CHINA'S INTERCOURSE WITH EUROPE.

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China's Intercourse with Europe.

By E. H. PARKER.

PREFACE.

THE following selections are a digest of eight volumes of very interesting matter. Leaving the main facts, as we Europeans perfectly well know them to be, untouched, the translator has chosen only those portions which are novel, curious, or suggestive,—in short, he has picked all the currants out of the cake. The original work is called the *Si-Chung Ki-shï*, or a *Record of Chinese and Western Relations*, published anonymously by one Hia Sieh[a] under the fancy name of the "Feeble Old Man of the River." As, during the course of his narrative, he mentions that he was deputed to act in the Nan-ch'ang missionary affair of 1862; and, as he was in close relations there with the mischievous educational officer of the same surname; it is fair to presume that the two men were relatives, and that the author was a scribe or secretary attached to some influential general officer's staff. The book is bitterly hostile to foreigners, and strongly prejudiced, but apparently composed with the strictest possible adhesion to truth as to facts. Many interesting portions are left untranslated,—for instance, the

[a] 夏燮

miserable and foul slanders circulated by the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*, which the author does not even profess to believe, but which he repeats out of malice; and a violent attack upon the character of the late Sir Harry Parkes, who was evidently marked out for the author's special detestation amongst the many detestable foreigners. The book is extremely well written in point of style, and the author attacks his own countrymen as frankly and fearlessly as he attacks Europeans. The burden of his song is:—Why were our statesmen and soldiers so corrupt and feeble as to betray our empire to the European? The moral of his story is:—Let us put our shoulders to the wheel, and do again what China did with the Scythians and the Turks 2,000 and 1,000 years ago,—turn the enemy out. The "preface," which discloses the name of the author—now deceased—, appears as a colophon at the end; and in it is stated the fact that a high Chinese official had already burnt the printing-blocks and suppressed the book some time ago; but the anonymous editor says that he managed to preserve a copy, and has had it reprinted, in order that the opinions contained therein may be widely circulated.

E. H. PARKER.

ERRATA.

Page 3, foot, for 董 read 華.

„ 13, line 6, for "was told" read "Kan Ying was told."

„ 22, last line, for "and with" read "and Schaal with."

According to the *Shên Pao* of the 15th September 1890, the new General of *Jêh-ho* has just left for *Muh-lan* 木蘭 on the way to his post. With reference to the note on page 89, therefore, it must be assumed that this *Muh-lan*, and not that in *Kan Suh*, is the one referred to.

Note.—The first 32 pages were inadvertently printed off before the defects in punctuation had been remedied.

E. H. P.

CHINA'S INTERCOURSE WITH EUROPE.

THE term "The West,"[a] applied by foreigners to Europe, is simply another way of expressing what the Chinese used to term Ta Ts'in;[b] and little more was known of that region during the After Han Dynasty [about the Christian Era] except that it consisted of states "west of the sea;" it was not until the Tsin dynasty[c] that this expression was explained to mean "west of the western sea," or what is now known as the Indian Ocean. Even the Mongols only extended their appanages to the countries south and west of the Pamir; whilst the travelling eunuchs of the Ming dynasty, who paid seven visits to the west, only got as far as Hormuz on the east part of the Red Sea. So it was that, when Matthew Ricci[d] came to Peking, no one at court knew what countries "The West" were; and it was only after he had seen the Christian

[a] 泰西 [b] 大秦 [c] A.D. 265–419. [d] 利瑪竇

tablet at Si-an, and identified his own religion, that the term Ta Ts'in came to be applied to Europe. Jules Aleni[a] was also a western man, and he printed a copy of the tablet in his book upon the sciences and geography of Europe.

Previous to the Han Dynasty[b] these states were under the lead of Greece, or Hellas; but the power of Rome, the modern Italia, began to assert itself at the epoch of our Eastern[c] Hans. During our Six Minor Dynasties,[d] Rome became a prey to the Goths, and split up into independent kingdoms recognizing no supremacy but the spiritual leadership of the Popes. During the Ming dynasty there were frequent messengers sent to the western ocean to command tribute, but no Europeans ever came. Only in the reign of Chêng-tê[e] did the French, who had taken possession of Malacca, send an envoy to offer tribute, taking advantage of our preoccupation with the Japanese pirates to seize Macao. It was from Ricci that we first learnt of "The West;" but, even then, we did not know if the French and the Dutch came from thence. Though the Mings may have the honour of having pushed farther west than any previous dynasty, yet their ambition has bequeathed to us the troubles which have since beset us during several centuries.

[a] 艾儒略 [b] *i.e.* 200 B.C. [c] *i.e.* A.D. 25–220.
[d] A.D. 535–618. [e] A.D. 1506–1522.

The French, as has been said, during their trading expeditions seized Malacca or the Moluccas, and in the year 1518 [a] sent an envoy with tribute. He and his suite behaved with great violence and rapacity, and a foreign cook named A-san, through the influence of the minister Kiang Pin,[b] managed to get a position in attendance on the Emperor, whom he amused with his buffoonery. This went on for two years, when it transpired that A-san was only a Chinese servant to the foreigners: he was executed, and the tribute was refused. In 1522, owing to some dispute, the French attacked a place outside the Canton River. They were defeated and their trade was stopped. This arrangement interfering with the perquisites of the officials, it ended in Macao becoming a sort of trading port.[c] From this centre the French sent their emissaries up the Fu Kien coasts, and many were the piratical attacks, defeats, and executions which followed their lawless proceedings. Macao became a sort of *imperium in imperio;* it had long been the custom for Siamese, Cochin-Chinese, Javan, Loochoo, and Borneo junks to trade at Canton; but, in the early part of the sixteenth century, the market had been moved to Tien-pak[d] on the southern coast, whence, in 1534,

[a] Both were taken by the Portuguese in 1511. [b] 江彬

[c] It is evident that the word "Franks" must have been used by the first Portuguese in explaining who they were.

[d] 電白

it was again shifted, by the influence of bribes,—this time to Macao; and the French got a foot-hold there with the rest, and, as has been stated, set up a sort of state of their own. In 1564 they offered, under the new name of Portugals, to send tribute for Malacca; but this was refused, as they were suspected of being French in disguise. Later on they constructed an immense cathedral, such as never was seen in China. The above details come from the *Ming Shï*,[a] or *History of the Mings*.

The French were followed by the Portuguese, and then by the Dutch. At the beginning of the seventeenth century great efforts were made to get rid of the foreigners, and an examination of Chang Ju-lin's[b] *History of Macao* shews that there is some confusion between the French and the Portuguese. The Portuguese first came to Ts'üan-chou, Chusan, and Ningpo during the reign of Chêng-tê, and to Macao in the year 1550, after the trade had been removed thither. In order to get special facilities for themselves, the Portuguese bribed the Macao authorities with a rental of Tls. 500 a year, and then proceeded to send home for their families, in such wise that the population soon reached the figure of 3,400 foreign souls. The visits of the French were now only occasional, and all the barbarians who frequented Macao were more or less under the ægis

[a] 明史 [b] 張汝霖

of Portugal. In order to protect themselves against the Dutch, they built a fort, much on the lines of the former French fort, which the authorities had already pulled down once; and invited the assistance of the Chinese provincial government to expel their rivals. As the Chinese were then fully employed in repelling the Japanese pirates, it was thought better not to drive the Portuguese from Macao, but to keep on good terms with, and watch them, with an eye to future emergencies. At that time Emmanuel Diaz Junior[a] was in favour, owing to the recommenda tions of the Chinese statesman Sü Kwang-k'i;[b] but it was not then clear what state Portugal really was: their trade was limited to twenty-five ships a year, and when the Manchus came into power this figure was maintained, and a preference was given to them over other foreigners in that they had only to pay tonnage-dues and not duties on the goods landed. The above details are extracted from the *Ao-mên Ki-lioh*, or *History of Macao.*

The Portuguese never[c] sent tribute to Peking during the Ming dynasty, but this was first done by them in the fifth year of Yung-chêng [A.D. 1727], and again in the 18th of K'ien-lung [A.D. 1753], of the Manchu dynasty.

[a] 陽瑪諾 [b] 徐光啟

[c] Francis Xavier left Goa in 1552 with an envoy for China, but the Governor of Malacca detained Pereyra the envoy and Xavier went on alone.—(Williams.)

Holland is a maritime state in the west, but the eunuch Chêng Ho,[a] who visited those regions seven times, does not record Holland amongst the countries seen by him. During the Ming dynasty the Dutch were at war with the Spaniards, Portuguese and others, and possessed themselves of Kalapa [Java]. They attacked the Phillipines in the 29th year of Wan-lih [A.D. 1601], and took the Pescadores in the 32nd year [A.D. 1604]. In this they were encouraged by some treacherous Chinese traders from Patani[b] who had made their acquaintance there. They soon got tired of discouragements and difficulties here and went back to Malacca. After that they took Formosa and the Pescadores whence they were expelled. Again a third time they took possession of the Pescadores and made a sort of pirate station out of it. A successful effort was made to drive them out in the 4th year of T'ien-k'i [A.D. 1624] and their general Kau Wên-lüh[c] with a dozen others were sent as captives up to Peking. Chinese colonists were encouraged to populate Formosa after these events; but Koxinga,[d] son of Chêng Chï-lung[e] by a Japanese wife, failed to

[a] 鄭和

[b] 太泥 in the Malay Peninsula, also called Kolofusha.—(Porter Smith).

[c] 高文律 ? Karl van Leeuw.

[d] 鄭成功 [e] 鄭芝龍

dislodge the 2,000 or so of Dutch who occupied T'aiwan. In the 16th year of Yung-chêng [A.D. 1659] Koxinga attacked Nanking, but failing there went back to Formosa whence he expelled the Dutch in the 18th year [A.D. 1661]. In the 13th year [A.D. 1656] the Dutch had been allowed to send a tribute-envoy to Peking, and it was arranged that they should continue to do so every eight years. Koxinga dying in the 1st year of K'ang-hi [A.D. 1662], Dutch aid was sought by the Fu Kien government towards expelling his son Chêng King [a] who died in 1679. The surrender of Koxinga's grandson Chêng K'êh-shwang [b] was brought about by Dutch strategy and instruction in the knowledge of tides and naval tactics, their motive being revenge for what they had suffered at his grandfather's hands. After this it was decided to incorporate Formosa with the Empire. The above details are taken from the *Ming History*, the *Hwang Ts'ing Sz-i K'au* or *Notices of the Outlying Manchu Dominions*, the *Manchu Annals* of Wei Yüan, and the *Kieh-k'i T'ing-tsih.*[c]

During our two Han dynasties Rome was the most powerful of the European states, and her report was noised in China after King Antony's embassy.[d]

[a] 經 [b] 克塽 [c] 鮚琦亭集

[d] In the 9th year of Yen-hi [A.D. 166] according to the *Nan-shi*, 安敦, king of Ta Ts'in, sent an envoy by way of Jih-nan or Cochin-China.

From this it is argued in later times that our knowledge of the "Great Western Ocean" begins here. The Great West began with Hellas, of which the leading tribe was Athens. When Rome annexed Hellas she appropriated her learning: hence Europeans, who are credited with astronomical knowledge, must confess their obligations to Italy. The Faith of the Lord of Heaven began with Judæa or West India in the East; but this country was also subdued by Rome, and hence the doctrine of Jesus started in Italy, and Jesus was recognized as the founder by all the Europeans. Paul and Peter were the apostles of Jesus, and a succession of saintly men followed down to the Chief King Constantine (*Stine* or *Stan* being the western expression signifying "leader") who altered the pagan temples into churches under the Popes. The Popes are Vicars on earth of the Lord of Heaven, do not marry or mix with the world, and are elected by the Cardinals. The above details are taken from the *Chih-Fang-Wai-Ki* or *Concise Geography* [of Didace de Pantoja].[a]

In the 9th year of Wan-lih [1581] a western man named Matthew Ricci[b] came to Kwang Tung, and in 1601 he went to Peking.[c] He

[a] 龐迪我

[b] Valignani had already arrived in 1580.—(Williams).

[c] With Catanco.—(Williams).

explained how China was only one of very many states in the four continents of Europe, Asia, Libya [Africa] and America; also a more recent one called Magellenica. He said that all the European states belonged to the Religion of the Lord of Heaven, and that Jesus was born in the 2nd year of the Han Emperor Ai, at Bethlehem in Judæa. He also explained that the Hwei-hwei [Uigur] astronomy used by China was erroneous, and thus it came about that Pantoja and Sabbatin des Ursis[a] were employed to assist in revising the Calendar. Ricci died at Peking, but his pupils Diaz, John Terrenz[b] Francis Sambiaso,[c] Jules Aleni, and Nicholas Longobardi[d] remained at Peking, where they never ceased protesting that they could prove the western methods to be correct. Two other westerns named Adam Schaal[e] and Jacques Rho[f] were recommended by Sü Kwang-k'i for posts on the Astronomical Board in the second year of Ch'ung-chêng [1629]; but shortly after this the Ming dynasty came to an end. In the second year of the Manchu Emperor Shun-chï [1645] Schaal again came to Peking, and was appointed with Ferdinand Verbiest[g] to the Astronomical Board, shortly after which began their great dispute with the Mussulman Yang

[a] 熊三拔 [b] 鄧玉函 [c] 畢方濟, Ricci's successor.
[d] 龍華民 [e] 湯若望 [f] 羅雅谷 [g] 南懷仁

Kwang-sien[a] about the proper place for intercalary moons. When the rebellion of the three Satraps took place, Verbiest was received in Audience and ordered to make guns on the western method. He and his comrades taught us algebra, the square-roots, trigonometry, logarithms; translated Euclid, Nicholas [Smogolenski], Tycho [Brahe][b] and other authors. Thus Italy it was that really introduced western science into China. Italy sent an envoy with tribute in the ninth year of K'ang-hi [1670], and he was granted Audience in the 18th year. In the first year of Yung-chêng [1723] the offending westerns were released from gaol and sent home, for which the Pope returned thanks and sent tribute. For the last 200 years the Italians, chiefly at Peking, have been propagating their faith under the cloak of teaching science. The above details are taken from the *Ming History*, and the *Notices of the Outlying Manchu Dominions.*

After the decline of Rome, France and England came to the front. When the French first came they were not known to be from the Great Western Ocean; but after they[c] took Macao and the other nations began to assemble there, it became known that they all came from the Great West. Italy was a little later arrival. Aleni and des Ursis were Italians; John Terrenz was a German; Pantoja

[a] 楊光先 [b] 穆尼閣第谷 [c] *i.e.*, the Portuguese.

was a Spaniard; Diaz a Portuguese. All these came from Macao to Peking. Did not the English come then too? Yes. When the Dutch were at Formosa they were only known as the Red Hairs to the Mings, and it was not understood that they too came from the west, and as the English came from the same place they too were called Red Hairs. In the 9th year of Ch'ung-chêng [1637] four Red Hair ships came into Canton waters to demand trade, and owing to a confusion in dates it seems that these were Englishmen mistaken by the various historical authorities for Dutchmen. Amongst foreign writers, Morrison says the English came to trade during the reign of Wan-lih [1573–1620]. Another account says that in the 24th year of Wan-lih [1596] the female Prince of England, wishing to be on friendly terms with China, sent three ships with a letter and presents; but that they were wrecked in a storm. In the 10th year of Ch'ung-chêng [1637] five of their ships came from Sumatra to Canton and hoisted a white flag whilst their application to trade was being considered; but through the intrigues of the Portuguese this was refused; they commenced hostilities, captured one of the forts, which however they surrendered on being allowed to dispose of their cargoes. Thus it appears that the English did actually come during the Ming dynasty, and were erroneously supposed to be the same as Dutchmen, whose own origin was not understood. The Manchu dynasty permitted foreign trade in the 22nd year of K'ang-hi [1683]; but the Europeans say that the English traded at Amoy during Koxinga's time.

The following additional remarks may be of use. It seems clear from what Fan Yeh[a] says that Europe is the ancient Ta Ts'in, or Hai Si, and the sea (*hai*) of which it was west (*si*) is the Indian Ocean bordering upon the Eastern and Western Red Seas, and extending into the Libyan continent. The *Wei Shu* [A.D. 386–556] says that "west, by "sea, from T'iao-chih you go round 10,000 *li*." T'iao-chih is the modern West India,[b] and from this you go to Libya. North of Libya is the Mediterranean which brings you to Europe. Europeans who now come east by sea [from Italy] cross the Mediterranean, follow the west coast [? of Africa] in a southerly direction, and, rounding, emerge from Libyan confines at Ta-lang Shan,[c] when they put about and steer north-east; so that it is true about being "separated by a sea." Compare this with the After Han History, which says that Ansih [Parthia] was "anxious for the monopoly of trade "with them [T'iao-chih] in Chinese silks, and

[a] Author of the After Han History.

[b] Already shewn to be Judæa.

[c] 大浪山 ? Cape of Good Hope.

