i>		
Fooping	Gweiyang	50	Loong yin	Jüchung	70
Nanyang	Tangchung	105	Jun wei	Ginshan	120
Yinchuen	Jwanchung	50	—	—	—
Lichuen	Nanchuen	140	<i>Hien cities</i>		
Changtwan	Twanchow	120	Yangchuen	Baling	30
Foogjin	Funjun	100	Diping	Dihien	160
Chiaotoong	Gaolin	180	Baochuen	Chingho	100
Jooshan	Joochow	170	Gichung	Choongchung	100
—	—	—	Gwochwen	Foolin	30
<i>Kun cities</i>			Suhing	Chinchuen	30
Yanggun	Hungyang	120	Lienchwan	Jangchow	140
Nanshan	Lienchung	57	Yindsoo	Hüechung	190
Swoning	Nanswo	200	Yangju	Chiwsü	120
Nanchung	Baichung	170	Yangchung	Chuuhung	150
Matien	Meishan	160			
Gaoyang	Duayang	40			

NOTES.—NANPING YANG, the present *Beihan shan chung*, where the first king of Baiji erected his capital.

BEIHAN SHAN, the Beihanshan Kün of Gaogowli. Sinlo changed its name to *Hanyang Kün*. Gaoli Soodsoong king made it his south capital—*Nanking*.

NANHAN SHAN, the present Gwangchow, whither the first king of Baiji moved his capital. Sinlo changed it into a chow city.

TIENMO SHAN, north of Soongging. Its peaks are extremely high; hence its name of "Touch-heaven mountains."

SHUNG JU SHAN, west of Soongging; so steep that streams course down its sides in all directions.

LICHUNG GANG, west of Soongging 30 li, where the Sung ambassador saw the Gaoli king.



SOONGYAO SHAN, in the jurisdiction of Kaichung, which Foosoo and Jiadoong, kings of Gaoli, divided into two kun. Gaoli Taidsoo (founder) changed his capital from Teyooen to this place.

GIANG DOO, the present Ganghwa (island), whither Gaoli king, in fear from the Mongols (Yooen dynasty), fled, and made his capital; calling it G—. South of the foo 25 li is *Monshan* (Mount Auckland), with a Temple of Heaven.

MICHU HOO, present Yinchuen, where Biliw, elder brother of Wundsoo (king), made his capital.

LOONGMUN SHAN, 10 li east of Yanggun Kün.

LINJIN DOO (Ford), south of Changtwan Foo, rising in Hamgiang Do, in the borders of Anbien.

II.—JOONGCHING (CHOONGCHUNG) DO.—54 Cities with Magistrates.

<i>Modern Name.</i>	<i>Ancient Name.</i>	<i>Distant from Capital in li.</i>	<i>Modern Name.</i>	<i>Ancient Name.</i>	<i>Distant from Capital in li.</i>
<i>Moo cities</i>			<i>Hien cities—con.</i>		
Joongchow	Taiyooen	280	Gishan	Shushan	180
Chingchow	Shangdang	290	Hwaiyin	Moogoo	350
Goongchow	Hiwnggin	320	Dingshan	Yooechung	350
Hoongchow	Hoongyang	300	Chingyang	Chingwoo	320
	—	—	Yewfung	Changyen	320
<i>Foo city</i>			Yinchung	Hüechang	240
Chingfung	Shaye	340	Chingngan	Daongan	280
	—	—	Unjin	Duangun	400
<i>Kun cities</i>			Whaidua	Bifung	340
Linchuen	Gialin	400	Junchwan	Suchung	340
Danyang	Danshan	370	Lien shan	Whangshan	400
Jainan	Chwunchung	390	Loochung	Nichung	370
Hanshan	Mashan	440	Fooyü	Yüchow	380
Shoochuen	Sichow	300	Shuchung	Shushan	390
Mienchuen	Mienchow	310	Piyin	Bihiang	420
Tien nan	Ningshan	210	Lanpoo	Mashan	370
Wochuen	Wochow	410	Giwhwan	Changahan	240
Whaishan	Whaichow	280	Giechung	Giechow	310
Swishan	Foochung	350	Baoning	Sinchun	350
Wunyang	Wunchuen	230	Haimel	Junwei	310
Dahing	Yinchung	280	Tangjin	Foodsu	350
Baongun	Sansan	380	Sinchang	Wunsai	220
	—	—	Li shan	Miaoshan	250
<i>Ling city</i>			Moochwan	Daloo	240
Wunyi	Yimow	330	Chwan yi	Ginchi	240
	—	—	Yenchi	Chuenchi	390
<i>Hien cities</i>			Yoongchwun	Dsuchwun	470
Hoongshan	Dashan	410	Hwang gien	Hwangsi	510
Dichwan	Naidi	310	Chingshan	Chishan	420
Duasan	Duangung	280	Yashan	Yachow	220
Pingsai	Hoyoo	160	Yoongtoong	Gishan	470

*Ancient Cities, &c.*

WEILICHUNG, present Gishan, where Wundsoo made his first capital.

