commercial or other, may be adopted for the whole. The British in Britain, fearing from all appearances that the vast structure may fall to pieces, perceive that in such event each European Power will have to establish its own sphere of influence and to prepare themselves for that event. In that case the British sphere would not be far to seek, for that would comprise the entire basin of the Yang-tsze-Kiang. But the British in China dislike excessively the prospect of any such event, and deprecate earnestly any word or action on the part of Britain which might hasten or facilitate its coming. The grand fact is that they have extensive and growing transactions in many other parts of China besides the Yang-tsze-Kiang valley, such as the valley of the West River which joins the sea near Canton, the delta of the Hoang Ho, the valley of the Peiho which flows past Tientsin, and even in Manchuria. For the present they would say that their commercial sphere is not here or there in China but everywhere. However important may be the sphere allotted to them they cannot abandon their existing long-established affairs in other spheres. And they fear that once the principle of "spheres" is acknowledged, then each European nation that obtains a sphere will impose hostile tariffs against them, the British. Consequently they strenuously and unanimously advocate the maintenance of the well-known principle of "the open door," whereby at least every Treaty Port shall be free to them as to every one else. It

will certainly be contended that this principle cannot be abrogated as regards the Treaty Ports, at least without the consent of Britain. As these Ports comprise all the most important outlets for trade, they would contend that Britain must effectively object to any arrangements being made by any Foreign Power, through cordons of tariffs or transit duties inland, which would neutralise the value of British rights in the ports.

In all this they have the full concurrence and sympathy of the British in Britain. All men agree that the "door" should be kept "open" as long as possible, and the policy of "the spheres of influence" be delayed accordingly. But they ought not—indeed it appears from their utterances that they do not—shut their eyes to the possibility that the door may gradually become closed. If that should happen then the adoption of "spheres of influence" would become inevitable. Such an occurrence is sufficiently probable as to oblige the British to prepare for it. The preparation briefly consists in preventing any concessions or other obligations being entered into by the Chinese Government which would hamper or restrict the action of Britain respecting those regions that might naturally fall within her sphere. According to the reports embodied in Lord Charles Beresford's book, this sphere would embrace the valleys of the Yang-tsze-Kiang, and of the West River which runs into the Canton estuary. The object of this narrative is not to enter on con-

troversial politics, but to expose the truth about China in 1899. No good can come from refraining to state things as they are. If, hypothetically, Russia were to make Manchuria a Russian Province, and the Germans were to do the same with the Hinterland of Kiaochow, and the French with the neighbourhood of Tonking, and if they were all to treat the ports therein situated as their own, then Britain would merely have to do something to counterbalance all this. She could certainly command the West River, the Yang-tsze-Kiang and the Peiho River at least up to Tientsin. She does not desire this, she earnestly deprecates it, but if forced into it by the acts of others, she would not come off worst in the partition of China.

Then Lord Charles Beresford's book teems with evidence of the paralysis of civil government, the want of police protection for property, the absence of any trustworthy system of justice whereby the rights of capital or of enterprise could be secured, and the consequent danger of any commercial venture being undertaken in the interior of the country outside the limits of the Treaty Ports, all which grievously obstructs the expansion of trade. In reference thereto, allusion is made not only to the want of defensive forces, as the Navy is now insignificant, barely able to keep down piracy, but also the absence of any inland forces, of any troops worthy of the name, and further to the insufficiency and inefficiency of the police. But there can be no

revenue in the Imperial Treasury adequate for the expenses of the Empire, unless there is a decently good Civil Service. There can be no effective army and police unless there is money to pay for them. There can be no security for internal commerce, for enterprise and capital, without civil reforms as they are repeatedly called. The danger, too, which threatens commercial as well as other interests is acute and specific. Though there are no rebellions like that of the Taiping, yet just as that rebellion arose out of the sea of political troubles, so nowadays there are lesser disturbances really due to the general unsettlement following on the Japanese war, such as organised brigandage, wandering bandits, strange sects calling themselves by fantastic names, rapid gatherings of mobs, and the like. Each and all of these occurrences find the civil authorities in a pitiable light, and exhibit before the people the sorry spectacle of a Government which is little more than a name.