"therefore kept them from direct communication "with China;" this evidently means that Parthia would not allow them to cross the sea and get to China. Again Pan Ch'ao[a] sent Kan Ying on a mission to their country, and, when about to enter the sea, was told by the boatmen that "there was "in the ocean a sentimental object which caused one "to feel sad; but that, if he did not mind his "parents and family, he might enter [the sea]." The result was that Kan Ying was unable to cross. The Parthians made the boatmen say this in order to keep off Ta Ts'in, and to frighten the Chinese envoy. The *Ming History* was composed after Ricci had explained where Italy was, and under the chapter Fuhlim[b] it is stated that Jesus, Lord of Heaven, was born in Judæa, the ancient Ta Ts'in;—this was according to the mistaken account of Verbiest and Alcni; for when the first Europeans came they did not know where Ta Ts'in was, and it was only after they had seen the Nestorian Tablet that they said Ta Ts'in was the place where the Lord of Heaven was born, being ignorant that Judæa was in the entirely different continent of Asia, whilst Ta Ts'in was Europe. Fuhlim is West India, separated by a sea from Ta Ts'in; but they followed the erroneous account of the *T'ang Shu*, which made out that Fuhlim was another name for

[a] A.D. 32-102. [b] 拂菻

Ta Ts'in, or what was really Italy, in quite a different continent. In the same way we thought the French near neighbours because they came from Malacca, and confused the Portuguese as Ta Si-yang with the French, not knowing that the Ta Si-yang were in fact Portugals, and that both they and the French came from the Ta Si-yang or Great Western Seas. The Dutch were only another sort of the same people, and the Italians, who are stated by the *Hai-kwoh T'u-chih* to have introduced the French and Portuguese to Peking, really came after these to Macao, and from Macao to Peking. The Italians did not come for trade, but to make the acquaintance of our leading men, being the most respectable amongst the barbarians. During the war with the Manchus, foreigners of all nations, but chiefly Italians and Portuguese, were invited to Peking. Ricci studied Euclid under Clavius,[a] and bringing his books to the east attracted the attention of such scholars Su Kang-k'i and Li Chih-tsao,[b] who corrected his style for him. Then came des Ursis, Pantoja, Schaal, Rho, etc., when the Manchu war put a stop to the intentions of the Ming dynasty. The Manchus however took the matter up. At first these men only taught their astronomy and science in order to gain a living; but when once they had a footing they made it a cloak for spreading their

[a] 丁氏　　[b] 李之藻

religious doctrines in a way never contemplated by Ricci. Still, they would never have actually rebelled to this day had it not been for the action of England and France.

Ever since the T'ang dynasty[a] the tribes of West India have been Mussulmans, in whose power Judæa then was. Hence the *Ming History*, whilst describing Aden[b] and Arabia,[c] only mentions Judæa under the head of Fuhlim and Italy. Western scholars, wishing to make out that their religion came from Europe, asserted that Ta Ts'in was identical with Judæa, forgetting that the Mediterranean lay between them. Judæa was first subdued by Persia; then by Rome during the Eastern Han reigns; hence it got the name of Ta Ts'in too. Other causes led to the same confusion in terms. The Nestorian Tablet says:—"The Virgin gave birth to a Holy One in Ta Ts'in." Now the westerns say that this Virgin means "the Mother of the Lord of Heaven," and argue from this that the Lord of Heaven was born in Ta Ts'in, ignoring the context which follows: "a bright star "announced the glorious news, and the Persians, "seeing its light, came with tribute offerings;"[d] so that the Scripture and Images of the Lord of

[a] *i.e.*, from A.D. 600. [b] 阿丹 [c] 天方

[d] Dr. Hirth is of opinion that this is in effect the language of St. Matthew, ch. 2, v. 1.

Heaven came from Persia, whilst Ta Ts'in appropriates them to itself. Persia is very close to Judæa, and when the T'ang dynasty came into power the latter had fallen out of the hands of effete Rome back into those of Persia, and it was at this time that the Faith went west. The barbarian priests make the ridiculous assertion that Persia came from Ta Ts'in, instead of Ta Ts'in from Persia. Then, again, regarding the Ta Ts'in Temples:[a] the edict of the T'ang Emperor T'ai Tsung is not recorded in history, but the edict of the 4th year of T'ien-pao [A.D. 745] given in the *Ts'êh-fu Yüan-kwei*[b] says that they were first called Persian[c] Temples, and only *at that date* changed to Ta Ts'in Temples. The statement, then, in the decree that the Persian Religion[d] emanated from Ta Ts'in simply repeats the nonsense of the foreign priests. Persia is the ancient T'iao-chih, and European scholars have now ascertained that this is [Parthia or] Ansih, so that Kan Ying's detention by Parthia on the sea-coast was in the country under discussion. The East and West Red Seas, west of West India, are the places dividing Asia from Libya [Africa]. The extreme point of the West Red Sea is separated from

[a] 大秦寺

[b] Composed by the Sung Emperor Chên Tsung, about A.D. 1000.

[c] 波斯寺 [d] 經教

the Mediterranean by a strip of land 170 *li* across, which thus divides Libya from the Mediterranean. The "separation by a sea" really means the "separation of two seas" *by this strip.* This strip is a short cut to Ta Ts'in, and of course Kan Ying knew nothing of this. The boatmen told him that "a sea-voyage would take him three years; that "there was a creature in the ocean, etc., etc.," was all guess-work, for during recent centuries the Europeans at first came by this sea-route, going from the sea of T'iao-chih [? Judæa] round the west coast of Libya and turn north-east at the Cape of Good Hope.[a] Hence the statement of the *Ying-hai Chih-lioh*[b] that the land-route by Suez is nearer by 20,000 *li* would account for what was told to Kan Ying in Parthia "that he must go round 40,000 *li*, supposing that we add to the extra 20,000 *li* the distance he would have had to travel in the Red Sea and Mediterranean. No wonder he turned back in despair! Wei Yüan[c] says that the capital of T'iao-chih was Mecca in the present Arabia, a considerable distance from Parthia, thinking that the sea to which Kan Ying came might not have been the Red Sea, but the Sea of Aleph[d] in

[a] 大浪山

[b] By 徐, Governor of Fu Kien.

[c] 魏源 Author of the *Manchu Annals*, A.D. 1840.

[d] 阿勒富 ? Arabian Sea, or ? Gulf of Akaba.

the eastern part of T'iao-chih; and that, as the *Han History* only said he "reached T'iao-chih," the name of T'iao-chih was thus applied to all countries west of Parthia; but that Kan Ying did not necessarily reach the capital of T'iao-chih. As to the remarks of the boatmen on the west frontier of Parthia, these were merely in reply to route enquiries, and Kan Ying need not have got to the extreme end of the Red Sea in order to find out that he was cut off from the other [or Mediterranean] Sea. To sum up, the Hai Si States of Fan Yeh only refer to the south-western coasts of Asia. Had Kan Ying passed Parthia, entered the Red Sea, and reached Libya, even then he would only have got as far as some point between the East and West Red Seas: to hold that he reached the extreme end of the Red Sea is to unduly strain conclusions.

The Thin End of the Wedge.

Judæa, the birthplace of the Lord of Heaven, is the name for the west part of Asia. He lived on earth for 33 years, and was regarded by all the people of the Five Indies as Founder of the Faith which afterwards went west to Ta Ts'in. The westerns were at first Buddhists, until the birth of Jesus 600 years after Buddha's annihilation. The

Cross was adopted by Jesus as a symbol of authority, Heaven [a] was His Father, and He was the Son of God. [b] He died to save men, and the westerns styled Him the Lord of Heaven.[c] Nothing of this reached China until the reign [d] of T'ai Tsung, when Olopên, high priest of Ta Ts'in, [e] came to the Chinese capital with Scriptures and Images. A decree authorised the establishment of a Ta Ts'in Sz [Monastery] with 21 converted [? or baptized] priests.[f] Seven reigns later, during the Emperor Tai Tsung's [g] time, one King Tsing,[h] a priest of the Ta Ts'in Sz Monastery, inscribed the famous Tablet recounting how the Nestorian Religion [i] came to China; and thus our scholars have concluded that this was the beginning of the Religion of the Lord of Heaven too. However, the 27 books of Scripture[j] are beyond the reach of enquiry. The Images were of the True God Aloha,[k] Three in One Mysterious Body Eternal True Lord, and the Triune Most Honoured Messiah, Mother of the Mysterious Trinity, that is, the Virgin who gave birth to the Holy One in Judæa, as stated in the Tablet. At this

[a] 天 [b] 神子 [c] 天主

[d] A.D. 627–650. [e] 上德阿羅本 [f] 度僧

[g] There must be a mistake. The date given is the 2nd year of Kien-chung [A.D. 781], which would be Tê Tsung's reign.

[h] 景淨 [i] 景教

[j] *i.e.*, the New Testament. [k] 阿羅訶

time there were three barbarian monasteries in China: the Ta Ts'in Sz [or Nestorian], the T'ien-shên[a] [or Jewish], and the Muni [? Manichean],[b] Muni being explained by some to be a western woman who came to China, and T'ien-shên being the God worshipped by the people of Ta-ts'in, T'ien-shên being thus identified with T'ien-chu. Just about this time there was another man in Aden of West India who set up the Mussulman[c] Religion. His name was Mahomet, and he was born 600 years after Jesus. He died in the 14th year of K'ai-hwang [A.D. 593], and his disciples became numerous during the succeeding T'ang dynasty. Some of them brought Muni, or Mani,[d] with them in the train of the Ouigours, when these came on their usual tribute-mission. They established themselves in the capital, and did all they could to weaken the Nestorians; and thus from the time of the introduction of the Mussulman religion that of the Nestorians fell off, and hardly anything was heard of them during the Sung and Yüan dynasties. Then in the year 1581 Ricci came with his relics, pictures, etc., from the west, and in 1601 reached Peking. At first it was doubted whether there was such a place as the Ta Si-yang which he pretended to come from. The Emperor certainly made a mistake in entering into direct relations with this man. How-

[a] 祆神 [b] 末尼 [c] 天方教 [d] 摩尼

ever, he was much respected, and died at Peking after introducing several others. Then occurred the errors in the eclipse calculations, and, following the precedent of the Emperor Hung-wu, who established a Ouigour Observatory in 1368, the Emperor appointed Pantoja and des Ursis to the Astronomical Board. Thus did the western men, under cloak of science, spread their religious doctrines. There was one Alphonso Vagnani[a] at Nanking who made propagandism his special business. One Sü Ju-k'o,[b] of the Board of Rites, succeeded at last in getting him and Diaz ejected and ordered to Canton. The grounds alleged were that there was little to distinguish in principle between the harm done by the teachings of the White Lily and Nihilist[c] societies and those of the Roman Catholics. In the year 1618 Pantoja sent in a Memorial remonstrating against this harsh treatment of his co-religionists. In this he was unsuccessful, and both he and Vagnani were ordered away. Vagnani, however, soon returned to Nanking under another name,[d] and pursued his propagandist avocations as before. The leading Chinese Christians under the Ming

[a] 王豐肅 [b] 徐如珂 [c] 無爲

[d] Williams says that one Faber obtained a great reputation in Shen Si, and Father Pfister, S.J., to whom and Father Heude, S.J., I am indebted for the transliteration of these names, informs me that Vagnani re-appeared in Shen Si under the name of 高一志.

dynasty were Sü Kwang-k'i,[a] Li Chï-ts'ao,[b] Li T'ien-king,[c] Fêng Ying-king[d] and Fan Liang-shu.[e] Under their patronage Schaal became more influential even than Ricci, and the new faith rapidly extended until there were no fewer than thirty establishments scattered over the thirteen provinces. The authorities for the above account of the Jesuits are the *Ming History* and the work of their Mussulman enemy Yang Kwang-sien,[f] called *Puh-teh-i*[g] or "Nilly Willy," or the "Protest."

As above stated the name Ta Ts'in first appeared in the *After Han History*, and the first Europeans who came did not know to what place it referred. But Ricci explained to his friend Sü that the Christian religion had its origin during the Eastern Han Dynasty; and afterwards when Aleni saw the Nestorian Tablet he quoted it as referring to the Religion of the Lord of Heaven. He proceeded then to compose his *Si Hio Fan* or *Sketch of Western Knowledge*, giving the history of Christianity, to which Schaal added pamphlets describing the works of Jesus, the Crucifixion, and so on.

Schaal's great opponent was the Mussulman Yang Kwang-sien, and with Rho was appointed on

[a] 徐光啟 or Paul Sü, who gives his name to Sükawei or Siccawei, near Shanghai.

[b] 李之藻 [c] 李天經 [d] 馮應京
[e] 樊良樞 [f] 楊光先 [g] 不得已

Su's recommendation to a post on the Astronomical Board' in the third year of Ch'ung-chêng [A.D. 1630]. Schaal was on the staff of Li Kien-t'ai's army[a] which marched against the rebels in 1644, and on the fall of the Ming dynasty next year offered his services to the Manchus. After this he and Verbiest were appointed to the Astronomical Board, much to the disgust of Yang, who specially objected to the five words "according to new European methods," inscribed on the new almanacs. Owing to some error in Schaal's calculation affecting the eclipse of January 1665, Schaal was cast into prison, and Yang took his place on the Board; but, three years later, as Yang was unable to place the intercalary moon correctly, he was sentenced to death, and Schaal was re-appointed with Verbiest. Subsequently banished and reprieved, Yang revenged himself by writing a book inveighing fiercely against the foreigners generally and all their works, and more especially against Schaal. He called to mind the warnings of Kiang T'ung[b] against admitting the Tartars into China 1,000 years earlier, and said that no one had ever been allowed previously to set foot in China without bringing tribute, let alone being allowed to remain and stir up trouble. The Hans, said he, were all wrong in their astronomy and managed to reign four hundred years notwith-

[a] 李建泰 [b] 江統

standing. *Exeat peregrinus ruat cœlum:* better have erroneous eclipses than a swarm of scheming Europeans. Even the Buddhists and Taoists inculcate loyalty and filial piety, whereas Jesus did not even recognize the natural paternity of his father Joseph, and was crucified as a malefactor even by his own countrymen. Mencius justly condemned the egotistical doctrines of Yang Chu[a] and Meh Ti,[b] but these Christians are not only allowed to spread their heretical doctrines, but are encouraged to spy out and inform themselves upon everything in the Empire. Hence the "Protest" or warning. A further declamation of his touches upon the extraordinary story of Adam and his descendants' sins; the proposed redemption of them by the Lord of Heaven 5,000 years afterwards; the various warnings conveyed through angels and prophets, and finally the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. Admitting that there was a Creator, surely the Creator's notice would not be confined to the country of Judæa; and as Lord of Heaven, how could thirty-three years of existence be spared from the Creator's duties of guarding the created world to come on earth? Who saw to the ordinary course of nature during this period? Why not inculcate virtue and self-restraint instead of simply curing people of their sickness? And then as to salvation

[a] 楊朱 [b] 墨翟

by faith alone: what if all the unbelievers are good men and all the faithful wicked? How was it the Saviour of the world was unable to save Himself from crucifixion? The old Buddhist notions of Heaven and Hell are served up in a new form, and yet Buddhism is preached down. The Confucian Shang-ti is by a mutilation of the Confucian texts made to serve as the Lord of Heaven, and yet Confucianism is abused. If curing the sick and raising the dead are such good works, would they not be better if they reached to preventing sickness and death altogether?[a] Ricci said nothing of the crucifixion, but simply that after accomplishing the work of salvation Jesus re-ascended into Heaven. Schaal, who was less crafty, gave the whole version right out. In what way does this all differ from the story of the Taoist patriarch Chang Tao-ling, who also ascended into Heaven? Their science may be fine, but their weapons are fine too: their celibacy and abstinence from office is a means to gain men's hearts, and the history of their doings in Japan and the Phillipines ought to be a warning to us. To-day you may abuse me as spiteful, but let not the day

[a] *See* Williams' *Middle Kingdom* for an account of the dispute between Maigrot and the Jesuits. The latter took 天 to be the immaterial heaven, and 上帝 to be God, whilst the Pope Clement XI, notwithstanding a previous papal decision of Alexander VII in favour of the Jesuits, finally declared 天 to be the material heavens, and 天主 to be the correct term for God.

come when you will venerate me as a prophet, and it will be well for China![a] Thus spoke Yang Kwang-sien. But after his pardon he went to live in Shan Tung, where he was poisoned by the Europeans,[b] who did all they could to buy up and destroy his writings. European influence at the Astronomical Board was then triumphant.

Christian propagandism in the Provinces was first forbidden in the 8th year of K'ang-hi [A.D. 1669]. Owing to Verbiest's success in predicting an eclipse, foreigners were allowed to follow their own religion at Peking, but not to spread it or to have chapels in the Provinces. Notwithstanding this prohibition the secret spread of Christian doctrines in the Provinces went on as before. In the 56th year of K'ang-hi [A.D. 1717] the Brigadier of Kitshek (near Canton) represented the growing dangers of propagandism, and prohibitions were issued and renewed by the Emperor in 1717, 1718, and 1720, when a Lazarist at Peking named Theodoricus[c] Pedrini was cast into prison for presenting a Memorial which the Emperor considered disrespectful. He was pardoned in 1723 on the

[a] These words bear a singular resemblance to those of Aristides when driven from Athens: "I only hope that Athens "may never see the day when it shall wish to see me back "again."

[b] This grave and probably mistaken accusation reads 爲歐羅巴人毒死 in the original.