HIWNGJIN or HIWNGGIN, present Gongchow, the Hiwngchwan Kun of Baiji. King Wunjow removed his capital from Nanpingyang thither.

CHUALING SHAN, 50 li west of Gongchow.

SUTSU, present Fooyü, whither Baiji moved its capital from Hiwngchwan. In this *hien* is Baima gang R., west of which is Lohwayen mountain.

SOOLISHAN, 44 li east of Baogun. On the top is the tower of Wuntsang Tai; in the Tai is a deep "hole," vomiting water in three directions, forming the head, of three rivers,—one flowing east called Lodoong R., south called Kun gang R. s west called Dachuen.

GILONGSHAN, 27 li north of Lienshan.

III.—JULLA DO.—56 Cities with Magistrates.

Modern Name.	Ancient Name.	Distant from Capital in li.	Modern Name.	Ancient Name.	Distant from Capital in li
<i>Moo cities</i>			<i>Ling cities—con.</i>		
Chuenchow	Wanshan	500	Wanching	Dooshan	510
Lochow	Jwunchung	750	Gingow	Fungshan	520
Gichow	Danlo	1910	—	—	—
Gwangchow	Wooyu	720	<i>Hien cities</i>		
Lingchow	Lingchung	750	Gwangyang	Siyang	815
—	—	—	Sienyooc	Sienlo	440
<i>Foo cities</i>			Foonan	Fooning	570
Nanyooen	Loongchung	630	Hienping	Mowyang	770
Changhing	Gwanshan	860	Kangjin	Danjin	880
Shwuntien	Shungchow	770	Yugwo	Hueshan	660
Janyang	Chiwchung	607	Gaoshan	Fungshan	470
Lishan	Hoostan	430	Tai yin	Taishan	570
Changchung	Aoshan	670	Wogow	Yushan	530
Maojoo	Jooosi	480	Nanping	Yoongping	750
—	—	—	Hing dua	Hingchung	630
<i>Kun cities</i>			Ging yi	Gingchwun	590
Baochung	Sanyang	850	Gaochang	Mowyang	640
Yishan	Ginna	450	Loongan	Shangchung	420
Gofoo	Yingchow	600	Maochang	Changsha	670
Lingyen	Langchow	820	Woongan	Gunchow	790
Linggwang	Woohing	710	Chiwli	Fungchung	760
Jundao	Wochuen	1030	Goochung	Lochwen	670
Lonan	Lochwen	780	Ywunfung	Ywunchung	687
Chwunchang	Wangchow	630	Yinshu	Ywunshwi	570
Gunshan	Gunsi	480	Changshwi	Changchow	645
Junshan	Wangsi	450	Junan	Yoochang	580
Ginti	Bigoo	530	Joongfoo	Wungchung	730
—	—	—	Hingyang	Gaohing	890
<i>Ling cities</i>			Hainan	Haijun	900
Changping	Sinyang	700	Daging	Nilai	130*
Loongtan	Yu chwen	530	Huenyi	Hoongloo	140*
Linpi	Giwshan	490	Hoshwun	Yoowei	760

WANSHAN, present Chienchow; of old the abode of Jun Huen.

GINMAJOO, present Yishan; of old under Gijwun, then called *Mahan*.

DANLO, present Gichow; the island (Quelpart) is 400 li in circumference; *Hanna-shan*, 20 li south of the *chow*, contains a lake called Bailoo Pool.

DUAYUSHAN, in the border of Maojoo, Changshwi, and Nanyin.

WOODUNG SHAN or YOOI SHU, east of Gwangchow.

YOOECHOO SHAN, 5 li south of Lingyen; also called Liaogin gang.

JUYISHAN, 60 li east of Nanyooen, has two very high peaks—Tienwang and Chwenyao—holed with many deep caves.

BIENSHAN, 25 li west of Foonan.