Setting aside the remnant of the navy, which is not worth spending money upon, and on account of which some considerable sums are wasted instead of being applied to more useful purposes, it is on all hands urged that the army could be reorganised and must be remodelled if internal order is to be preserved. Now it is easy enough to render small bodies of troops, a very few thousands here and there, quite efficient with European instruction, and this has to a small extent been done. But when it

comes to something like an army of one hundred or two hundred thousand men, then any reformer would come in contact with deep-seated abuses very hard of removal. For example, a General is paid a certain sum for maintaining, say, ten thousand men: he keeps up one thousand only, and when the day of inspection comes round he collects the remainder as hirelings for the two or three days and puts them into line somehow. The inspector is of course quite aware of what is done. This ludicrous description is hardly an exaggeration of a system which has largely if not universally existed in the Chinese army. A signal instance of it is known to have occurred when the allied forces of England and France landed near the mouth of the Peiho in 1860. By Lord Charles Beresford's account the same plan still prevails. Now let any one acquainted with Oriental administration reflect on the manifold abuses deeply seated in Chinese society, which are involved herein, the hydra-headed corruption which is implied. Then it will be seen that the reorganisation of the Chinese army is impossible until some political convulsion shall throw up a *tabula rasa* on which reformers may work. The establishment of a police would not be so difficult, though it would require more money than the impoverished treasury could afford. But then the impoverishment arises from the want of civil reforms.

These reforms are spoken of by some critics and essayists as if they were matters of course, and

things quite subordinate to the higher questions of national policy. But such is not at all the case; they are fundamentally important because without them there will be little money in the Treasury, and then without that resource no improvement in any branch can be made. Yet they are insuperably difficult of execution, because the old-established Chinese system necessitates misfeasance and renders it an indispensable evil. The secrets of the civil budget have never been penetrated, but it is tolerably certain that the amount of salaries, paid for an enormous Civil Service, is comparatively small. Having been appointed after a competitive examination and instructed in the moral code of Confucius, the men are straightway introduced to a world of corruption and a life of misfeasance. They have much power but little pay; they are to pay themselves by appropriating a part of the public revenues and by extortions from the taxpayer which reduce his taxpaying power. The system of evil is so complete that the process may be compared to the camels at the end of an Oriental march being turned loose to forage for themselves, or the cavalry horses in troubled times being let loose to feed on the green growing corn. The fortunes made by great officers of State, the wealth and possessions of the official hierarchy, the income of ordinary Mandarins far beyond its proper scale, are proverbial and notorious. Yet all this arises to the detriment of the Treasury and of all the economic interests in the country. Such

a system, existing from time immemorial, lasting through many centuries, and appealing to the worst feelings of human nature, must require a long time for its eradication.

The Chinese Government steadily declines to publish any statement or budget of its receipts and expenditure, and well it may decline, for if it complied, the results would probably be as discreditable as they would be astonishing. The figures of receipts and expenditure, in the absence of official information, are given avowedly with only the vaguest approximation from Consular reports, as seen in the *Statesman's Yearbook* for 1899. The revenues of China are there set down at 89 millions of taels. Now the significance of this may be understood from some summary comparisons. The receipts of Japan as presented by regularly published budgets stand at 238 millions of yen.* Without undertaking to state exactly the difference in value between a tael and a yen, it may be said that one tael is not worth one yen and a half, and if so the Chinese 89 millions would be equal to near 140 millions, or much less than the Japanese total; yet the population of Japan may be 45 millions and the population of China (say 350 millions) eight or nine times as large. Again, take the receipts of British India (exclusive

* This total is from the last published return, and it seems to include some extraordinary receipts which may not recur. If this amount were deducted from Japan, then the comparison would be less unfavourable to China. But even then the disproportion between the two countries would be great.

of the Native States) standing at 98 millions of tens of rupees, or 980 millions of rupees. Now one tael may be equal to nearly three rupees, or something less. So the 980 millions of rupees would be equal to about 340 millions of taels or nearly four times the Chinese total; though the Indian total comes from 230 millions of British subjects (exclusive of Native States) as against, say, 350 millions of the Chinese people. Owing to the fluctuations of silver, it is difficult to make an exact comparison, but enough has been stated approximately to show the monstrous disproportion of receipts as against China in comparison with either India or Japan. It may be that the Chinese have prevented Europeans from getting anywhere near the truth, or perhaps the Chinese may be regarded as more lightly taxed than any other Oriental nation, though nobody will believe that. The probable explanation is that the Chinese revenue largely remains in the hands of its collectors, and that only a portion of what is held to be due to the Imperial Treasury ever finds its way there. It follows that even if a completely honest Government according to British ideas be beyond hope, still a decently respectable administration would bring in a revenue four or five times as great as that which apparently is received at present. Meanwhile it appears that the Dowager Empress has fulminated an edict to the Civil Service about the deficient revenue.