[c] 德里格

accession of Yung-chêng. In 1724, on the representation of Manpao,[a] Viceroy at Foochow, the missionaries were all sent to Canton, where the old and feeble ones were allowed to remain on condition of not continuing to make converts, and all Christian Chinese in the provinces were ordered to abjure, whilst the chapels were turned into offices.[b] In 1725 the Canton Viceroy obtained the Emperor's permission to limit the number of foreigners at Macao to 3,000 men. During the succeeding reign of K'ien-lung, however, it was found that propagandism was still going on, and a number of priests were arrested and forwarded to the Board of Punishments for perpetual confinement, amongst whom was Pa-ya-li-yang.[c] In the winter of 1785 the Emperor ordered their discharge: those who chose could return home, whilst the others were quartered in the Mission House at Peking. The authority for the above is the *Hwang Ts'ing T'ung-k'ao Sz-i Mên.*

The English King George,[d] wishing to send tribute and enter into friendly relations, sent an envoy to Peking in the 58th year of K'ien-lung [1793]. His credentials did not mention it, but he requested at the Board to have the same privileges as Russia in the matter of trade, students at Peking, etc. The Emperor explained to him the restrictions

[a] 滿保 [b] 公廨 [c] 巴亞里央 [d] 雅治

under which the official missionaries resided at Peking and politely refused his request. Two Imperial mandates were sent to the King through the authorities at Canton, where they were placed on record. The authority for the above is Wei Yüan's *Hai-kwoh T'u-chi*. In 1795 another letter with presents was brought to and forwarded from Canton. In the 21st year of Kia-k'ing [1816] still another envoy was sent with tribute to China, but owing to his contesting first at Canton certain questions of form, and then again refusing to kneel on the day of audience at Peking on the ground that he was a Christian,[a] the Emperor rejected his presents and dismissed him. Notwithstanding this the English never abandoned their hopes for trade and residence at Peking, whilst the Religion of the Cross with its Sabbath meetings and incantations went on until the White Lily and Heaven's Law[b] revolts took place. The White Lily Faith is a branch of the Muni Faith [? Manichaeism] one of the Three Western Churches[c] of the T'ang dynasty, which was introduced into China at the same time as the Ta Ts'in [or Nestorian]. When the Mussulman Faith was introduced, Mani was brought along too, and thus that Faith came between the Religion of the Lord of Heaven and the Religion of the Place of Heaven[d] [Arabia]. The name "White Lily

[a] 奉天主法 [b] 天理 [c] 三西寺 [d] 天方

Faith" was already in existence during the Shan Tung revolt of Sü Hung-ju[a] in the Ming dynasty. The great White Lily Revolt took place, however, in the western provinces during the years 1796–1803, followed by the Heaven's Law rebellions of Li Wên-ch'êng[b] in Ho Nan and Lin Ts'ing[c] in Chih Li in the 18th year of Kia-k'ing [1813]. This Religion was also called the Pah Kwa [or Eight Diagrams]. The Mussulmans and Manichaeans will not eat pork, whilst the Christians will not trample on the Cross. Hence Pêling[d] when Viceroy at Nanking insisted upon two White Lily captives—a chief priest named Fang Jung-shêng[e] and a nun Miss Chu Êrh[f]—performing both these acts. Both of them preferred execution, and a distinguished officer who was then at Canton and witnessed the whole affair is authority for the statement. The Pa Kwa or Ts'ih-ts'ih[g] enthusiasts also objected to doing either of these things. From this it is plain that the Religion of the Lord of Heaven must have entered China at a very early date, and that it can have no sympathy with the Mussulman faith: also that the White Lily and Heaven's Rule conspiracies were corrupt native offshoots having no connection with the westerns. Still, Romanism, Nestorianism and Mussulmanism have all one source and are much akin. They are

[a] 徐鴻儒 [b] 李文成 [c] 林清 [d] 百齡
[e] 方榮升 [f] 朱二姑娘 [g] 七七

the indirect cause of the various sectarian rebellions which have devastated China during the past century. In 1845 it was felt imprudent to resist the French demand for free exercise of their religion, and in consequence of the meetings of evil characters such as the conspirators of Kin-t'ien[a] there occurred the great [T'ai-p'ing] rebellion in Kwang Si. The Nanking Treaty provides for the protection of foreign missionaries, but never gave permission to Chinese to practise the faith on equal terms, as is witnessed by the records from the 8th year of K'ang-hi [1669] downwards; and anyhow only referred to the English. In 1845, however, the French obtained through Kiying the latitude they wanted; yet this gave no permission to gain over females or to cheat the sick out of their eyes. In the 8th year of Hien-fêng [1858] the English got the French, Americans, and Russians to join them in demanding further privileges, and the Chinese were distinctly authorised to become Christians, and became more emboldened than ever after the satisfaction granted for the execution of Père Chapdelaine[b] (?) in Kwang Si. Then followed the repulse from Taku, the attack upon Peking, the Emperor's flight to Lwan-yang [Jeho], and the further conventions of the 11th year [1861] with England and with France as demanded in 1846. Besides this, stipulations

[a] 金田 [b] 馬神父

were made for the return to the French Minister of all the chapels, cemeteries, and glebes which had been turned into schools and public offices, and free permission was given to the French missionaries to lease and purchase land or houses in the interior. [a] French missionaries then began to insist on treating with officials on an equal footing, and Chinese converts began to menace their fellow-citizens and their own authorities, in consequence of which a decree was issued at the instance of the Foreign Board ordering the provincial authorities to punish evil characters, whilst giving due observance to the Treaty clauses. The last incidents were the destruction of chapels in Hu Kwang and Kiang Si.

At the time of the confiscation of the chapels in 1723–4 a native of Hu Peh named Wu Têh-chï [b] describes how the converts used to be made. They were obliged first to hack to pieces their ancestors' tablets, and then received Tls. 4 from the Bishop [c] with a new name to celebrate their "eating the faith." [d] Their doors were marked with a cross in an oblong drawn upon red paper, on which were depicted also a sword, a hook, an awl, and a spear, symbolical of "hacking their gods to pieces." The Christian sick could only be cured by Christians, and the women were treated when naked.[e] Nobody

[a] 租買 [b] 吳德芝 [c] 主教者 [d] 喫教

[e] Probably alluding to baptism or surgical operations.

but the Bishop [? or local catechist][a] was allowed to be present at a death.[b]

The Ts'ih-ts'ih revolt was undoubtedly indirectly owing to the influence of foreign religion, though at that time foreigners had not actually made war on China. So with the T'ai-p'ing rebellion of Fêng Yün-shan, Hung Siu-ts'üan, Yang Siu-ts'ing and others who got up a society at Kin T'ien[c] and said that Shang-ti was the Father of Heaven and so on; and after the fall of Nanking in 1853 the unworthy foreign consul at Shanghai went to Ningpo to come to an understanding with them, which brought on the Liu Li-ch'uan[d] case in the following autumn [the Cantonese who captured Shanghai].

Further examination leads to the conclusion that both Christianity and Mahometanism are derived from Brahmanism,[e] as indeed Hiuen Chwang[f] thought was the case with the religions he studied in India during the T'ang dynasty. Moreover it is probable that the Mahomedan Ersa and the Christian Jesu are one and the same. In fact Christianity is the offspring of Buddhism, and Mahometanism that

[a] 主者

[b] Here follow several pages of the rubbish circulated some years ago in the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* charging the priests with the most abominable crimes.

[c] 馮雲山; 洪秀泉; 楊秀清; 金田
[d] 劉麗川 [e] 婆羅門 [f] 陳元奘

of Christianity. A proof of the reasonableness of this view is that the last-named is again split up into three divisions, the Catholic of France and Italy; the Greek of Russia; and the Prote*stant* of England, Holland, and America. (Stant,[a] it may be observed, is another word for *Swant'an* or Sultan). This last began during the Ming dynasty with the German Luther.

[a] *See* a previous note.

Roman Catholic Missionary Data.

(From Williams' "Middle Kingdom.")

(Inserted in order to explain the Chinese author translated).

1246-7.	Mission of John of Piano Carpini to Kuyuk Khan.
1292-1328.	Reception of John of Montecorvino by Kublai Khan at Peking.
1336.	Shunti (Chiyuen) sends André on a mission to the Pope Benedict XII.
1353.	John of Florence, one of Benedict's nuncios, returns with Shunti's letters.
1338.	Date of a letter from Pascal, a Spanish friar at Ili, to Europe.
1582.	Ricci establishes himself at Shau-king, near Canton, with Ruggiero.
1601.	Ricci and Cataneo visit Peking. Again, accompanied by Pantoja.
1605.	Excitement at Canton. Convert named Martinez punished and dies.
1617.	European missionaries ordered to leave Peking for Canton.

1610.	Death of Ricci; succeeded by Longobardi as Superior.
1644.	Thomas Kiu and Luke Chin assist the Ming pretender Tunglieh against the Manchus.
1648.	Capellas, a Spaniard, martyred in Fuhkien.
1665.	Persecution and death of Schaal, after 30 years residence in Peking.
1671.	Verbiest restored to favour.
1645.	Innocent X. confirms the Dominican Morales' views.
1656.	Alexander VII. approves the Jesuit views, as explained by Martinez.
1665.	Meeting of orders at Macao to discuss the term question.
1693.	Bishop Maigrot of China defies the Pope's decision.
1700.	The Emperor confirms the Jesuit view.
1704.	Clement XI. confirms Maigrot's view.
1705-6.	Tournon, the Pope's Legate, defied by the Emperor and the Bishop of Macao.
1715-21.	Unsuccessful mission to Peking of Mezzabarba, a second Legate.

1708-18.	Survey of the Empire by Regis, Bouvet, Jartoux, etc.
1718.	Kanghi forbids any missionary to remain unless he follows Ricci's rules.
1724.	The propagation of Christianity forbidden by Yungching.
1747.	Persecution in the provinces. Sanz and five Dominicans killed in Fuhkien.
1767-77.	Gleyo imprisoned in Szchuen.
1784.	Search for European priests: de la Tour taken from Canton to Peking.
1801.	Dufresse beheaded.
1816.	Triora strangled in Hupeh.
1819.	Clet strangled, and Schoeffler, Bounard, and Diaz later.
1856.	Chapdelaine perished.

Earliest Notices of China.

(From Williams' "Middle Kingdom.")

A.D. 100-200.	Ptolemy and Arrian; Sina, Thin, Seres, Stone Tower (Tashkend).
166.	M. Aurelius Antoninus sends an embassy *viâ* Cochin China to Wu.

530-50.	Cosmas refers in his Topography to maritime trade with Tzinista.
600.	Theophylact writes of a great Turkish people the Taugas.
850-877.	Narratives of the Arabs Wahab and Abu Zaid.
1246.	Embassy of Carpini and Benedict from Pope Innocent to Karakoram.
1253.	Embassy of Rubruquis from Louis XI. to Sartach, Batu, and Mangu.
1254.	Journey of Hethum of Little Armenia to Mangu's Court.
1254-95.	Residence of Marco Polo in China.
1286-1331.	Friar Odoric's journeys through China, Tibet, and Cabul.
1340.	The Arab Ibn Batuta's voyage to Zayton.
1602.	Benedict Goës' travels to Cabul, Yarkand, Kan Suh, etc.
1516-1521.	Rafael and Simon Perestrello visit the Kwang Tung ports.
1537.	Portuguese settlements at Lang-peh Kau, St. John's, and Macao.

B.C. 140-86.	Chang K'ien's travels to Fergana and Bactria.

A.D. 399-414. Fa Hien's travels to Khoten, Afghanistan, Cashmere, India.

518. Hwei Sing's travels.

628-45. Hüen Chwang's travels.

1241. Victory of the Mongols at Lignitz.

1246. Kuyuk Khan's return letters to Pope Innocent.

Portuguese Embassies, etc.

1545. Massacre of Portuguese and Christians at Ningpo.

1549. Portuguese driven from Ch'üan-chou [Zayton].[a]

1517. Pires and Andradé envoys from Goa. Executed at Canton.

1552. Second Goa embassy stopped at Malacca.

1667. Third Goa embassy sent to complain of stoppage of trade.

1727. Magaillans takes the Pope's answer and Metello as envoy.

1753. Last Portuguese embassy to Peking.

[a] Mr. G. Phillips explains in detail that Zayton is Chang-Chou.

The Spanish.

1543.	Conquest of Manila.
1575.	Two Spanish friars visit Canton[a] and Shao-k'ing.
1580.	Martin Ignatius fails to get north. Imprisoned at Canton.

The Dutch.

1624.	Capture of the Pescadores and Formosa.
1653.	Portuguese thwart Dutch trade at Canton.
1655-7.	Mission of Goyer and Keyzer to Peking.
1661.	Dutch driven out of Formosa.
1664-5.	Van Hoorn's mission to Peking.
1793-6.	Titsingh and Van Braam's mission to Peking.

The French.

1289.	Letter from Argun of Persia to Philip the Fair.

[a] Two others had already visited Ch'üan-chou and Foochow to offer assistance against pirates.

1305. Letter from Oljaitu Khan to Philip the Fair.
1688. Letter from Louis XIV. to Kanghi.
1754. Strangling of a Frenchman for killing a Portuguese.

THE RUSSIANS.

1567. Mission of Petroff and Yallysheff (unsuccessful) to the Emperor Lungking.
1619. Pettlin's unsuccessful mission to Peking.
1653. Alexis sends Baikoff to Shunchih. Refused to *kotow*.
1658-1677. Three several trading missions to Peking.
1689. Treaty of Nipchu.
1692. Peter sends Ides to exchange ratifications.
1715-30. Tulishen's missions to the Turguts and to Peter II.
1719. Peter the Great sends Ismayloff to Peking.
1716-20. Lange's residence in Peking.
1727. Catherine sends Vladislavitch to Peking. Treaty.
1821. Timkowski's relief expedition to Peking.

The English.

1684.	Obtain a footing at Canton.
1701-2.	Catchpoole's attempts to trade at Ningpo and Chusan.
1742.	Commodore Anson insists on provisions at Canton.
1744.	The "Hardwicke" unsuccessfully attempts trade at Ningpo.
1755-9.	Flint repairs to Ningpo and Tientsin. Imprisoned at Macao.
1784.	Strangling of a British gunner for homicide at Canton.
1807.	Captain Rolles of the "Lion" forcibly rescues Sheen the homicide.
1792.	Macartney's Embassy.
1808.	Admiral Drury demonstrates at Canton.
1816.	Amherst's Embassy.

The Americans.

1785.	First trading ship to China.
1821.	Surrender Terranuova to the Chinese for execution.

TRADE RELATIONS.

In 1685, two years after the Koxinga power was crushed, foreign trade was authorised at Macao, Chang-chou,[a] Ningpo, and Yün-t'ai[b] [Kiang Nan]. The English at that time were only vaguely known to be a tribe of the Red Hairs, and, though they followed the lead of the Dutch in seeking to extend their trade, after occasional efforts at Chusan[c] and Ningpo they confined their efforts to Canton. It was only in the 56th year of K'ang-hi [1717] that the English were reported from Canton to be the most artful of the foreigners: this was owing to their

[a] Among the various theories about Zaytun, it may be permitted to advance another. Chang-chou is pronounced Tsac-chiu at Wênchow (which, true, is not Chang-chou), and this sound would do well for Tsaytiu: on the other hand Hai-t'an, close by, is even nearer to Zaytun in sound, if we can explain why *Z* is used for *H*.

[b] 雲臺 Probably Chinkiang.

[c] *See* Mr. D. Boulger's paper on Catchpoole's factory at Chusan, published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1887.

having organized remonstrances against the heavy demands to which their trade was subjected, and, in fact, they obtained some slight reduction in the seventh year of Yung-chêng [1729]: but at length they resolved to try their luck in the Chê Kiang Province instead. At first there was no Custom House except at Ningpo; but, after Ting-hai had been municipally incorporated with the Empire, the Maritime Collectorship was removed thither, and a Hung-mao Kwan [or Red Haired Factory] was established there. In the 28th year of K'ien-lung (1755) the chief factor K'alashêng[a] [?. Glasson] asked to be allowed to trade at Ningpo; but the Canton and Foochow Viceroys, perceiving that they were losing their revenues, succeeded in getting the Chê Kiang tariff raised to double that of Canton and Chang-chou, it being feared that Chusan might become a second Macao. The English interpreter or merchant Hung Jên-hwei[b] [Flint] then proceeded in a huff by sea to Tientsin, where he repeated his request for trade, and the Ningpo authorities at the same time complained of the greed of the Canton Customs. Flint was sent back over land under a guard to Canton, and imprisoned at Macao for three years. Though the Canton authorities were made to reduce their exactions at the time, discontent broke out again thirty years later, and representations would probably

[a] 喀喇生 [b] 洪任輝

have been repeated at Tientsin had not Flint's punishment been before the foreigners' eyes. It was now that George,[a] King of England, evolved the plan with his ministers of sending a tribute-envoy to congratulate the Emperor on his 80th birthday, taking the opportunity then to introduce the question of trade. Accordingly in the 58th year [1793] Macartney[b] was sent by sea with tribute to Tientsin, and thus for the first time opened relations with China. The Emperor, however, declined to allow trade at Ningpo or Tientsin, because there were no co-hongs or interpreters at those places, and refused to grant Russian privileges[c] of residence at Peking, on the ground that ever since the Kiachta Treaty the Russians had hardly ever resided at Peking. The requests for the cession of Chusan, and permission to have a settlement near Canton city were positively refused. Macartney was sent back honourably overland, and his tribute ship was allowed to call in at Ningpo for a cargo of tea and silk. The King perceived, after perusing the Emperor's mandate, that his demands were inconsistent with China's dignity, and the matter dropped there; but still the English hoped to get their object at Macao. In the 60th year [1795]

[a] 雅治 [b] 馬甘尼 or 馬戛爾尼

[c] Elsewhere this demand is said to have been put forward in the 貢表 or "tribute address" brought by Lord Macartney.

another letter was sent through the Supercargo[a] at Canton, stating that "some years ago they had sent gunboats to Tibet[b] by way of co-operation with China,"—referring to Fuk'angan's Nepaulese campaign. The Emperor had quietly evaded their request to trade on the same footing as the Portuguese, *i.e.*, by paying tonnage dues only; but the English did not abandon their hopes, and in the seventh year of Kia-k'ing [1802], six ships appeared off Macao "to defend the place against the French." The Portuguese sought the assistance of the Canton government towards getting rid of them, and, as they did not remain long, the matter was concealed from the Emperor. In the 10th year [1805] the King sent another envoy with presents to Canton, whose letter referred again to the hostilities with France; but on this occasion the merchant vessels had an escort of men-of-war, and precautions were taken. In the 13th year [1808] the English Admiral Drury[c] returned defeated from Annam, and, prompted by the Supercargo, Lafuh [? Robert][d] renewed his designs on Macao, refusing to listen to the declaration sent through the co-hong merchants that Macao was not Portuguese but Chinese territory. Trade was now stopped. Drury advanced with three ships to Whampoa, sent a number of

[a] 大班 [b] 的密
[c] 度路利 or 圖禮 [d] 喇佛

boats to Canton, and took possession of the factories. Another captain came from England to inquire into the matter, and, through the efforts of Lafuh, Drury was induced to accept an indemnity of $600,000 from the Portuguese, and to retire on the promise that trade would be allowed as before. The whole business was got up by Lafuh without the King's privity, and the result was that Lafuh was suspended, and died of grief at Macao a few years afterwards.