LOOLING, 30 li north of Changchung.

GÜNCHUNG SHAN, in district of Lochow.

TIENGWAN SHAN, west of Hingyang.

\* From Gaichow.



IV.—GIUNGSHANG DO.—71 Cities with Magistrates.

Modern Name.	Ancient Name.	Distant from Capital in li.	Modern Name.	Ancient Name.	Distant from Capital in li.
<i>Yin city</i> Chingchow	Nguachu	760	<i>Ling city</i> Yichung	Wunshow	590
<i>Moo cities</i> Shangchow Ginchow Hingchow	Shanglo Ginshan Hingshan	480 850 600	<i>Hien cities</i> Chingshan Yingdua Goochung Nanhai Kaining Sangia Yining Hoyang Loonggoong Funghwa Chingho Yenyang Chiyooen Junhai Junbao Wunchang Hienchang Juli Nan yi Gaoling Huenfung Sanching Danchung Yihing Jwunwei Binan Sinming Linan Yenyi Changki Lingshan Changning Suchwen Gijang Hiwngchwen Chuyin Yingyang	Jangshan Yechung Goochow Haiyang Ganchow Chishan Yichwun Hochow Loongchow Fungchung Duaching Hienyang Chidi Banshan Junan Gwanshan Hienning Gweichung Hwalin Lingchwen Baoshan Sanyang Junchung Gweishan Tsulo Pingshan Hwashan Huenchung Linding Kikiw Giw chung Changshan Doongchung Chuachung Pingshan Yusha Yen yang	700 790 900 910 550 770 770 680 450 510 810 810 770 840 620 380 440 610 750 650 720 840 880 610 570 540 640 510 770 810 740 710 880 950 860 720 640
<i>Foo cities</i> Changyooen Andoong Ginhai Ninghai Miyang Shanshan Chingsoong Dakiw Shwunhing Jugi Yushan Doongtsai Hodoong Guchang Yintoong Chigoo	Hopoo Yoonggia Punchung Lichow Michow Shanchow Chingyi Yuchow Chiechung Yushan { Tsaishan { Pungying Honan Juto Yushan Baju	880 540 880 750 810 550 620 670 460 1080 880 1000 820 710 590 660			
<i>Kien cities</i> Hienyang Shanchwen Tsaosi Chingdao Yoongchwen Lichwen Yoongchwen Hinghai Liangshan Hienan Ginshan Funggo Kwunyang	Hienyang Daliang Dasi Aoshan Yoongyang Yuchwen Yoongchow Hwigiang Liangchow Hienchow Ginling Gichwen Kwun an	710 710 700 740 680 480 480 750 900 800 590 430 900			

HULOFA, present *Chingchow*; originally the land of *Chunan* and the capital of *Sinlo*. It is now called the Doongking or east capital; hence it is a *Yia* city, as Moukden to the Manchoos.

GIALO GWO (kingdom), *Ginhai*; originally the land of *Bienkan*, and capital of king *Lo Sholoo*.

DAGIAYE, the present Gaoling.

GOO (ancient) GIAYE, present Hienchang.

ALOGIAYE, present Hienan.

SIAOGIAYE, present Goochung.

BLJUNGIAYE, present Hingchow.

CHANGSHAN GWO, at present called East Kilo, in the district of Kishan.

SHAWUN GWO, the present Yichung

YISI GWO, the present Chingdao.

YADOO GWO, the present Chingshan.

SHAPA LIANG, the present Shanghai.

GANWUN GWO, the present Kaining.

CHANGNING GWO, the present Andoong.

CHINGLIANG SHAN, with thirty-six peaks, west of Fangshan.

YUSHAN GWO, also called Yuling dao Island, 100 li in circumference off the coast, east of Mingchow.

SIAOBAI SHAN mountains, a few li north of Shwunhing.

GIAYE SHAN, with two enormous caves, 30 li north of Shanchwen.

NIAOLING, beneath which is the *Dragon Pool*, 27 li west of Wunching.

DSOOLING, 24 li west of Funggo.

GIMAO SHAN, north of Changki.

LWUNSHAN, south of Yenyang.

NANKIANG R., south of Ginchow; springing in Juyishan—one stream from north of mountain, another from south—enters the Lodoong.