But this result could be attained only by the in-

troduction of the civil reforms to which allusion is often made. Now let any one who on principle justly advocates these reforms be pleased to reflect on the process by which alone they could be carried into practice. The introduction of such reforms is a different matter from the equipping of a fleet or the drilling of an army. In the first place a sweep, almost clean, would have to be made of all the present viceroys, provincial governors, and district officers who have throughout their official lives been fattening and battening on what, according to European ideas, belonged properly to the State and to the people. Then proper viceroys, for each group of provinces, say four for all China, eighteen governors for the old eighteen provinces, 180 district officers at an average of ten districts to a province, and the same number, 180, of police superintendents. All these officers would have to be men of status on high salaries, similar to those which are paid in India. Being legitimately well off, they would be placed beyond the reach of temptation. At the very outset there would be a great disbursement for civil salaries, something never dreamt of in Chinese annals. By Indian analogy about two millions of tens of rupees would be required for a strong police. This would be equal to five or six millions of taels. Thus the initial outlay would strain the poor Treasury. But with honesty beginning at the top, there would soon be increase of receipts. Then as the good administrators felt their strength, they

would insist on fiscal honesty to the very bottom. Soon, in such a country as China, a magnificent revenue would come rolling in. Internal order would cause an influx of European capital into the interior, and the Chinese Government would gain the goodwill of the European traders from all Europe. Moreover the sums allotted for expenses would be for the first time in Chinese history fully applied to the proper purposes. Then the roads, now broken up, would be repaired, and the Grand Canal, now half dry, would begin to flow again. By degrees the Imperial Government would be placed in funds for all the objects of good government as understood at the end of the nineteenth century. Added to all this there would be the gigantic task of reforming the State education. Most of the existing instruction would have to be given up, the competition examinations modified, and the *literati*, as a class, so left as to gradually die out.

The reformation above outlined is indeed drastic, but nothing short of this would suffice to save China. Then let any well-informed person reflect how difficult, how well-nigh impossible it would be to carry this into effect!

That such reforms as these, though too good to hope for, are not wholly Utopian, is shown by the Imperial Maritime Customs which are truly described by Lord Charles Beresford as constituting "China's only honest asset." They have for many years been placed under an Englishman, Sir Robert

Hart, and, being properly administered, have flourished accordingly.

But viewing things as they are, no person acquainted with the East would venture to hope that in the Chinese Utopia of to-day any such reforms could be carried into effect without a revolution in the Empire. It is supposed that the Emperor is in favour of reform. He has no issue and therefore his Empress is of no account politically. But the Dowager Empress Tsi Hsi, who has been mentioned in this narrative ever since 1860, possesses the power even over him; and she is thought to be hostile to reform. Lord Charles Beresford relates how he managed to save the life of one reformer, whose six companions had been sent to Peking for no other reason except that they were reformers, for execution by what he calls political murder. Then if a revolution is to occur, other consequences may supervene dragging with them all civil reforms and many other things besides, no man knows whither. Meanwhile the Chinese Empire, having gone already, China is drifting towards what looms on the horizon as dismemberment. She is like the Sick Man of the Far East. Men are wondering whether she will survive the nineteenth century, or if so, for how long. The only encouragement attainable is (as already indicated) derived from the experience that sometimes Sick Men, as, for example, Turkey, continue to prolong their existence.

From the concluding Observations in Lord Charles

Beresford's work the following points may be taken. He writes: "In reviewing this Report, several points become apparent. 1. The anxiety of British merchants in China as to the security of capital already invested. 2. The immediate necessity for some assurance to be given to those who are willing to invest further capital. 3. That this existing sense of insecurity is due to the effete condition of the Chinese Government, its corruption and poverty; and to the continued riots, disturbances, and rebellions throughout the country. 4. That the rapidly advancing disintegration of the Chinese Empire is also due to the pressure of foreign claims, which she has no power either to resist or refuse; all this leading to the total internal collapse of authority. 5. The terrible prospect of a civil revolution, extending over an area as large as Europe amongst 400 millions of people, upon which catastrophe the thin line of European civilisation on the coast, and a few ships of war would have little or no effect. 6. The uncertainty as to what Government would follow, should the present dynasty fall, and our ignorance as to what policy any future Administration would adopt respecting the contracts and concessions made by the existing Tsung-li-Yamen."