The ever increasing exactions to which the *taipans* [or Company's agents] were subjected through the intrigues and agency of the hong merchants, induced the King of England to send a second set of envoys in the year 1816. The one who came to Canton was named Kia-lah Wei-li [a] [? William Galop], and he at once raised questions about the forms he should use, and objected to crouch before the authorities with his hat off in the old style. The Acting Viceroy acceded so far as to forego the crouching, and to rise from his seat to receive the envoy. Meanwhile the Chief Tribute Envoy Lo Erhmei [Lord Amherst] [b] and his Secretary Morrison [c] had gone by sea to Tientsin, to which place the Emperor sent him a dinner by the hands of the Duke Ho.[d] The authorities ordered him to acknowledge this compliment on his knees,

[a] 加拉威禮 [b] 羅爾美
[c] 馬禮遜 [d] 和世泰

which he refused to do, nor would he listen to any explanations of what had been agreed to by the preceding envoy. The Emperor was at the Summer Palace, and Ho hurried the envoy thither from T'ung Chou [a] in one day and a night, in consequence of which he arrived weary and baggageless, his cart having been intentionally left in the rear out of pique for his refusal to conform to etiquette, and so as to thwart him. The envoy under these circumstances pleaded sickness; and when the Emperor, who was waiting, asked for the assistant envoy, he also was not forthcoming, in consequence of which the Emperor, angry at such a want of tact, refused the tribute, and ordered them back by the land route that very day. Later on, the Emperor found out that the envoy had not been properly treated, reprimanded [Duke] Hoshït'ai, and sent after him a mandate with presents for the King, with directions to the Canton authorities to see him off kindly; but as the English envoy's object had been to represent the extortionate demands at Canton, he refused to be comforted, and went off in a huff. After this a dispute took place about the enlargement of the factory site, which had been conceded by the Viceroy Li Hung-pin [b] after the fire, and the Governor Chu Kwei-chêng [c] was induced to reverse the Viceroy's policy. This difficulty, however, was

[a] About 30 miles. [b] 李鴻賓 [c] 朱桂楨

arranged through the mediation of the captain of one of the newly-arrived Bengal merchantmen. Previous to the establishment of the Superintendency,[a] foreigners had not been allowed to bring their families to Canton; but, in the year 1828, the Superintendent brought his wife up, and then the shroff of the Tung-yü Hong[b] was done to death in prison for having introduced sedan chairs into the factory. Hostile measures were then threatened by the Superintendent, on whose behalf it was urged that his weak health required the nourishment of human milk. Under these circumstances the matter was allowed to drop, and the consequence was that a few years afterwards, when Elliot came, he brought up his family as a matter of course; and thus the seeds of trouble were laid.

Elliot[c] was the superintendent who succeeded Lord Napier.[d] After the Company's monopoly was abolished, Lord Napier came in consequence of a representation made by the co-hong in 1834 that a representative was still desirable, for they preferred the easy-going corruption of the Company to the interests of individuals. The Viceroy Lu K'ün[e] objected to Lord Napier's unceremonious way of entering the river, and drove him away to Macao. Elliot came with his wife and son in 1836, giving

[a] 大班公司 [b] 東裕行
[c] 義律 [d] 律勞卑 [e] 盧坤

out that he came to maintain order, and not to engage in trade, and his slightest word was law with the barbarians. Then occurred the demand for the surrender of the opium, and Commissioner Lin's attempt to set the interests of the other foreigners against the English, which policy, though approved by the Emperor, was frustrated by the English blockade. Kishen's[a] unsuccessful attempt to mend matters followed, succeeded by Yiking's[b] mission of enquiry. During all this business the Emperor was really anxious to learn the truth, and to ascertain if the English had genuine ground for complaint; but the English, who were now bent on satisfaction, managed to talk over the French, American and Kang-kioh[c] [or Kongkok] traders, who were in favour of accommodation, and the result was the seizure of Hongkong and the payment of six millions indemnity. Elliot now returned to England, and it was Pottinger[d] and Gutzlaff[e] who harried the northern coasts for two years, and finally concluded by exacting the Treaty of Nanking.

The original idea of the English was confined to seeking trading privileges at Chúsan. They never ventured to hope to get into the interior. But their appetite grew with the eating, and when Bremer[f] had gained possession of Chusan, and Ningpo,

[a] 琦善 [b] 奕經 [c] 港脚
[d] 僕鼎查 [e] 郭士利 [f] 伯麥

Shanghai, etc., had fallen one after the other, they extended the horizon of their demands. The Emperor was anxious to substitute Ch'üan-chou[a] for Foochow; but Pottinger, Morrison, etc., insisted upon the literal fulfilment of the Treaty, and thus the foreigners were as free at the five new ports as they had been at Macao. The Americans and French soon obtained similar privileges, and the Russians, who had previously only enjoyed the land trade at Kiachta, took them without leave in the 27th and 28th years [1847–8].

Pottinger unsuccessfully attempted to open personal relations with the Viceroy of Canton a year or so after the signing of the Treaty, and the envoy Bonham[b] made a hostile but also unsuccessful demonstration in the 29th year [1849] with the same object in view, but agreed to forego it. In the sixth year of Hien-fêng [1856] the English demanded to modify the Nanking 5 per cent *ad valorem* tariff, on the ground that prices had fallen, and once more endeavoured to assert the provisions of the Treaty about entering Canton. The Viceroy Yeh Mingshên[c] pleaded Bonham's agreement of 1849, but the English had taken offence at China's having seized one of their craft [the lorcha "Arrow"] and their envoy, the admiral, and the Consul Parkes[d] threat-

[a] 泉州 ? Zaitun [b] 文翰
[c] 葉名琛 [d] 巴夏禮

ened us with a military force, and attacked the forts. The indignant populace thereupon pulled down the Thirteen Hongs, on which the English retired and sent home for reinforcements. A new envoy Elgin[a] was despatched to China, and the assistance of France was invited. Elgin at first demanded a modification of the Tariff, but his two letters to the Viceroy were without effect. The troops then collected, and towards the end of the seventh year [29th December 1857] Canton was taken, and the Viceroy carried off a prisoner. The next year the four (*sic*) countries sent troops from Shanghai to Tientsin, and the events at Taku took place, such as are narrated in a special chapter. After the cession of hostilities, Russia and America made offers of arrangement, and the Grand Secretary Kweiliang[b] with the President Hwashana[c] were sent to Tientsin to negotiate. Nothing definite being done, the English extorted, under the stress of military force, the fresh Treaty of Tientsin in 59 Articles, and demanded its instant ratification. The Emperor said that the Tariff question needed enquiry at the ports, and ordered the four envoys to return to Shanghai, to which place Kweiliang was instructed to follow by land. Here another article was agreed upon by the Chinese Commissioners and the three envoys, and Kweiliang promised to ask that they might be

[a] 額羅金 or 埃爾謹 [b] 桂良 [c] 花沙納

ordered to proceed to Peking to exchange ratifications. Hence followed the violent entry into Taku, and the infraction of the previous understanding in the 9th year [1859]. The English army having been defeated, the Americans only were allowed to ratify, on account of their respectful demeanour; and thus the new Tientsin Treaty all fell through, though the English, holding that it had received sanction, had it printed in their Calendars.

In the 10th year the English, smarting under their previous defeat, and on account of the failure of the ratifications, hired a number of Swatow braves, and made preparations for an attack upon Peking. Prince Săngkolinsin[a] opposed their progress at Taku. On the 5th day of the 7th moon [21st August 1860], the Western troops attacked the Taku North Fort from the rear by way of Peh-t'ang,[b] and captured Tientsin on the 7th [23rd]. Prince Săng had retired upon T'ungchou, and as the Western troops advanced by way of Ho-si-wu and Chang-kia Wan, he seized the English chief Parkes, and sent him bound to Peking. On the 7th day of the 8th moon [21st September] the Western troops advanced towards Peking, and defeated the Imperial Guards under General Shêngpao[c] outside the Ts'i-hwa Gate. The next day the Emperor left for Lwan-yang,[d] and left Prince Kung in charge of the

[a] 僧格林沁 [b] 北塘 [c] 勝保 [d] Outside the Great Wall.

Capital. On the 22nd [6th October] the Western troops attacked Hai-tien,[a] Prince Kung retiring upon a position 40 *li* outside the Chang-i Gate. The Western troops marched right up to the An-ting Gate, and announced that they were going to attack the city. The Prince and Ministers at Peking then offered to release Parkes and to discuss terms of peace. On the 29th [13th] the An-ting Gate was thrown open, and the Western chiefs were lodged in the Imperial Academy and the Cathedral precincts. A decree was now received ordering Prince Kung to arrange terms of peace quickly, and accordingly, on the 11th, 12th, and 17th days of the 9th moon [24th, 25th, and 30th October] treaties were exchanged with England, France and Russia respectively. The English Treaty was managed by Parkes, and nine articles were added to the twenty-eight of Tientsin. France and Russia also had supplementary articles. In addition to the treaty-ports previously exacted, Tientsin, Tamsui, and other places were stipulated for, and the Ten Special Tariff Regulations agreed upon at Shanghai were incorporated, with a provision for rectification every ten years. The Imperial consent was received, the requisite instructions were despatched to the Provinces, and the armies retired to Tientsin.

[a] 海淀

The English now wished to get all the advantages of trade in the Provinces, and their chief Bruce[a] wrote a despatch upon the subject of appointing Consuls at Newchwang, etc., and arranging in accordance with Article X. of the Tientsin Treaty for the Yangtsz Trade Regulation at Hankow and Kewkiang. The Foreign Board was now established at the instance of Prince Kung, and Trade Commissioners appointed to the ports. Prince Kung, Kweiliang, and the Vice-president Wênsiang[b] were appointed to the former, with a fixed staff of eight secretaries selected from the public offices. Ch'unghou[c] was appointed Superintendent of Trade at Tientsin for the three northern ports, and Süeh Hwan,[d] Acting Viceroy at Nanking, was ordered to superintend the trade of the five old ports, the three riverine ports, Swatow, K'iungchow, T'aiwan, and Tamsui.

The above particulars, as regards the first half, are taken from the old Canton archives, as quoted in the *Hai-kwoh T'u-chï*,[e] and recourse has also been had to the Western work on Trade between England and China. From 1839 downwards the information has been gathered from eye-witnesses. It is plain that it was not the destruction of the opium, but the stoppage of trade, which caused these wars. [Two

[a] 卜魯士 [b] 文祥 [c] 崇厚
[d] 薛煥, [e] 海國圖治

thousand years ago] as related by Fan Yeh,[a] the Han dynasty had the sagacity to keep the Scythians in good temper by permitting a regular border trade, and the stoppage of a similar trade, owing in the first instance to the exactions of underlings and traders at Canton, was sufficient to disappoint and provoke men who had come thousands of miles for the sake of gain. The Japanese troubles under the Ming dynasty began with the eunuchs,[b] developed with the traders, and culminated with the rich and powerful families. Worms only appear in a rotten carcase, and it was only when exaction followed exaction, and justice was denied to creditors, that the foreigners turned upon us. War would have followed all the same even if the opium trade had been stopped; and, in fact, opium only came because, profits being impossible by fair, the foreigners were driven to obtain them by foul means. Some people argue that it was the granting of trade in the first instance that brought on our troubles. But this is absurd; for China can do without foreigners, whilst foreigners are dependent on us for tea and rhubarb, and therefore are at our mercy. All that is wanted is fair trade to secure their willing loyalty. Even during the war, it was a mistake to stop the trade openly; for, war once commenced, neither party could be affected one way or the other by a few harmless merchant ships. The

[a] 范曄 [b] 中官

great mistake was in withdrawing our own defences as we did. If we had announced that all might come and trade freely, then, even though such subject nations as Kongkok[a] and Double Eagle [Prussia] might have felt compelled to obey England, strong powers like France and America would hardly have submitted to lose their trade on her account. The America petition in fact said:—"If trading ships are "admitted, they can be utilised to constrain the "Western troops." Unfortunately, we had then lost the Bogue, or we might have remained on the defensive, proclaimed free trade, and left the Western to put the requisite pressure on outside, or seek to promote a reconciliation. Commissioner Lin was hasty in destroying the opium, but he was right in strengthening his defensive position, and, if Kishen had not come, Lin would have got out of the difficulty somehow. The Nanking Treaty only whetted the appetite for more, and its careless provisions simply brought on the war of 1857. Moreover, Kishen's extending the privileges of the Nanking Treaty to the other three countries in 1845 gave them all an excuse for joining England in 1858, and the privileges of the Tientsin Treaty were then extended to all the smaller kingdoms of the West.

[a] The utmost straining of ingenuity fails to identify Kangkioh or Kongkok.

Remarks on the Opium and Second Wars.

In the south-west of Asia is Shindu or T'indu,[a] the Five Indu or the T'ien-chuh of the Eastern Han. Its southern part is called Mêng-mai,[b] and is at the entrance to the south-eastern seas. Central India is Wêndustan or Industan, of which the Hingdu (or Indu) Koosh[c] Mountains are the southern boundary; across this range are West and North Indu, the Mussulman states of to-day. England took Mêng-kala[d] [Bengal] in East India in the year 1755, and gradually absorbed the rest of East, Central and South India. East and South India produce the *kungpan*, *ta-t'u*, [or Patna] opium, and Mêng-mai or Bombay produces the *peh-p'i*,[e] *siao-t'u*, [or Malwa]. When first the English cultivated the poppy, they did so as a drug; but, as its demand for smoking purposes increased in China, their revenue from this source gradually increased to over Tls. 10,000,000 a year.[f] At first it was only used as a drug in China, and was taxed at the rate of Tls. 3 the chest. Nothing was heard of it at Court until about the end of K'ien-lung's reign [1790-6]. The Emperor Kia-k'ing

[a] 天之古音鐵因切與身本同韻

[b] 孟買 Bombay. [c] 興都哥士 [d] 孟加刺 [e] 白皮

[f] According to Commissioner Lin's Memorial, the taxes on trade at Canton yielded Tls. 3,000,000 a year.

[1796-1820] forbade its import, and removed it from the list of taxable articles, in consequence of which the importation became clandestine, and the price enhanced. In the first year of Tao-kwang [1821], in consequence of the Yeh Hêng-shu[a] opium smuggling case, the hong merchants were made to give bonds, and the opium-hulks all removed to the Ling-ting Islands, where the junks from the north repaired to obtain their opium. In the year 1822, the Viceroy Juan Yüan[b] asked for time in order to devise means for stopping this traffic, and meanwhile the hulks moved up to Kumsing[c] Moon and Kap-shui[d] Moon, where, with the connivance of authorities, merchants, and people, the trade flourished more vigorously than ever. In the year 1836 Hu Nai-tsi,[e] Superintendent of the Sacrificial Court, proposed to tax it as a drug as before, and to forbid its being purchased in exchange for anything else than produce. This proposal, however, was condemned as undignified by the Council, and in 1838 Hwang Tsioh-tsz[f] Superintendent of the Ceremonial Court, proposed the severest measures of prevention.[g]

At the close of the war, our statesmen were afraid to re-stipulate for the prohibition of opium,[h]

[a] 葉恒澍 [b] 阮元 [c] 金星 [d] 急水 [e] 許乃濟 [f] 黃爵滋

[g] The Opium War has already been separately treated. [*Pagoda Library*, No. 1.]

[h] Commissioner Lin, on the destruction of the opium, had proposed to the Emperor that five catties of tea should be given as compensation for each chest destroyed, the cost to be defrayed out of his own pocket.

and equally unable to sanction its import, and consequently shirked all allusion to it whatever. The result was that for some time opium came without any duty at all, and the consumption increased rapidly. In 1855–6 a tax of Tls. 24 a chest was placed upon it, in order to provide funds for the army. At Amoy $48 a chest was charged, and at Ningpo a farming arrangement was come to. In 1858 it was proposed to include it as a taxable article in the Tariff at Tls. 30 the pecul, changing the the name *yap'ien* into the more euphonious one of "foreign drug," as it was now re-admitted as a drug. The Emperor's formal permission to smoke it was given to all persons but officials, soldiers, and eunuchs.

The name *ya-p'ien* or "opium" is found in Li Shï-chên's[a] *Pên-ts'ao Kang-muh* [A.D. 1600], so that it had already entered China during the Ming dynasty. It was then regarded as an ordinary drug of no particular value. Java and the countries of the black men were the only places besides China to which it was taken for smoking, and Java was taken by Europeans after its people had been tempted with and weakened by opium. This was the reason why Japan and Annam would not admit Europeans to the privilege of trade. But, although Europeans brought the evil upon China, it was China which opened the

[a] 李時珍

door by increasing the demand for it. The right time to have remonstrated was after the destruction of the opium, when the conscience of the English themselves was smitten, and before Elliot had opportunity to get the first word home. Commissioner Lin's action, moreover, was altogether too hasty from first to last, and it would have been better to lie by and watch for a safe opportunity, first putting severe laws against smokers into real force, and discouraging the import of the drug; and then, following the method of underselling smugglers in the salt-trade, to reduce Customs duties and charges so as to leave a prospect of profit on the ordinary legitimate trade apart from opium. The "short and sharp "remedy system, painful but soon over," once recommended by Ch'ao Ts'o[a] of the Han dynasty, was a failure in this instance.

After the fall of Ting-hai, an English letter addressed to the Premier was sent to the Governor Urkungê[b] and returned. The Governor sent a *résumé* of its contents [presumably gathered from word of mouth], and the Emperor took no notice of it. Now, it was not on account of the refusal to receive this letter that Elliot (who had already made up his mind) went north, and that Urkungê was disgraced; but subsequently Urkungê was publicly disgraced on this ground in order to give the Emperor

[a] 鼂錯 [b] 烏爾恭額

colour for entertaining Elliot's proposals. Elliot, who had a guard of armed men, was very confident and saucy at Tientsin, but K'ishen,[a] the Viceroy of Chih Li, whom Elliot said he should like to see at Canton in the interests of peace, did his best to ignore this and disguise it from the Emperor, and it was only when a report came from T'ohunpu,[b] Governor of Shantung, saying that Elliot had promised to stop the fleet, then on its way from India, from commencing hostilities, that the Emperor perceived Elliot's true motives. Elliot had to be ordered to dismount from his chair in which he was entering Ilipu's[c] camp at Shanghai; but, owing to Ilipu's having received despatches from Canton, he treated Elliot civilly. Thus the complaisance of K'ishen and Ilipu took the heart out of the warlike party. Subsequently, when one of Bremer's boats was enticed on to the shallows at Yü-yao near Ningpo, a number of white men and a gorgeously-dressed foreign female (reported to be a princess)[d] were taken prisoners, but were at once carefully despatched to Canton by order of Ilipu. Amongst them was an artist who drew a sketch of the English Court. From this it appeared that the Queen's son-in-law called Poh-ya-no[e] takes his

[a] 琦善 [b] 託渾布 [c] 伊里布

[d] This would seem to refer to Mr. Noble, and the "Kite" prisoners, who were finally sent to Chusan. See *Repository* 1841, p. 191.