#### V.—WHANGHAI DO—23 Cities with Magistrates.

<i>Modern Name.</i>	<i>Ancient Name.</i>	<i>Distant from Capital in li.</i>	<i>Modern Name.</i>	<i>Ancient Name.</i>	<i>Distant from Capital in li.</i>
<i>Moo city.</i> Whangchow	Ginan	460	<i>Kun cities—con.</i> Swingan	Swichow	430
	—	—	Baichwen	Yinchwen	240
<i>Foo cities.</i> Haichow	Showyang	380	Sinchwen	Shungchow	460
Yennan	Haigow	250	Ginchwen	Ginling	200
Tingshan	Yoongfung	260			
Fungchwen	Siho	550	<i>Ling city.</i> Sinsi	Sin ngun	330
Gooshan	Giashan	440			
Changyuen	Changtan	520	<i>Hien cities</i> Wunhwa	Sinchow	520
Wungjin	Wungchien	480	Changlien	Changming	570
Yooihing	Loongsi	340	Soongho	Giabo	510
	—	—	Kanghing	Yoongkang	450
<i>Kun cities</i> Fungshan	Nguahing	410	Yingli	Lichwen	550
Nanyooe	Yangyooe	530	Tooshan	Yooechung	230
Dsaining	Nanling	460			

GIWYOOSHAN, 10 li west of Wunhwa, where Tan Jwun was deified.

SHOWYANGSHAN, 5 li east of Haichow, on which is the temple of Yiki.

#### VI.—PINGAN DO—42 Cities with Magistrates.

<i>Modern Name.</i>	<i>Ancient Name.</i>	<i>Distant from Capital in li.</i>	<i>Modern Name.</i>	<i>Ancient Name.</i>	<i>Distant from Capital in li.</i>
<i>Yin city</i> Yichow	Loongwan	1080	<i>Foo cities</i> Giangie	Shuchow	1300
	—	—	Ningbien	Yooeshan	770
<i>Moo cities</i> Pingyang	Gichung	550	Changchung	Changechow	1080
Anchow	Anling	720	Hüenchwen	Toongchwen	910
Dingchow	Dingyooen	880	Chungchwen	Soongyang	710
			Swochow	Ningsai	1020



PINGAN DO—continued.

Modern Name.	Ancient Name.	Distant from Capital in li.	Modern Name.	Ancient Name.	Distant from Capital in li.
<i>Foo cities—con.</i>			<i>Kun cities—con.</i>		
Shoochwun	Pingyooen	660	Ywunshan	Ywunchow	880
Gweichung	Gweichwen	880	Bochwen	Boling	760
Dsoongho	Tangshan	500	Weiyooen	Mishan	1300
Tsushan	Tsuchwen	640	Mingyooen	Liaoyooen	800
Tieshan	Toongshan	960	<i>Ling cities</i>		
Loongchwun	Anhing	990	Loonggang	Wooshan	640
Chooshan	Lichow	1170	Yoongyow	Yoongching	630
Sanho	Niwshan	660	Giangs	Wooho	600
Hientsoong	Yashan	620	Shandung	Nungchung	640
—			Giangoong	Soongyang	610
<i>Kun cities</i>			<i>Hien cities</i>		
Hiangyooen	Chwenshan	620	Jungshan	Siho	640
Duachwen	Duachow	820	Shwunan	Pingjiao	600
Giechwen	Chaoyang	820	Yangdua	Doongyang	900
Giashan	Fooling	780	Mungshan	Mungchow	750
Gwoshan	Dingsiang	880	Taichwen	Gwanghwa	810
Shwunchwun	Gingyooeng	705	Yinshan	Yinchow	670
Sichwen	Weichung	970			
Bitooeng	Yintoong	1090			

JOOBUN, where King Doongming of Gaoli made his capital on the Fooliw R., west of Chungchwun.

HINGYIN GWO, the present Ningbien.

WHANGLOONG GWO, the present Loonggang.

MIAOSIANG SHAN or TAIBO, 130 li east of Ningbien, where Tan Jwun submitted to Gaoli.

DIYULING, 169 li south of Gianggie.

DATONG GANG or BEIKIANG, 1 li east of Pingyang.

CHINGCHWEN GANG or CHANSHWI, north of Anchow.

YALOO GANG or LOONGWAN (Dragon's windings), north-west of Yichow.

VII.—GANGWAN DO—26 Cities with Magistrates.