[e] 博雅那

stand according to rank at Court amongst the other nobles, and that the custom is for courtiers to go down on one knee and take the Queen's hand in theirs, giving it a sniff.

The interpreter Pao P'êng,[a] employed by K'i-shen in his negotiations with Elliot, was a Canton opium-smuggler who had fled north from justice. K'ishen enquired all along the roads as he left Peking for some one who could speak English, and picked him up in a *yamên* in Shantung. But he carefully avoided mentioning the fact in his memorials to the Emperor. After the treaty of Nanking, there were difficulties at Foochow in connection with the establishment of a Consulate at Wu-shih Shan[b] in the city; but, as the English troops were on the point of retiring from Kulangsü (Amoy) and Chusan, the Foochow authorities were prevailed upon by K'iying to give way. There were also difficulties at Ningpo on account of the homicide of some Chinese, and at Shanghai on account of the suspicious conduct of the Consul Winchester[c] in his relations with Liu Li-ch'uan,[d] the rebel in temporary occupation of Shanghai. In the final result, however, the rebels were expelled with the assistance of the English and French troops. At Amoy there was a dispute as to whether the foreigners should have permission to build on the island of Kulangsü.

[a] 鮑鵬 [b] 烏石山 [c] 溫那治 [d] 劉麗川

The chief difficulty was, however, that at Canton in the sixth year of Hien Fêng (1856). It arose through a lorcha having an English captain and a Chinese crew anchoring off Canton with the Russian flag flying. Now the Nanking Treaty provides for the surrender of such Chinese as shall take refuge in Hongkong or on board English ships. When the Chinese naval authorities became aware that the crew was Chinese, a charge of being in collusion with barbarians was preferred, and twelve Chinese seamen were taken in chains into Canton. The captain lodged a complaint with the Consul Parkes,[a] who proceeded on board to make an inspection. The naval officer behaved rudely to Parkes, on which Parkes addressed a despatch to the Viceroy setting forth that the officer in question should have applied for the rendition of the seamen, and not taken upon himself to arrest them: moreover, that the seamen were innocent of any offence, and should be set free. Yeh Ming-shên was Viceroy[b] at this time, and refused the application, but subsequently agreed at the request of the Envoy Bowring.[c] The English Admiral Seymour,[d] hearing of this business, wished to make trouble out of it, and, when the Viceroy sent the seamen to the Consul's public office, the Consul refused to receive them, on the ground that the matter concerned the navy. On the 26th of the

[a] 巴夏里 [b] 葉明琛 [c] 包 [d] 西某

9th moon (23rd October), Admiral Seymour moved up his forces and attacked the Whampoa forts. The Viceroy sent the Lei-chou prefect Tsiang[a] to the Consulate to ask for an explanation of these hostilities, and Admiral Seymour was present at the time. Both replied to the effect that "mistakes arose out of "verbal communications, and had often had a bad "effect upon the friendly relations between the two "countries: go back and tell His Excellency that "we must go into the city to discuss it,"—their minds not being occupied with the seamen, but with the desire to get into the city on this pretext of a personal interview. The Viceroy explained to them the agreement that had been come to in the year 1849 between the Viceroy[b] Sü and the envoy Bonham forbidding entry into the city; but they would take no notice of it, and on the 29th they moved their troops up to Canton. The people made the best defence they could with local levies, when the English offered to suspend hostilities if the Viceroy would receive them. This was refused. At this juncture, the Viceroy received a special appointment as Imperial Commissioner to deal with the affairs of the English, and in the 10th moon (November) the foreign navy attacked the forts at Wāng-tong[c] and the Bogue, and a day or two afterwards also destroyed the T'ai-kok T'au[d] and Asai-néung[e]

[a] 蔣 [b] 徐 [c] 橫檔 [d] 大角頭 [e] 亞西娘

Forts.[a] During all this time, however, the forts along the river were well manned and defended by troops and local volunteers, and all the English ships which passed were shot at. On the 17th (? November) two American vessels came up the river from Macao, and were fired at in mistake by the defenders of the forts. The American Consul complained to the Viceroy, who took no notice of his letter; and thus bad blood with the Americans was engendered. During the 11th moon (December) other forts near Canton were taken by the English, and, about the middle of this moon (14th December), the people of Canton burnt the six English mercantile establishments. The English were greatly enraged at this, and at once sent home word to their Ruler, who summoned both Houses of Parliament to discuss the question. The Prime Minister Palmerston[b] in the Upper House argued very strongly in favour of war, but the gentry (who form the Lower House just as the high officers of state form the Upper) objected. Palmerston then offered to resign. Some one suggested that an envoy should first be sent to China asking for a renewal of the Treaty: if this were refused, then war could follow diplomatic efforts, and England would have excuse for it. On

[a] This must refer to the capture of three forts by the Americans on November 21–23, in order to avenge an attack made upon them.

[b] 巴米頓

this Elgin,[a] an earl of the second rank, was sent to Canton, from which place he proceeded to Peking. A number of steam men-of-war were also sent to await the result of his negotiations at Hongkong and Macao. A messenger was also sent to France to invite her military coöperation, to which order the French lent ear. Elgin's negotiations at Canton led to no peaceful result; on the other hand, the people of Canton shewed dissatisfaction with their rulers, and influenced them in such a way that the result was the affair of the 12th moon in the succeeding year [the capture of Canton in January 1858].

During the 12th moon the foreign ships arrived at Canton. The foreigners had got the French, Americans, and Russians to join them in declaring war. At this time the French ships-of-war had already arrived first at Canton in accordance with arrangement, and they proceeded to join the English in an attack upon Canton, which fell into their hands. After the Treaty of Nanking, the English made capital with the other nations out of their having obtained the opening of five ports, and, having exhausted themselves after so many years of warring, with its waste of money and life, now desired to secure the assistance of allies. France and America both had Consuls at Canton; and the Russians, too,

[a] 額羅金

had come later on by the sea route, to make enquiries about trade, and to be ready to participate as soon as it should be re-opened, but as yet made no move. On Elgin's arrival he first attempted to get into the city, but was refused. He then resolved, in discussion with the Admiral and the Consul, to officially demand from the Canton authorities the acceptance of certain terms, and to guide his further steps according to the nature of the reply. Commissioner Yeh, finding his letter couched in very insolent language, sent him no reply whatever, and took no precautionary measures. The English then, joined by the French, attacked Canton, took it, captured the Commissioner, and sent him a prisoner on board one of their ships. The Tartar-General Mukden[a] and the Governor Pêhkwei[b] jointly reported these facts to the Emperor. The result was the receipt of the following decree:—"In dealing "as Imperial Commissioner with foreign affairs, "Yeh Ming-shên should, if the said foreigners made "improper demands which could not be granted, "have devised means for explaining this to them, "and at the same time have discussed with the "General and the Governor some plan calculated "to reduce them to thorough subjection. But, "though the said English twice delivered despatches "for the General, Governor, and Assistant-General,

[a] 穆克德訥 [b] 柏貴

"he took no steps to consult with them, nor did he "disclose to them the contents of the despatches "received by him, but procrastinated day after day "until the English in their indignation forced their "way into the provincial city. This is indeed way-"ward, masterful, and blundering action, and a "great betrayal of his trust. Yeh Ming-shên is "hereby stripped of his rank."

After the occupation of Canton by the English and French, they felt that they had broken the treaty, and therefore, after the example set by Elliot when he went to Tientsin, they tried to lay all the blame on the Canton authorities, so as to excuse themselves. They proceeded to arrange with the other three countries each to despatch an officer to Kiang Su to endeavour to obtain an interview with the Nanking Viceroy; to send a letter through him to Peking addressed to the Premier of the Celestial Dynasty; and to guide their further steps according to the nature of the reply. On this the deputies of the four states proceeded by sea to Shanghai, and, finding that the Viceroy's head-quarters were at Ch'ang-chou, they went on to Soochow. Chao Têh-ch'êh [a] was then there as Governor of Kiang Su, and received them. He asked them what they had come for, when they said to hand in a letter. He told them that he would forward it officially to

[a] 趙德轍

Ch'ang-chou, when the Viceroy Ho Kwei-ts'ing[a] would report its contents to the Emperor. The letter addressed to the Premier was for Yüch'eng,[b] the Manchu Senior Grand Secretary, who died the following year, when the foreigners had reached Tientsin.

To go back to Canton. The Emperor had appointed the Under-Secretary Hwang Tsung-han[c] to be Viceroy at Canton, and he passed through Soochow on his way early in the year (1858). The Governor, having ascertained that the envoys, admirals, and consuls of the four countries intended to proceed from Shanghai by sea to Tientsin, wished to keep the Imperial Commissioner at Soochow, and to keep the foreigners from proceeding north, but Hwang, having received the imperial orders to proceed to Canton, held that "a subject can hold no "side communications," and therefore started on his journey. Before long a despatch was received from the Viceroy Ho, saying that he had received the Premier's official reply,[d] informing the foreigners that the Viceroy and Imperial Commissioner Hwang had been directed to proceed to Canton to deal with foreign questions, and ordering the said foreign

[a] 何桂清 [b] 裕誠 [c] 黄宗漢

[d] The original reply addresses all four envoys as 爾 or "you." The premier lays all the blame on Yeh, and says that he cannot concern himself in foreign affairs, which must be arranged at Canton.

individuals to proceed quickly to Canton to await the result of his action. A separate despatch was sent to the Russians, informing them that they had not hitherto been authorised to trade at Canton, and that, if they had any matters to discuss, they should proceed with all speed to the Amur River, and await the result of the measures which should be resolved upon by the Resident Officer there.

The English chief Elgin had already arrived at Shanghai from Canton, and he proceeded to order over a score steam men-of-war from Shanghai, Ningpo, and other places up to Tientsin. The French troops joined them, and the Americans and Russians sent consuls and interpreters along with them, saying that they wished to hand in letters, and not to engage in hostilities. Not long after this the express arrived, bringing news to the Emperor of the Taku engagement. In the spring of the 8th year the ships of the four nations were at anchor off Taku, and it was arranged that they should send consuls in the first instance to Taku with despatches. These despatches were received by the Viceroy T'an T'ing-siang[a] and by him forwarded to Peking. The English and French were preparing to make war, whilst the Americans and Russians were desirous of an accommodation, so that a continual exchange of civilities and presents went on between the latter

[a] 譚廷襄

and the Viceroy. During the fourth moon, whilst the boats of the two latter countries were yet in port with the negotiators, the English and French, without awaiting our orders, proceeded to force their way into port with small steamers, and to destroy the forts. After the cessation of hostilities, they again made proposals for peace. The Emperor ordered the Grand Secretary Kweiliang,[a] and K'iying,[b] ex-Viceroy of the Two Kwang, to proceed to Tientsin, and, after K'iying's unauthorised return thence, and his condemnation, Kweiliang alone was ordered to conduct the negotiations. On this the Viceroy addressed despatches requesting the presence of the American and Russian consuls at Tientsin, where an understanding was come to. In this matter it appears that the Americans were actuated by good faith, and really desired a peaceful arrangement for trade; but the story goes that the Russians at this juncture, having been bribed with 5,000 *li* of the Amur territory, proved faithless to England and France, and, hearing of the American offers, supported them. Later on, Yin Chao-yung[c] impeached Yihshan[d] for giving away the 5,000 *li* of territory beyond the Amur, and a comparison of dates shews that his memorial was subsequent to the reply of the Peking Government [to the Russians and Americans]. And a recent monthly periodical

[a] 桂良 [b] 耆英 [c] 殷兆鏞 [d] 奕山

in the West states that the "four ancestral tribes of "the Mongols [a]—that is the four Kalka tribes, who "are direct descendants from Genghis—have been "joined to the Russian Empire, and that the amount "of taxation levied by the Russians is only half that "demanded by China; that the Russians have "followed up the acquisition of this territory by "building forts on the north bank of the Amur and "building steam ships-of-war; and that it is im-"possible to foresee the end of the encroachments "she will gradually make after this." Indeed it is impossible to gauge the wild desires of a young wolf, whose assistance should never be sought, being certain to bring evil in its train.[b]

In the summer of the 9th year (1859) the emissaries of England and Russia [c] came from Shanghai to Tientsin to exchange ratifications, and forced their way through the Taku barrier, which they destroyed. Prince Săngkohlinsin, in command of the government troops, fired upon and utterly defeated them. The American ship followed in their wake, and, in accordance with the terms of the original Treaty concluded at Shanghai, entered by

[a] 四派蒙古宗族

[b] A Note in the original Chinese shews clearly that the editor is confusing the Primorsk territory with the Saïnnoïn Khanate, bordering on the Ili region, which formed the appanage of Prince Ts'êling, granted to him for his services against the Kalmucks a century earlier.

[c] *Sic*; ? France.

way of the Peht'ang River. Thence they despatched a man to the office of the Viceroy of Chih Li, begging that he would forward on their request to be allowed to enter Peking and present their credentials with a view to ratification. He did so, and the following decree was received:—"In the "fifth moon of this year, the English and Russians "came to Tientsin, and, in defiance of the original "agreement come to with Kweiliang and his "colleagues, did force their way into Taku, thus "incurring a defeat, which they brought entirely "upon themselves, and which shews no breach of "faith on the part of China. At the same instant "John Ward,[a] the American envoy, in accordance "with the terms of Kweiliang's original agreement, "came by way of Peht'ang, and begged to be "allowed to enter Peking, in order to present his "credentials. Hêngfuh[b] and others have reported "that the language of the said country's despatches "is respectful and obedient, and therefore We have "granted permission to enter Peking in order to "present the credentials. This day Kweiliang and "his colleagues have submitted to us the public "despatches of the said envoy John Ward addressed "to them, and, finding that they are couched in "respectful language, and exhibit perfect good faith, "We hereby grant permission to the said envoy to

[a] 華若翰 [b] 恆福

"present the credentials which he has brought with "him, and We order Kweiliang and his colleagues "to receive them. As to the ratifications of the "Treaty, strictly speaking he should return to "Shanghai to exchange them there; but, having in "mind the pains he has been at to come so far, We "hereby order the Imperial Seal to be placed upon "the Treaty, which will be given to Hêngfuh to "take with him to the port of Peht'ang, in order to "exchange ratifications with the said envoy. After "the exchange of ratifications, let there be perpetual "concord and open trade, in order to evince Our "kind regard for distant men, and Our high apprecia-"tion of good faith."

It is said that, when the Americans heard of the Taku affair, they wished to come in as mediators; but things had gone so far in the way of hostilities that it was too late, and therefore they contented themselves with substituting an obsequious for a haughty demeanour, in order to get what advantage they could after the struggle between the two combatants. The Emperor, feeling how disastrously foreign affairs had turned out, by gainiug their good-will thought he might lead them away from the combination, and therefore he only did what was just in the matter of reward or punishment, having no ulterior motive in his action.

In the 10th year (1860) the English attacked Peking. The Emperor went away to Lwan-yang, and ordered Prince Kung to remain in charge to conduct the peace negotiations, and thus in the ninth moon of this year treaties were concluded one after the other with England, France, and Russia.

The Russians deceived all parties in the matter of the Amur region, which they extorted from China in the moment of her peril. At the time when negotiations were going on, the Americans certainly thought the Russians were earnestly in favour of peace, and both England and France fell into her snares as well. Her agents at Peking were able to move freely about between Peking and Tientsin, and, at the time when the Emperor was ill, they got the foreign newspapers to insert certain articles which had the effect of making the allies more exacting than ever.

Right of Entry into Canton.

After the conclusion of the Nanking Treaty, the people of Canton and the neighbourhood organized themselves into a regular defensive body, and resolved to resist all attempts on the part of the English to enter the city. So strong was this feeling, that, in the 25th year [about January 1846], the Prefect Liu Süu [a] was attacked and insulted in his own palace because the people thought fit to contrast his obsequious bearing towards the foreigner with the haughty demeanour of his suite in the streets. K'iying was then Viceroy, and Ilipu Tartar-General, and to their account was erroneously placed by the clamouring English the hostility which, in fact, they did their utmost to appease. Ilipu died of grief, and K'iying promised before quitting his viceroyalty that permission to enter the city should be granted in two years. In 1846 Su Kwang-tsin [b] and Yeh Ming-shên were appointed Governor and Treasurer, and, after K'iying's departure, Viceroy and Governor successively. In 1849, the English sent ships up the river to demand fulfilment of K'iying's promise, and it was only the determined attitude of the populace which

[a] 劉潯 [b] 徐廣縉

induced them to accede to the Viceroy's prayer to abandon the claim for the time. The Emperor's decree rewarding both officers in sympathetic terms for their services in this matter, recites how His Majesty was constrained to yield temporarily in 1842, and how touched he is at the devoted loyalty of his Canton subjects. Things went on thus until the 6th year of Hien-fung [1856], when the arrest of the seamen of the "Arrow" took place, and Yeh Ming-shên, now Viceroy, assured the excited populace that he would abide firmly by the agreement not to enter the city come to in 1849, which the foreigners had been ordered to print in their newspapers. Then followed the capture of Canton by the English and French, as described above. During the year 1858 the Fatshan defence force was organized by three prominent *literati*[a] with the object of recapturing Canton from the allies, and most of the authorities effected their escape from the city: but the Governor was kept a prisoner in his palace, and was made to issue proclamations calling upon the people to serve the English as required, and promising immunity to such of their Chinese writers[b] as should return to Canton from Hongkong and Macao.[c] The Defence Bureau

[a] 羅惇衍; 龍元僖; 蘇廷魁

[b] 沙文 *shawên. shamên*, or ? servants.

[c] The words 麥高 Mehkao, or Măkkó, here used are different from the usual words 澳門 Aomên or Ómun.

met this with counter proclamations threatening the families and relatives of all persons who should serve the foreigners in any capacity whatever. On this Consul Parkes recommended an attack upon Fatshan, but, as the Admiral had gone to Tientsin to conclude the treaty, nothing could be done for the present but issue further proclamations. The English and French, however, had to take the district city of Sin-an on account of the attack made by the local troops upon those sent to post the proclamations. Elgin at Shanghai had to complain to the Imperial Commissioner there that Tls. 30,000 had been offered for Parkes's head, and that a mandate[a] from Court had been found authorizing the Defence Bureau to attack the English and French. This drew an indignant denial from the Emperor, who explained that the three gentry were only commissioned to attack the [T'ai-p'ing] rebels, and that his word once pledged would be kept. On this the martial ardour of the Cantonese cooled down, and most of the fighting men went to join the rebels.

Enquiry into the exact circumstances of the yielding of Bonham in 1849 resulted in obtaining from Hü Ying-hung[b] the confidential avowal that his relative Hü Siang-kwang[c] had a great hand in it. After gathering and organizing the defence armies,

[a] 廷寄 [b] 許應鑅 now Treasurer of Kiang Su.
[c] 許祥光

he wrote a persuasive letter to Bonham pointing out to him that Davis[a] had probably only extracted the two years' promise from K'iying in order that he, Davis, might get away home and leave the true solution to his successor,[b] and exhausting every figure of speech he could bring to bear with a view of cajoling or frightening Davis into acquiescence, and appealing to his better judgment not to insist upon a mere question of outward triumph.

[a] 德

[b] The long letter to Governor Bonham is printed in full, and is certainly a masterpiece of ingenious argument. It was submitted to the Emperor, who rewarded Hü at the same time that Sü and Yeh were ennobled.

The Treaty of 1858.

When the English and French fleets appeared off Taku in the spring of 1858, and Elgin, with his French colleague forced their way up to Tientsin, the Emperor despatched the Under-Secretaries Tsunglun [a] and Urkunt'ai [b] to assist the Viceroy T'an T'ing-siang.[c] Whilst the peace negotiations were still proceeding, the English and French on the 8th of the 4th Moon [20th May] forced their way into the river in a number of small steamers, without awaiting our commands. They were fired upon by the forts, and the result was that these were taken one after the other. The Emperor was furious at this news, and immediately sent for and degraded the generals concerned. T'omінga [d] was appointed General of Chih Li and Imperial Commissioner, and Prince Săngkolinsin was ordered to take command of the troops in the field. Peking was placed in a state of siege under the command Mienyü, Prince of Hwei.[e] Though the Americans and Russians were willing to treat with Tsunglun and Urkunt'ai, the English and French would have nothing to do with them, because they

[a] 宗倫 [b] 烏爾棍泰 [c] 譚廷襄
[d] 託明阿 [e] 綿愉惠親王

had not what the English called "plenipotentiary" powers. Kweiliang and Hwashana were therefore ordered down from Peking, and, at the recommendation of Mienyü and other high officers of state, K'iying was given another chance, in consideration of his past experience. Meanwhile the Americans and Russians had on the 26th [7th June] already concluded their arrangements with Kweiliang and Hwashana, and, when K'iying arrived on the 29th [10th June], the English envoy refused to receive him. Under these circumstances, Kweiliang begged the Emperor to recall K'iying, so as to avoid offending the barbarian feelings. The Emperor was displeased at this, and ordered K'iying, who had got as far as T'ung Chou, back to Tientsin. K'iying, however, went on to Peking and wrote to Săngkolinsin, saying that he would be in the camp by the 5th [15th June]. This letter fell into the hands of Prince Hwei, who was on his way back from Săngkolinsin's camp, and, the circumstances being reported to the Emperor, K'iying was arrested and allowed to take his own life. A calm review of the whole facts shews that K'iying had undoubtedly led the Emperor to believe that he could do more than he even tried to do. Kweiliang now proceeded with his peaceful efforts, but had considerable difficulty in restraining the martial ardour of the Tientsin populace, elated at their victory over the Canton rebels in 1853. He also had great difficulty in rescuing from their fury a [Hakka] Chinese traitor from Kia-ying Chou named Li-kwoh-t'ai,[a] whom Elgin had sent to Tientsin with the draft treaty in 56 articles. Meanwhile the war party at Peking were doing their best to distract the Emperor from his leaning towards a peaceful settlement. The result of all this indecision was that a decree was issued on the 6th day of the 6th Moon [16th August], ordering Kip'u[b] and Mingshan[c] to accompany Kweiliang and Hwashana to Shanghai to discuss the tariff question with the four countries, whose plenipotentiaries had already left by sea for Shanghai on the 25th of the 5th Moon [5th July].

Kweiliang and his colleagues reached Shanghai on the 26th of the 8th moon [about 1st October], and were joined by Ho Kwei-ts'ing, the Nanking Viceroy. Elgin, during the interval, had gone to Japan to escort some Japanese ships, but the three other plenipotentiaries and the English Secretary of Legation had assembled at Shanghai, where a large comet appeared in the heavens during ten days. It was about this time that the treaty was posted at Canton, and the city of Sin-an taken, as above described, in consequence of which complaints were made of the hostile action of the Canton Viceroy and gentry in charge of the Defence Bureau. The Chinese plenipotentiaries were obligod to invent an

[a] 哩嘓呔 [b] 基溥 [c] 明善

excuse about the road being blocked by rebels in Kiang Si, and to promise the recall of the Viceroy Hwang and the three leading gentry. In the 10th moon Elgin returned to Shanghai, and the Tariff Regulations were concluded with the four countries, expeditions were now sent up the Yangtsze by the English to arrange about opening the new ports to trade.

In the summer of the ninth year [1859], the representatives of the different states proceeded to Tientsin to exchange ratifications, and were told, in accordance with Kweiliang's original arrangement at Shanghai, that, as Taku was now put into a state of defence, they must go by way of Peh-t'ang, to which all had said "yes, yes."[a] The English arrived first, followed by the Russians, and suddenly burst in by way of Taku, in defiance of the original agreement. Hearing of this, the Viceroy Hêngfuh[b] despatched an officer with the agreement to urge them to change their route. No notice was taken; and on the 24th of the 4th moon [24th or 25th June] the English blew up the iron chain across the mouth of the river. Prince Săngkolinsin had already given orders to defend this approach and to fire if an entry were made. The next day a number

[a] In all allusions to this point the Chinese text is vague and unsatisfactory, though perfectly straightforward elsewhere.

[b] 恒福

of steam-launches began to remove the iron stakes which had been set up at the mouth, and shots were exchanged with the forts. The result was that several boats were sunk or destroyed, and the rest crippled: only one managed to get away beyond the bar. The English then landed men to continue the attack: these were at once fired upon, 300 were killed, and two taken prisoners. The English officer Li Kwoh-t'ai,[a] who was no other person than the "Hakka" Li-kwoh-t'ai of 1858, was wounded. On these facts being reported to the Emperor, a decree was received congratulating the troops on the complete rout of the enemy, and distributing suitable rewards. The foreigners were now terribly awe-stricken, and the celestial majesty was somewhat re-asserted. The Americans, meanwhile, had changed their route, in accordance with the Shanghai agreement, and had received most gracious treatment from the Emperor [29th July]. The writer of the above account was then at Ningpo, where he heard also that the foreigners were repairing their ships, hiring Swatow braves, and preparing for an attack upon Peking next year.

It will be well to enter more closely into the events of the preceding year. Towards the 6th and 7th days of the 3rd moon [about 20th April 1858] the foreign ships had assembled off Taku. Messengers

[a] 李國太 H. N. Lay's name was 李太國.

sent to inquire into their business returned with the reply that the despatches already sent explained all. On the 11th [about the 24th April] the four states sent officers to Taku with despatches for the Viceroy T'an, for transmission to the Manchu Grand Secretary Yüch'êng, and on the next day Tsunglun and Urkunt'ai were received by the Americans and Russians, who said that despatches from the different powers had been sent to Peking through the Treasurer Ts'ien.[a] On the 17th [about 30th April] the Viceroy T'an appeared, but the English and French declined to receive him because he was unprovided with plenipotentiary powers: the Americans and Russians, however, exchanged visits with him. The Americans had an interpreter named Ting,[b] and a Protestant missionary named Ts'ao,[c] both of whom accompanied their Consul to Tientsin. News of the taking of the forts was brought to Ningpo on the 15th [27th May] by a small English steamer which left Taku on the 9th [21st May]. It appears that the English and French landed on different banks of the river, but that the French loss was the more severe, owing to an explosion of gunpowder in one of the forts. Further news arrived in Shanghai on the 24th [5th June] saying that the English and French had marched to Tientsin without further opposition, and that Kweiliang, Hwashana, and

[a] 錢 [b] 丁 [c] 曹

K'iying were in a fair way of bringing things round to an amicable settlement. The interpreter Ting explained to the writer on his return to Ningpo that the English had found despatches at Canton shewing that K'iying had acted towards them with deliberate bad faith, and that it was in consequence of this that he had been unable to face them at Tientsin. [The Treaty and Tariff Regulations were signed on the 26th, 28th, and 29th June].

The Attack on Peking.

In the 6th moon of the tenth year (July 1860) the English and French allied forces came to Taku to avenge the wrong of the previous year. Săngkolinsin had received the Emperor's orders to defend to the utmost the entrance to Taku, and the forts were all strongly manned, mines and ambushes being laid to prevent a surprise by way of Peh-t'ang: but these last were disclosed to the foreigners by native spies. From the 15th to the 20th [2nd to 7th August] they were employed in taking soundings: some of their boats, getting ashore on the bar,[a] hoisted the white flag in token of peace, but were unharmed by the Prince, who did not wish to fire the first shot. On the 26th [13th August] the foreigners found a channel, and attacked both Taku and Peh-t'ang. The force at Peh-t'ang, under the Manchu General Têhhinga, was defeated, and the foreigners were now able to advance upon and capture Sin-ho, and, on the 28th [15th August] T'ang-êrh Ku.[b] At this moment Săngkolinsin was in command at the North Fort. The Emperor, hearing that affairs were going badly, sent the

[a] 沙洪? Inner Bar. [b] 唐兒沽

Grand Secretary Jui k'i[a] to T'ungchou with 10,000 metropolitan troops. On the 5th of the 7th moon [21st August] the fort on the north bank fell, and with it General Lohshan,[b] but the south fort was still firm in the hands of Săngkolinsin. An imperial order was now received to fall back on T'ung Chou, and Twanhwa, Prince of Chêng, with the President Suhshun[c] counselled the recall of Săngkolinsin and fresh efforts to secure peace. Săngkolinsin had nothing for it therefore but to take up a position at Chang-kia Wan, 20 *li* from T'ung Chou, and Tientsin, being thus left unguarded, was entered by the foreign armies on the 7th [23rd August]. The Emperor now ordered the Under-Secretary Wên-tsün and the ex-Hoppo Hêngk'i[d] to proceed to Tientsin, but the foreigners would have nothing to do with them, on account of their low rank and absence of plenipotentiary powers, in consequence of which the Grand Secretary Kweiliang was ordered down. In response to his advances, Elgin, the English Plenipotentiary Envoy, requested a further military indemnity, Tientsin as a port, and permission for all the envoys to proceed to Peking with escorts in order to exchange ratifications. It was Parkes that managed all this. The Emperor was furious. Peking was placed in a state of siege, and Săngko-

[a] 瑞麟　[b] 樂善
[c] 端華, 鄭親王; 肅順　[d] 文俊; 恒祺

linsin with Juik'i were ordered to defend T'ung Chou. On this the English and French, on the 21st and 22nd [6th and 7th September], advanced as far as Ho-si Wu, and the Emperor was so moved by alarmist representations that he thought of going to to Muhlan[a] for the autumn hunt. It was now represented to the Emperor that it would be better to return to Peking than to remain at Hai-k'ou.[b] On the 24th [9th September] the Emperor announced his intention of taking the field in person, and there was a general stampede from Peking, nor would the Emperor fix any date for his return. General Shêngpao,[c] who had just returned from Ho Nan, and the Manchu Grand-Duke Mienhün[d] were ordered to proceed with 10,000 Bannermen to T'ung Chou, and the Emperor was strongly urged not to move. On the 28th [13th September] the Emperor issued a decree denying his intention to proceed to Muhlan, and ordering all the carts and horses impounded to be given back to the people, and men's minds were further restored by the receipt of an imperial present of Tls. 200,000 for the troops guarding Peking. On the 1st of the 8th moon [18th September], the foreign troops advanced from Ho-si Wu to Chang-kia Wan, and thence close up to

[a] 木蘭 ~~in Kan Suh.~~

[b] 海口, perhaps the 海淀 Summer Palace is meant.

[c] 勝保 [d] 綿勳

T'ung Chou, in consequence of which the Emperor sent Tsaiyüan,[a] Prince of I, to assist in obtaining a peaceful settlement. With him were associated Kwei-liang and the cabinet minister Muhyin.[b] On receipt of their despatch, Elgin sent his secretary Parkes with an escort into T'ung Chou to discuss terms of peace, and on the 2nd [19th September] Prince I, at an interview with Parkes, did his best to remonstrate. Parkes requested the fulfilment of the Tientsin Treaty, and said he must await the joint counsels of the French envoy. On the 3rd [20th September] both envoys were entertained by Prince I at the Tung-ngoh Temple, Muhyin and Hêngk'i doing diplomacy with the honours of the feast. The French envoy was quite ready to acquiesce, but, after a few rounds of liquor, Parkes rose and said:—"We must "see the Great Emperor about this Treaty in order "to evince good faith: but our countrymen never "kneel to any but the Lord of Heaven. Will your "Highness consent?" The Prince was silent. Parkes went on:—"We have long hoped at a dis-"tance to witness the glory of the suzerain country. "Moreover, the duties of hospitality cannot be dis-"pensed with as a matter of dignity, and we request "to enter with military display." Muhyin asked:—"How many men?" Parkes replied:—"Each "country must have 2,000, and the main forces will

[a] 載垣; 怡親王 [b] 穆蔭

"remain at T'ung Chou." Muh told this to the Prince, and the Prince, observing the improper nature of this language, simply said that he could not take the responsibility, and must ask His Majesty's instructions. Parkes got excited, and at last said to Hêngk'i:—"I am tired. Bring the where-"withal to sleep on quickly." Hêng had nothing for it but to prepare a bed for him, and, when further remarks were made, Parkes pretended to be asleep and not to hear. Muhyin begged the Prince to retire for the present, and to leave Hêngk'i in Parkes' company. At dawn next morning a courier came to tell the Prince "that the foreigners were "up to something, and that it seemed hopeless," for spies had already got into the city during the night, and been spying about all over the place. The Prince at once sent Hêngk'i to Elgin, but the troops were already upon us, and the Prince perceived that a rupture was taking place: he therefore sent a secret message to Săngkolinsin to ensure Parkes' capture and send him on to Peking. The French envoy, having been respectful enough, was civilly dismissed. This, however, was the commencement of hostilities.

As soon as the Emperor learnt that the foreigners were increasing in boldness and bent upon marching to T'ung Chou, his mind was made up, and Shêngpao was ordered to take up a position west of T'ung

Chou. He left Peking on the 3rd [20th September] and arrived the next day at Ting-fuh Chwang.[a] The allies were already in possession of T'ung Chou; the armies of Săngkolinsin and Juik'i had been defeated; and the foreigners were advancing north. Shêng-pao made a stand at Pah-li K'iao,[b] upon which the foreign troops marched in three divisions from Kwoh-kia P'an.[c] Săngkolinsin met their west [right], and Juik'i their east [left], but were both defeated. Shêngpao advanced from the south [towards the centre] with his gingalls, but the foreign cannonade speedily put his men to rout, and he himself was wounded in two places. There was a general retreat, and the foreigners soon occupied Ting-fuh Chwang, whilst Săngkolinsin's and Juik'i's men fell back upon the Ch'ao-yang[d] or Ts'i-hwa[e] Gate of Peking. When the Emperor, at his Summer Palace, heard that the bandits were close upon Peking, he perceived that his Guards were not to be relied upon, and it was then that his courtiers counselled a return to Peking; but the Emperor decided for a hunt towards the north, and started off at daylight on the 8th [25th September], followed by the Six Camps and all the Princes. Twanhwa, Suhshun, Muhyin; and the cabinet ministers K'wangyüan,

[a] 定福莊

[b] 八里橋 gives Count Palikao his title.