Modern Name.	Ancient Name.	Distant from Capital in li.	Modern Name.	Ancient Name.	Distant from Capital in li.
<i>Foo cities</i>			<i>Kun cities—con.</i>		
Giangling	Lintwun	530	Pingchang	Looshan	370
Yooenchow	Sihing	240	—		
Hwalyang	Hiangshan	380	<i>Ling city</i>		
Hiangyang	Hiangshan	540	Ginchung	Daochung	270
Chwunchwun	Showchwun	205	—		
Teyooen	Tiechung	200	<i>Hien cities</i>		
Shanju	Juchow	650	Yujun	Hiencha	800
Ningyooe	Aichung	410	Higoo	Holin	470
Yichwen	Hwashan	280	Pingkang	Pinggiang	250
—			Ginhwa	Fooyoo	220
<i>Kun cities</i>			Lanchwen	Shungchwun	230
Pinghai	Gichung	880	Hoongchwun	Laiyao	220
Toongchwun	Toongchow	440	Yangkow	Yangloo	370
Hüenshan	Taoyooen	430	Linti	Joojoo	370
Gaochung	Fungyen	510	Hungchung	Whangchwun	240
Ganchung	Swichung	550	Anjia	Answu	220

HWI GWO, present Giangling; the Lintwun Kun of the Han period.

MAI GWO, present Chwunchwen; the Niwashowchow of Sinlo.

SLJU GWO, present Sanju; the Sijuchow of Sinlo.

BEIYOOEN, present Yooenchow; the Beiyooen Siaojing of Sinlo.

TAIFUNG GWO, present Teyooen; at first the *Goongyi* barbarians lived here; Gaoli called it Doongchow.

GINGANG SHAN, 167 li east of Hwaiyang; also called GIEGoo and FUNGYOOE. It has 1200 peaks.

HANSI SHAN, 50 li east of Linti. On this mountain are rivers which come down like snow for several hundred feet (cataracts).

WOOTAI SHAN, 140 li west of Giangling, with five great peaks forming a circle.

TAIBO OF TAIBAI SHAN, 120 li west of Sanju. On it is a pool of yellow (mineral?) water. Sinlo named it JUYO.

TIELING, 39 li north of Whaiyang.

DAGWAN LING, 45 li west of Giangling. This chain winds out and in 99 times.

JAORYANG GANG, 5 li north of Chwunchwen; rising in *Linti* and *Yooiho kiens*.

#### VIII.—HAMGIANG DO—24 Cities with Magistrates.

<i>Modern Name.</i>	<i>Ancient Name</i>	<i>Distant from Capital in li.</i>	<i>Modern Name.</i>	<i>Ancient Name.</i>	<i>Distant from Capital in li.</i>
<i>Moo city</i> Gichow	Gichung	395	<i>Foo cities—con.</i> Maishan	Sanshan	1850
		—	Nanbien	Dungchow	520
<i>Foo cities</i> Hienhing	Hienchow	770	Sanshwi	Sangiang	1365
Yoonghing	Liyang	680	Dwanchwun	Foochow	1215
Gingchung	Juchung	1600	Mingchwen	Mingyooen	1465
Chingyooen	Giachow	2195	Giashan	Giachwen	1275
Whining	Aoshan	1940	Changgin		1525
Dsoongchung	Chowchow	2040			—
Wunchung	Janchung	2110	<i>Kun cities</i> Wunchwen	Wunchow	590
Chinghing	Whaichung	2310	Gaoyuen	Shangchow	630
Fooning	Fooyü	1690			—
Beiching	Chingchow	1010	<i>Hien cities</i> Hoongsien	Hoongsien	920
Duayooen	Yijow	560	Liyooen	Gwanchung	1115
Dingping	Joongshan	720			

DOONG WOJOO, present Beidao, east of Gaimashan; on the north-east it touched on Sooshan, afterwards Bohai and Nüjun territory. (See history above.)

HÜENTOO KWUN, present Mienhing.

BAITOW SHAN, west of Hwining foo, the border of Nüjun. There are three ranges of mountains, each higher than the last. From the foot of the first to the top of the third there is a height of 200 li. Embosomed in the top of the mountain, is a lake 800 li in circumference. (c. f. Manchoo history.)

CHANGBAI SHAN, west of Gingchung.

MOYWUN LING (Touch-cloud mountain), 37 li south of Dwanchwen.

MOTIEN LING (Touch-heaven mountain), 66 li east of do.

LOONGHING GANG, 2 li north-east from Yoonghing; anciently called HUNGKIANG. The reigning house of Corea sprang hence; therefore the name, "Rise of the Dragon."

DOOMANGANG (Tumun), 25 li east of Chingyooen, springing from Taibaishan.











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