[c] 郭家販 [d] 朝陽 [e] 齊化

and Tu Han [a] received orders to follow. Meanwhile the foreigners, who knew the Emperor had gone, had formed a cordon round the walls; there was no news to be got in the Palace of the Emperor's movements for a whole half-day, and the panic in Peking was intense, until the news came that the Emperor had gone on a visit to Lwan-yang. An imperial order left Yihin, Prince of Kung,[b] as Lieutenant of the Capital, with orders to take up a position at Hai-tien, in command of Săngkolinsin's and Juik'i's troops. The next day he was invested with the plenipotentiary title so taking to the foreign mind, and peace negotiations began once more. On the 9th [26th September] Wênsiang was appointed to the Peking Gendarmerie, in place of Prince Chêng. During this time the Grand Secretary Chou Tsu-p'ei, the President Ch'ên Fu-ên, and the Under-Secretaries P'an Tsêng-ying and Sung Tsin [c] were assembled at the Ho Nan guild-hall, making preparations for local militia defence, and from the 8th day [25th September] no rice or vegetables were allowed to enter the closed gates. Victuals rose to an enormous rate, and people offered any price to bribe their way out. Fearing a revolution, the Princes and High Officers at last allowed the Si-chih [d] gate to be open for communications up to noon-time, and

[a] 匡源; 杜翰 [b] 奕訢; 恭
[c] 周祖培; 陳孚恩; 潘曾瑩; 宋晉 [d] 西直

on the 10th [27th September] the Chêng-yang Gate, or Ts'ien Mên, was half opened for a little time. Meanwhile Prince Kung, Kweiliang, etc., were outside the city, and the inside was without any master at all. The English gave out that they were going to attack the city, and were very urgent in their demands for Parkes, so that Hêngk'i tried to obtain his release, in order to calm down the foreigners' wrath, whilst a note conveyed the urgent advice of Shêngpao to the contrary, and there was a recommendation of the Under-Secretary Hwang Tsung-han[a] that he should be killed. The Prince and Ministers could not make up their minds. On the 11th [28th September] Shêngpao sent an 800 *li* express to the Emperor, advising that Chinese troops should be sent for from the south; and the same day a decree announced that, as the Mongols and Bannermen had failed to cope with foreign weapons, more active men must be procured from Sz Ch'wan and Hu Peh. Tsêng Kwoh-ts'üan and Yüan Kiah-san[b] were therefore ordered to enlist from 2,000 to 3,000 men apiece, and place them under the command of Pao Ch'ao[c] and Chang Tê-shêng.[d] These and other trained troops from An Hwei were ordered to proceed with all haste to Peking, to be at the disposition of Shêngpao, in order that the rebel

[a] 黃宗漢 [b] 曾國荃; 袁甲三
[c] 鮑超 [d] 張得勝

plague might be quickly swept away. As soon as the foreigners learnt that Prince Kung was invested with plenipotentiary powers, they notified him that unless Parkes were restored within three days the attack on Peking would begin on the 15th [1st October]. In his first reply the Prince directed them first to withdraw to Tientsin, then to T'ung Chou, when, after the exchange of ratifications, Parkes would be returned. Both offers were refused. Yet Parkes was undoubtedly the cause of their delay in attacking Peking; and they then moved round to the Tê-shêng Gate, with designs upon Hai-tien. On the 15th a decree was received ordering Itao, Prince of Yü,[a] and the President Ts'üan-k'ing[b] to look after the Inner City, and Chou Tsu-p'ei with Kweiliang after the outer parts, as Lieutenants in charge. The Emperor was then at Lo-shan[c] in Mih-yün District, and a number of Council clerks with Tsêng Hieh-kiün[d] at their head were ordered to the imperial head-quarters. On the 20th [6th October] the foreigners gave out that they intended to attack Hai-tien, and Săngkolinsin moved his troops round to the north of the city. Prince Kung and Kweiliang were both in the Summer Palace. At this moment a Peking trader went with 1,000 head of cattle and sheep to the foreign armies, and

[a] 義道; 預親王 [b] 全慶
[c] 羅山 [d] 曾協均

proposed peace, but was told that the matter was one of national importance, quite beyond the ken of a mere trader, and that Prince Kung must come in person if such proposals were to be entertained. On this, Hêngk'i again begged for the release of Parkes, but the Prince could not make up his mind. Two days later Hai-tien was attacked, and the Guards fled without a struggle, as also the armies of Săngkolinsin and Juik'i. On the 24th [10th October] the foreigners secretly occupied the Imperial Park, and Prince Kung withdrew to Ch'ang-sin Tien,[a] outside the Kwang-ning Gate, followed by Juik'i and Wênsiang. Then it was that Parkes was released, and Hêngk'i was ordered to escort him back with the assurance that peace might be discussed on the following day. Parkes now being free, the foreigners cared less than ever what they did. Hai-tien was soon in flames, and Parkes, still under the influence of anger, requested that the palace buildings in the Park might be destroyed. The foreign troops and Swatow braves were then allowed to loot the precincts, and the armies retired to the An-ting Gate. The Emperor, who had now got as far as Lwan-yang, was here requested by the Lieutenants in charge to direct Prince Kung to enter Peking and conclude a peace without loss of time, and the foreigners also pressed him to come.

[a] 長新店

The Prince still hesitated at the T'ien-ning Sz [a] Temple outside the Kwang-ning Gate, but a secret decree in the Emperor's own hand was received saying:—"It is impossible to enter the city just now "to arrange a peace," and ordering him to select a spot for his head-quarters; for the Emperor feared that the English by some move would take possession of him as a hostage. The English having entered Peking, Parkes at once proceeded with the Treaty, which added nine articles to the fifty-six of the Treaty of 1858. The French added ten articles to their forty-two of the same year. The main provisions were for further indemnities; more ports, including Tientsin; and residence at Peking. The Prince could not object, and the foreigners agreed to wait until the Emperor's consent should have been received. However, there was more trouble yet in store. Parkes and a score or more of others had been sent to Peking after their seizure by Prince I, and after the conclusion of peace it was found that a dozen or more of them had perished in prison.[b] The English officials were highly indignant at this, and were on the point of withdrawing from the treaty and recommencing hostilities, in spite of the apologies lavished by the Lieutenants. As it was,

[a] 天寧寺

[b] Captain Brabazon and the Abbé de Luc were beheaded; Captain Anderson and Mr. de Norman died after release; Mr. Loch was restored alive.

they again attacked Hai-tien on the 4th [18th October], and burnt everything in the neighbourhood of King Shan [a] and the K'un-ming Lake during a period of three days and nights, much to the terror of the Pekingese. Prince Kung meanwhile had removed to the Fah-yüan Sz [b] Temple, outside the city, and the foreigners gave out their intention to attack the Inner City or Palace. The gates were already open, and matters were very threatening, when, fortunately, Prince Kung succeeded in prevailing upon the French envoy Gros [c] to send three messages of intercession one after the other.[d] A further indemnity of Tls. 500,000 was exacted on behalf of the deceased, nor would the foreigners agree to exchange signatures, when Hêngk'i invited them to conclude the Treaty, until this money was paid over in full; and the sum was scraped together with great difficulty by the 9th [23rd October]. The chieftains were then entertained at the Board of Ceremonies, and treaties were exchanged. On the 10th [24th October] Parkes came to fix a date for the ratifications next day, and brought with him a large escort into the city, with weapons concealed under their clothes: after a look round they returned out of the An-ting Gate in the afternoon

[a] 景山 [b] 法源寺 [c] 噶羅

[d] In another chapter Baron Gros is said to have gained his Tls. 4,000,000 indemnity by reducing the English 12,000,000 to 8,000,000.

amid crowds of spectators, not one of whom dared to interfere. The ratifications were exchanged on the 11th [25th October]. Escorts accompanied Prince Kung, the Grand Secretaries Kia Chêng[a] and Chou Tsu-p'ei, the Presidents Chao Kwang[b] and Ch'ên Fu-ên,[c] the Under-Secretaries P'an Tsêng-ying, Sung Tsin, etc., but the Guards were all left outside the Chêng-yang Gate. A banquet was laid out at the Board of Ceremonies, and at twelve o'clock Elgin, Parkes, etc., advanced with great pomp and blasts of western music in a procession from the An-ting Gate. Their officials all sat in eight-bearer chairs, and the rest had four. The Prince and Ministers received them outside the great door, and the foreign officials took off their hats to the Prince, to which the Prince replied by the arm-joining form of salutation. There were also three Western ladies, who did not exchange salutations, but were carried straight in and sat down. It was said these were the wives of the foreign officers, including Mrs. Parkes, but it is not possible to be sure. Prince Kung and the English officer Elgin sat left and right, and exchanged compliments through interpreters as the feast progressed, after which ratifications were exchanged, and they all left.

On the 12th the Prince and Ministers exchanged ratifications with the French. The French

[a] 賈楨 [b] 趙光 [c] 陳孚恩

envoy Gros and suite, in four-bearer chairs, also came, heralded by musicians through the streets, and they also had several Western women, and also a band of female musicians after the Western style, something like our tambourine players.[a] Everything else went off just as with the English. After the ratifications, the English and French envoys requested that the treaties might be promulgated throughout the provinces, with instructions to each viceroy or governor. This was brought before the Emperor, who issued a decree promising all that was required, and expressing a hope that hostilities would give way to friendly intercourse.

On the 17th [31st October] the Russian ratifications were exchanged by the Russian envoy Ignatieff[b] and the Prince and Ministers. Their treaty provided for trade at Kiachta as well as at the places on the coast mentioned in the other two treaties, and their Tariff was much the same as that of the English and French. A supplementary treaty provided for the rectification by commissioners of frontiers on the Amur and in Turkestan, so as to prevent further disputes. The forms gone through were the same as in the case of the English and French.

In the 10th moon [November] the Prince and Ministers begged the Emperor to return to Peking; but a decree recited that, as the weather was getting

[a] 打花鼓 [b] 伊格那替業福

very cold, the Emperor proposed to defer his return till the spring. Meanwhile the Governor of Shan Si had begged the Emperor to move west, and the Grand Secretary Kwanwên,[a] Viceroy of Hu Kwang, had begged his Majesty to fix his temporary residence somewhere between Shen Si and Shan Si until all the foreign troops should have left Taku.

It is noticeable that the *Peking Gazettes* contain no mention whatever of the capture of the Taku Forts and the fall of Tientsin. Nor is there any information on Săngkolinsin's degradation and restoration. The decrees of the 7th moon quoted were all sent to the present writer by agents in Peking, and arrived in An Hwei towards the end of the 9th moon. The rest was gathered from various letters sent to various official persons in the provinces from the north, and all the information may be relied upon. It is with regret that the writer has to say that it is all simply the truth. After 200 years of careful tending, the Banner troops were found to have forgotten their military training, and to have relapsed into a state of useless inefficiency, in most cases not only suffering defeat, but even afraid to risk an encounter at all: not only are they not to be compared with the Manchus and Mongols of the Conquest, but they are not even so good as any of the Chinese troops of Canton, Fu Kien, Sz Ch'wan,

[a] 官文

and Hu Nan, which have seen a little service in the field: and, even if the Emperor had made up his mind to return to Peking, it is to be feared that his person would not have been safe in such hands. Peace, it is said, was necessary because victory was not to be gained; but, as a matter of fact, the evil all dates from the Nanking Treaty, which encouraged the foreigners to demand more. No wonder Yu K'ien was disgusted with K'ishen's complaisance. K'iying's promise to open Canton after two years was the real beginning of the second war, which culminated in the fall of Peking and the flight of the Emperor. Still, after all, Săngkolinsin did make some show when the Emperor had determined to fight; and who knows but what he might have been victorious if he had not been ordered to withdraw, and if the counsels of Twanhwa and Suhshun had not been listened to?[a]

[a] Amongst the most interesting papers in this collection is the memorial strongly upbraiding the Emperor for thinking of retiring to Mulan, and pointing out that the Nuchêns and Mongols both lost China as soon as ever the Emperor left his capital. It is pointed out that the English are quite capable of sending a flying column even to Mulan, and that, if the Emperor once leaves, they might set up a puppet of their own, as the Kitans set up Shih King-t'ang 石敬瑭, founder of the After Tsin dynasty, and as the Nuchêns set up the impostor Chang Pang-ch'ang 張邦昌 in 1127.

Reflections upon the Opium Traffic.

The Treaty provides that foreigners shall only pay on opium an import duty of Tls. 30 a pecul, that their interest ceases there, and that China may arrange her *likin* charges upon the drug when once in the hands of Chinese without foreign interference. But Thomas Wade,[a] at Peking, for the English, complained that the levy of Tls. 50 at Shanghai beyond the Tls. 30 duty was contrary to Treaty. The Kiang Su Government explained that these Tls. 50 in no way concerned foreigners, and Thomas Wade was at first unable to meet this contention. But afterwards the English Inspector-General of Customs, Hart, came to Peking and handed in a statement on the subject, pointing out that, if the levies on opium were excessive, smuggling would be correspondingly encouraged. He proposed either to double the duty, or to levy, besides the Tls. 30 foreign duty, a native duty of Tls. 15 for each particular prefecture, with liberty to the authorities of succeeding prefectures to tax further as they should choose. Prince Kung argued that China was free to do what she chose in any case; but Hart

[a] 威妥瑪

said that the present Shanghai system was not a success, and that, even with a duty of Tls. 45, there would probably still be smuggling, seeing that under existing circumstances 10,000 out of the 70,000 chests which annually arrived in Hongkong were never accounted for in China. The more Prince Kung and his colleagues objected to his proposals, the more Hart insisted that smuggling would increase in the ratio of taxation. His memorandum was therefore remitted to the Two Superintendents of Trade for consideration. Another of Hart's memoranda pointed out that opium paying Tls. 50 duty at the Canton *likin* office was permitted to avoid paying any duty whatever at the Maritime Customs; but this also was met by the same reply,—that the opium in question was already in Chinese hands, and was not opium sold at the ports by foreigners; and that China could treat her re-imports as she pleased; so that, even supposing that foreigners were pulling the strings for Chinese, or Chinese for foreigners, the opium thus evading the Customs was in China, and was not sold by foreigners at a port, and that therefore foreigners had no treaty right to complain. This shut up all clamour, for both Wade and Hart secretly wished to facilitate the entry of foreign opium into China, whilst the smuggling of which they complained was all done in reality by foreign traders, whose example the

Chinese subsequently followed. Anyhow, if preventive measures had been sanctioned, China would have lost her treaty right to do as she pleased with opium once in Chinese hands. The same question arose at Kewkiang; but, even admitting the right of foreigners to sell opium there, (though all duties on such are paid at Shanghai, and the Yangtsze is really the interior), still, they could only sell it at the port, and where the *likin* office should be stationed was a question separately referred to the Board.

At best Hart's anxiety was for a very doubtful boon to China. Seventy thousand chests mean Tls. 35,000,000 of money taken out of the Chinese consumer without productiveness, and the improved revenue, after deduction of expenses, would only amount by his own showing to Tls. 1,300,000; whilst the gross revenue on opium is only $\frac{1}{5}$ of that collected on all other produce. Hence to get a benefit of one unit we elect to do ourselves a damage of thirty times the extent.

Treaties with the Smaller States.

After the conclusion of the Treaty of 1858 at Shanghai with the three powers (England, France and America), a number of smaller states, such as Spain and Portugal, whose subjects had already been trading at Shanghai, claimed similar trading privileges on the ground that, unless they had treaties too, they would be liable to constraint at the hands of those powers who were more fortunate. Kweisiang asked the advice of the three powers as to what steps he should take in the matter. The French replied that they would move their Government to explain to the treatyless powers that the Chinese Government desired more information as to the nature of their demands. The Americans[a] replied [in Chinese of a somewhat unintelligible quality] as far as it is possible to collect their meaning from their uncouth[b] language, that China should distinguish between states with and states without a treaty; that Portugal was already applying for one with some success, though China had refused to make a treaty with

[a] The Americaus appear to say something about preventing U.S. Consuls from intriguing with Spanish and Portuguese traders under false colours.

[b] 文義詰屈難通

Spain; and so on: but really it is impossible to fathom the real American ideas, which are hinted at in such obscure language. The English reply was the most impudent of all. It ran: "The writer can-"not suggest what should be done with states "possessing no treaty, as their subjects are not "dependent on England, and England cannot be "responsible for the acts of people who do not belong "to her; but the matter will be referred home to "the Secretary of State. If your meaning only "refers to the equal taxation of all nationalities at "the Customs, the greater part of your arguments "are unnecessary. But if your enquiries are made "because you are ignorant of the facts, the writer "fails to understand why the high officer of a great "state should indulge in such language." As far as their composition [which is indeed somewhat involved] is intelligible, the English appear to combine a desire to shuffle with one to be sarcastic, and at the same time to advise that all nations should have equal privileges under the Tientsin treaty. It is impossible to fathom their mind as expressed in this despatch; but H. N. Lay seems to have managed it all. The result of Kweisiang's report to Peking was that all the smaller states were distinctly refused a share in treaty privileges. After the ratification of the 1860 Treaties, the requests were repeated, and the matter was referred to the Governor Süeh Hwan, then Acting Superintendent, who was just then confidentially reporting upon the Russian proposals to give aid against the rebels and to carry the tribute rice for China, [particulars of which are given further on]. He gave it as his opinion that it would be unfair to deny equal rights to the other states. The Emperor replied that Kweiliang's refusal should be adhered to, and that the smaller states should not be encouraged to proceed to Tien-tsin; also that it should be authoritatively explained to the three powers that the small and feeble states could not be admitted on a par with them; and this with a view to obtaining their co-operation in refusing: the Emperor held Süeh Hwan solely responsible if the smaller countries should persist in going to Tientsin. The real mistake thus began with Kweiliang, who should have got the assistance of the three powers in the way suggested by the Emperor's wisdom, and should have brought the affairs of all the other states under one or other of the three treaty powers. Instead of this, Kweiliang modestly asks for advice under plea of ignorance; and, sure enough, a swarm of countries soon appear clamouring at Tientsin. In the summer of 1861, a mission on behalf of Prussia and the States of the German Zollverein came to Shanghai. The Prussian envoy Frederick Eulenberg,[a] after Süeh Hwan's

[a] 斐悌理阿里丕艾

refusal to give him a treaty, proceeded to Tientsin, and applied to the Superintendent of Trade there. The matter was managed for him by France. The French envoy was told by the foreign Board to stop the Prussian in accordance with precedent. He replied, however, that Prussia was on terms of equality[a] and amity with France, and that the German Zollverein was on a similar footing with Prussia. A decree meanwhile ordered the Prussian to remain at Tientsin, to which place a high officer was despatched to conclude a Treaty. It was provided that the Prussian envoy should reside in Peking on behalf of the other German states as well, and in a special article, that, in consideration of the disturbed state of China, he should not come to Peking at all for five years. The rest of the treaty was like that of the French.

Then came Belgium, another state of the European system. His Excellency Süeh held that, as the Prussians had disobeyed the injunction not to proceed to Tientsin, a refusal to conclude a treaty with Belgium would take her to Tientsin too. As she seemed a peaceful country, and no one was pulling the strings for her, the whole business was accordingly arranged at Shanghai.

In the summer of the 1st year of T'ung-chï [1862] the Portuguese came from Macao to Tientsin,

[a] 與國

and went straight on to Peking, without even notifying the Superintendent of Trade at Tientsin. The Superintendent sent an express to have them stopped at the Peking gates; but Kleczcowsky, the French envoy resident in Peking, said they were friends of France, and offered to take temporary charge of them. Prince Kung said that it was impossible to allow non-treaty powers to come up in this way at their own convenience and pleasure to Peking, especially when, as in this case, the Superintendent at Tientsin was not even notified of the facts. Kleczcowsky was unable to reply to this argument, but asked that he might take the whole responsibility on his own shoulders, as the host of his guests, just as Consuls act officiously for the subjects of other nationalities in matters of trade; and that after he, Kleczcowsky, should have arranged everything, the Portuguese should return to Tientsin to sign the Treaty without their names ever coming forward at Peking at all. Prince Kung was fain to yield, and an officer was sent to Tientsin, whither the Portuguese envoy was conveyed by Kleczcowsky: but the envoy's name did not appear in the negotiations previous to signature, and they got rather less than the French treaty.[a] Early in 1863 the Danish envoy Raasloff[b] came to Peking *viâ* Tientsin,

[a] This seems to mean that the Portuguese interests were taken under French protection.

[b] 拉斯喇弗

and was to be similarly stopped at the gates in consequence of an express sent by the Acting Superintendent Tung Sün,[a] whom he had not notified of his intentions. The English envoy, however, stated that the Danish envoy was his guest, and several days were spent in arguing this point with the Englishman Thomas Wade, who went to the Foreign Office with an offer to conduct the negotiations. Prince Kung explained that the conduct of the Danish envoy was of a nature insulting to China; to which Thomas Wade replied that Denmark was connected with England by ties of marriage, quoting also the action of France as precedents in the cases of Prussia and Portugal. The Prince and Ministers felt it difficult to resist this somewhat menacing language, and at the same time did not wish to encourage others by making their compliance too easy. They therefore replied that the Danish envoy must first return to Tientsin, and explain his antecedents in an official despatch to the Superintendent of Trade, with a request that a high officer might be sent to Tientsin to assist the Superintendent in concluding a treaty. Wade had no answer to make to this, but he subsequently handed in a despatch saying that in future the Tientsin Consul would be instructed to explain Chinese usages to any future foreign envoys who should

[a] 董恂

arrive at Tientsin, thus indirectly accepting the blame on behalf of Denmark. Thomas Wade also wrote to the Superintendent at Tientsin asking for his good offices in the matter. The Superintendent accordingly represented the matter to the Emperor, who directed the said envoy to await the result of the Foreign Board's report. The report recited the above particulars for the Emperor's information, and added that several new articles had been inserted by Thomas Wade, whose object evidently was to obtain the same benefits for all countries under the effect of the favoured nation clause; that the Foreign Board had declined to grant more to the Danes than the Portuguese Treaty contained; but that, owing to Thomas Wade's representations, it was proposed to take the English Treaty as a model instead of the French, with those parts struck out of it which were in excess of what had been granted to the Portuguese; and Hêngk'i was to sign the Treaty in the first instance at Peking, for conveyance by the said envoy to Tientsin, to be there concluded by him and the Superintendent Ch'unghou. This arrangement was approved by the Emperor. Another question then arose as to the right of the Danes to share in the privileges of the temporary Yangtsze Regulations drawn up at the urgent instance of England, but to which the language of the Prussian, Portuguese, and Danish Treaties gave the subjects of those powers no title. As a compromise, purely Danish ships of large size were allowed to benefit by these temporary regulations, but the Danish flag was not allowed as yet to be used on the river by lorchas and other mixed or Chinese craft. Prussia and Portugal would doubtless, it was thought, endeavour to obtain a similar compromise, as their treaties gave no such right until one year after the exchange of ratifications.

Ah me! The Prince and Ministers of China seem to have dreaded England and France as they would dread a tiger, during their negotiation of the four treaties and the subsequent treaties with the smaller powers. The envoys resident in Peking spied out our weaknesses, and, whenever China wished to make alterations in the working of the treaties already concluded, endeavoured to frighten us with stories of what smugglers might do. Whenever they had cause to regret the want of a clause themselves, then they cunningly inserted it in some other treaty or in temporary regulations. The Americans, whose treaty said nothing about Yangtsze regulations, simply took advantage of them, without even a bare asking, under the favoured nation clause. Would the Danes have had sufficient shrewdness to get the benefit of the temporary regulations without the aid of the English chief Wade? What with going inland for pleasure, permission to hire boats and purchase produce anywhere, and what not, it simply amounts to this, that the whole Empire is now thrown open to foreigners. Other small countries are certain to follow one after the other, each one pretending to be a first-class power, and to have an Emperor at its head claiming equality with China. As for the petty states of the German Zollverein, which come in under the Prussian treaty, many of them are unknown even by name in the historical and geographical works accessible to us, and we have no means of establishing the fact of their alleged existence; and yet they can trade all over China! This is what our pessimists are pleased to call the natural movement from West to East. Say rather it is Destiny! Even Italy, the most famous and civilized of European countries, was moved by the same prospect of greed, and in 1861 an application was made by the Italian Consul [James] Hogg[a] for permission to visit the Yangtsze ports and share in the privileges of trade. This application had to be refused, as Italy had no treaty.

[a] 霍格

Offers of Assistance by Foreigners.

It has been mentioned that, after the conclusion of the Treaties in 1860, the French envoy Gros endeavoured to turn his good offices to his own advantage; and, accordingly, at the banquet given to him, he boasted of the superiority of French ships and guns, which he said China could purchase, if she wished, in any quantities. He also offered to place the French forces in the East at the disposal of China for the suppression of the rebellion. The Emperor, however, would not listen to it.

The Russians, again, proposed both to lend military assistance against the rebels, and to undertake the transport of tribute rice for China.[a] The Emperor expressed fears as to the real nature of Russia's motives, and referred the question back to the Provinces. Tsêng Kwoh-fan,[b] Viceroy at Nanking, was rather in favour of the proposal; but Yüan Kiah-san,[c] the Transport Viceroy, most strongly objected, arguing that, whichever of the three powers might assist China, they would certainly

[a] In another place it is said they intended to hire American ships for this purpose.

[b] 曾國藩 [c] 袁甲三

all alike be greedy of reward if successful, and clamorous for compensation if defeated. Moreover, the naval forces brought against the rebels consisted largely of ruffians once in the employ of the allies, and would probably be but too docile to their foreign leaders' unfathomable ambition. Again, foreigners were Christians, and it was precisely Christianity that gave the initial impulse to the great rebellion. When once a foothold were obtained, the foreign ally would never be got fairly rid of. In 1859 the Russians offered to supply China with 10,000 muskets, but the promised event never really came off, and it is quite possible indeed that the Russians actually incited the other barbarians to attack us. During the negotiations at Tientsin, several of the previous year's Peking students were recognized; and even the offer of Russia to convey tribute rice in American steamers looked remarkably uncanny.

The English chief Thomas Wade was very outspoken on the subject: not only did he disbelieve in the disinterested motives of France and Russia, but he pointed to India as an example of what England would probably be tempted to do if she once gained possession of rebel cities. However, Prince Kung did not like to rouse ill-will by refusing the offers too harshly, and so he replied that, whilst China was quite competent to crush her own rebellions, she would not fail to avail herself of the proffered assistance if required; and he recommended the policy of gaining over the French by throwing to them some small sop in the way of profit, such as by purchasing guns and ships from them, and dangling before them the prospect of further gain, so as to keep them well disposed. As to the assistance offered by the Shanghai foreigners, it would be well to encourage this by suitable rewards and commendation. Regarding the conveyance of tribute rice, Prince Kung thought it would be better to throw it open to all, and the Emperor agreed with him that it would be well to prevent the Americans, whose disposition was more genuine than that of the English and French, from thinking that they owed any obligation in the matter to Russia. And there the proposals ended for the time.

Shortly after this, in 1861, Prince Kung reported that he had observed considerable jealousy to reign amongst the foreign envoys resident in Peking; and that England and France, inspired by a jealous fear of Russian aggrandizement, professed their entire disapproval of Russia's appropriations in the Kirin direction.[a] He had also discovered that England had made a treaty of neutrality with the rebels: that the French would like to shew their prowess by attacking the rebels, but were kept in

[a] 5,000 *li* of territory were abandoned to Russia on his own authority by Yihshan 奕山.

check by the English. Parkes, on his return from the Yangtsze, in the early summer of 1861, gave it as his opinion that the rebel cause was doomed, and all that was now wanted was a supply of money, guns, and ships. Prince Kung thought he had now bagged England and France pretty securely, and that it would be well and safe to accept their assistance. Enquiries had been made of Hart as to the prices of steamers, and Prince Kung thought that a number of small ones would be better than a few large ones at ten times the price. Chinese might be trained to to work them, with foreign assistance where such was absolutely indispensable. Hart had suggested the opium duty collection as a suitable fund whence to draw for the necessary expenditure. Kleczcowsky was on his way home, and had requested authority to make purchases of guns and boats in France on China's behalf; and Prince Kung thought that no invidious distinctions should be made between France and England, but that Kleczcowsky should be given half the price in advance, as proposed by Hart in the case of English steamers, if he wished to purchase guns and ships.

The result of all this was that the English and French did render very effective services against the rebels at Shanghai, and received the expression of the Emperor's thanks for the same. Two Americans named Ward[a] and Burgevine[b] raised a force called the "Ever Victorious Army," and made their head-quarters at Sung-kiang, from which place the rebels were repulsed after severe engagements at Ying-k'i Pin[c] and T'ien-ma Shan.[d] After this, Ward and Burgevine represented to the Shanghai *taotai* that they were willing to become Chinese subjects, and wear the Chinese costume; and at the Governor's recommendation, Ward received a Button of the fourth rank and a Feather from the Emperor. After the engagement of the Pootung rebels at Kao-k'iao,[e] in which Ward lent valuable assistance with his re-inforcements, Burgevine behaved with great gallantry, and was severely wounded: he also received a Button of the fourth grade and a Feather as his reward. During the remainder of this year all three countries rendered further excellent services in the T'ai-ts'ang[f] and Sung-kiang[g] region, and received distinctions in the shape of temporary Brigadierships, Colonelcies, etc. In 1862, Li Hung-chang was given third rank, and succeeded Süeh Hwan as Acting Governor of Kiang Su, and the Shanghai Customs' receipts were appropriated to the support of his armies. For all this the Customs' Managers, and the naval and military officers of the different countries received the ready thanks of the Emperor, and liberal gratuities were

[a] 華爾 [b] 白齊文 [c] 迎旗濱
[d] 天馬山 [e] 高橋 [f] 太倉 [g] 松江

given to the families of three French Generals who had lost their lives in the prolonged fighting between Shanghai and Ningpo. During the fighting of 1863, when Wu-sih, Soochow, and other places were recaptured, the services of the English officer Gordon[a] were the most eminent, and for these he received the temporary appointment of Kiang Nan Brigadier-General. In the Soochow affair, the rebel "prince" Chung[b] was the first to bolt, and the rebel officers inside the city surrendered the city after first murdering the leading "prince" T'an Shao-kwang.[c] Eight rebel leaders were executed by Li when his troops entered the city, and the foreign papers made a great ado about this, saying that these eight men had surrendered at Gordon's instance, and after his promise that their lives should be granted to them; and that the Governor had made a great mistake in killing surrendered men: but whether this was really so or not the writer cannot say. After Ward's death from a rifle shot, Burgevine succeeded to the supreme command, and report has it that he joined the forces of the rebel "prince" Chung because he could not get all the supplies of money which he demanded. He then made his way secretly to Nanking and accompanied

[a] 戈登 [b] 忠

[c] 譚紹光 or 洸 [the radical "water" is added out of contempt].

the rebel "Prince" Shï[a] to Fu-kien Fu[b] in Kiang Si, and thence into the Province of Fuh Kien, where he distinguished himself in the defence of Chang-chow Fu.[c] Here he was, according to the foreign newspapers, taken prisoner by the Imperialists, and his fickleness is severely commented upon by the foreign press, which ascribes his death as being entirely due to this defect. The writer begs to express his opinion that the defence of Shanghai by the foreigners was simply the repelling of a danger imminent to themselves. And as for the Emperor's opinion above quoted,—that the Americans were more genuine than the English and French,—the example of Burgevine proves that "prince" Chung's bribes and cajolery were soon sufficient to gain him over; that the savage heart of the wolf can never be trusted; and that the harm in employing foreigners against the rebels more than counter-balances the good.

[a] 侍 [b] 撫建 [c] 漳州

The Results of the Missionary Clauses of the Treaties.

To turn now to the consequences of allowing natives to practise Christianity. There was an old established chapel at Tung-ts'ai Yüan [a] in the township of Wu-ch'êng [b] in Kiang Si, which had been destroyed during the prohibitionary period of Tao-kwang's reign, and thence moved to Wang-hu Lou. [c] In 1855 it was again destroyed by the Admiral P'êng Yüh-lin [d] and a party of his braves. After the Treaty of Tientsin, the French missionary [Père] Anot [e] applied for permission to interview the Governor Yük'o [f] at Nan-ch'ang Fu, and the writer of this book was sent to interview his messenger at Fu-chou.[g] The messenger, a "Cantonese" named Fang An-chï,[h] said that Anot was coming with introductions from the Foreign Board, and asked to be allowed to visit the Catholic Girls' Orphanage at Nan-ch'ang. This was in December 1861; and a month later Anot came himself to demand com-

[a] 東菜園 [b] 吳城汛 [c] 望湖樓

[d] 彭玉麟 [was still serving as Admiral until his death last year].

[e] 羅安當 [f] 毓科 [g] 撫州 [h] 方安之

pensation for the chapel destroyed. He was received as an equal, and on his second visit placed the words "Acting Plenipotentiary"[a] on his card. Some of the people in the streets recognized him as the person who had been ejected by a former Governor twenty years before, and Fang An-chï as a native of Fu-chou. The result was the riot of the next year; for the native Christians immediately began to put on airs. Meanwhile the gentry of Hu Nan, hearing of this insolence, issued a public manifesto against Christianity, which soon found its way to Kiang Si, where it was printed and posted by the local *literati.* No assistance could be obtained from the new Governor Shên Pao-chêng,[b] who declined to receive Anot, and took care to return his visit when he was out. At that time the examinations were on, and the prefect and magistrate came to the writer to say that the next day was fixed by the placards for the destruction of the Roman Catholic chapel, and suggested that the educational officer should be induced to stop it. The writer, however, pointed out that the educational officer was a toper, and would not admit any one into his house on business. Just as these things were going on, Anot's spies came with the news that the Orphanage had already been sacked, and that the chapel was in

[a] 代理全權大臣

[b] 沈葆楨 [the destroyer of the Wusung Railway].

danger. The writer went with the two district magistrates to the spot, and found that a number of Christian dwellings had been pulled down besides the Orphanage. On our reporting the matter to the Governor, he sighed and said:—"The Western men "have vented themselves on us long enough, and "unexpectedly our people take the opportunity to "avenge it for us. Still we, the official body, can "accept the blame of maladministration. Never "mind talking of arrests." And, in reporting the true facts to the Throne, he actually did so, taking the blame entirely on himself, so that we others all got off. The old chapel outside the city was destroyed too, and also one of the missionary's boats. Anot fled to Jui-chou,[a] and Fang to Fu-chou, resting in Christian houses along the road. The orphans and their nurses were carefully sent by the magistrate to the Catholic Orphanage at Fu-chou, and Anot made his way *viâ* Kewkiang to Shanghai. Soon afterwards the Governor received a note on the subject from Prince Kung, and offered Tls. 5,000 compensation. However, the French envoy sent in a bill for Tls. 70,000 for this and other unsettled damages, besides claiming two new building sites, one at Kewkiang and another at Fu-chou. The following year, when Anot and Fang came to Nanch'ang, they were received by the people with

[a] 瑞州

very hostile demonstrations, but eventually the matter was settled for Tls. 20,000 and a site outside the walls of Kewkiang. As the French had no Consul and no trade there, this quartering of them on the settlement made the English and Americans very jealous. Though the Governor relieved the minor officials and gentry from all responsibility, he had the good sense to resist an attempt made by the educational officer Hia T'ing-kü [a] to produce evidence of eye-scooping and other exaggerated horrors charged upon the missionaries.

[a] 夏廷榘

Assassination of Europeans in 1841.

When the English were in occupation of Ning-po in 1841 a military officer name Shu Hou-an[a] set free an old thief, charged with being a spy, on condition that he would steal as many foreigners' heads as possible. In a short time a head was brought, and the man was recommended to the Tartar-General,[b] who was highly pleased, and gave a handsome reward. Imitators then went head-hunting all over the city, and two of the foreign watchmen who went the rounds every night in pairs, one behind the other, were decapitated by these brave rogues, whose plan used to be to put on foreign clothes, so as to get near, and then suddenly stab the foreigner. Another way was to capture them alive by throwing a cloth over their heads from behind, so as to prevent their shouting, twist the two ends round them, and carry them on the back to a lonely place; gag them; tie them up in a bag; and let them down outside the walls. Supposing that the operators were detected by other foreigners,

[a] 舒垢庵 [this is his private name only].

[b] Apparently Yük'ien is meant.

they put the load on the back and dodged through narrow ways until the pursuers got confused or afraid to follow further. Still another plan was to prepare a bamboo noose, and lie in wait outside the walls until the patrol should pass; then make a noise; and when the foreign soldier put his head over the crenels to see what it was all about, throw the noose over his head, pull him down, stuff his mouth full, and treat him as above; as also any other foreigners on the wall who might look over to see what had become of their comrade. Head-taking became quite popular, and developed into quite a fine art. On receipt of the heads, the Tartar-General used to say:—"Better take one "foreign officer than twenty soldiers. I will give "Tls. 10,000 and a Button of the third rank for each "officer taken alive. If that cannot be done, get "their heads." Shortly afterwards the operators returned saying:—"Officers cannot be taken; they "sleep in inner rooms surrounded by a cordon of "soldiers; we have got so far as to peep down at "them through a hole made in the roof, as they "undressed and entered the mosquito curtains, but, "when the curtain was raised later on, no one was "found in the bed. Knowing the value of their "heads, we have dogged them night after night, but "have never succeeded in finding out where they "really sleep. It is easier for us to take a hundred "soldiers than one officer." The foreigners got so frightened at the danger they were in that they abandoned Ningpo, and thus the Tartar-General and his officers got great credit for driving them out and recapturing Ningpo.

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