Regarding the Chinese people is a passage in Lord Charles Beresford's book which may be cited in order to give them the benefit of the testimony in which he doubtless gives voice to the opinion of the British merchants on the Pacific coast. He writes:

"If it be objected that China itself is effete and rotten, I reply that this is false. The traditional official system is corrupt, but the Chinese people are honest. The integrity of their merchants is known to every trader and banker in the East, and their word is as good as their bond. They have, too, a traditional and idolatrous respect for authority, and all they need is a good and honest authority."

Now this favourable testimony must not be carried beyond its proper limits, and it expressly refers to the trading classes, in respect to whom it will be fully accepted. But whether it is applicable to classes beyond those actually named is a question on which those acquainted with the East must reserve their judgment until further evidence be forthcoming. Professor Douglas says that Confucius himself was an adept in the art of make-believe. Certainly every student of Chinese history must admit that the art of make-believe is inherent in all the better classes, that is, the art of throwing a lovely veil over that which is unlovely, a righteous garb over that which is unrighteous, an honourable mantle over that which is dishonourable, a halo of magniloquence over that which is common. This habit must either extend to the humble classes, or at least affect their disposition, surrounding them with an atmosphere of unreality, very adverse to truthfulness. Whether they be truthful and honest or not, they are capable of things far better than any to which they have ever yet been accustomed.

This narrative regarding China in the nineteenth century has been devoted to Chinese conditions whether of progress, of stagnation, or of decadence; and has not touched more than was absolutely necessary on the conduct, the prowess, or the proceedings of the British Government or of individual Britons. It is hoped that this Government will be found on impartial inquiry to have been always worthy of the highly civilised Nation on whose behalf it was acting, and that the individuals have been working in the way which has been pursued by their countrymen in all climes and in all emergencies. The names of Elgin first, then of Bowring, Davis, Hugh Gough, Rutherford Alcock, Parkes, Wade, Loch, Hope-Grant, Gordon, Robert Hart, though but slightly mentioned in this narrative, owing to particular circumstances, will be gratefully remembered by their countrymen when the full story of the British Empire in the Far East shall come to be written.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS

DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

IN INDIA, JAPAN AND CHINA.

YEAR	INDIA	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1800	Marquess Wellesley, Governor - General Mahratta war East India Company under charter of 1793 Virtually double standard, gold and silver	Feudal system or Shogunate in the Tokugawa line Ienari Shogun at Yedo Mikado(Emperor) at Kyoto	Chiaching, Emperor. Empire at its meridian Industrial art still very fine, though past its zenith.
1801	Mahratta complications Alliance with Nizam	Rule of Feudal chiefs Daimyos and their retainers, Samurais	Discovery of grave official corruption.
1802.	Second Mahratta war.	Roman Catholic Christianity long stamped out	Jesuit missions still tolerated.
1803	Mahratta confederation broken Delhi and the Gangetic Valley subdued.	Industrial art at great height.	Influence of Mandarins and "*literati*" immense.
1804.	British Empire formed on ruins of Mahratta Empire Marquess Wellesley departs.	Exclusiveness absolutely maintained commercially and politically.	Unsound system of education prevalent. Forms of administration elaborate; but the reality most inefficient.
1805.	Marquess Cornwallis succeeds and dies Peace party retrogression threatened		Uneventful.
1806	Sir George Barlow, temporary Governor-General. Meeting of Native Indian troops (Sepoys) near Madras.		
1807.	Earl of Minto, Governor - General, confirms the imperial policy	Uneventful.	

YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1808.	British territories being consolidated.	Happy in having no history.	
1809.	Protestant missionary effort developing.		
1810.		Feudal system beginning to decay	First mission from Russia abortive
1811.		Galotin, Russian envoy imprisoned.	
1812.	Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquess of Hastings, appointed to succeed Earl of Minto as Governor General.		Growth of piracy at Formosa.
1815.	East India Company's trading monopoly abolished.	Dutch at Nagasaki, the only foreign traders admitted	Trouble beginning with European traders at Canton.
1814.	Imperial policy resumed War with the Gurkhas of Nepal	Shutting itself in from the outer world.	Country remains under dominating influence of the Mandarins and the literati
1815.	Peace victoriously concluded with Nepal		
1816.	Preparations for reduction of the predatory Pindari power.	Armour medieval Swords rusting, guns obsolete.	Lord Amherst's mission resultless. Letter from British King; haughty reply by Chinese Emperor.
1817.	The Pindari war successful Uprising of the Mahratta Powers and final Mahratta war.		
1818.	The Mahrattas incorporated in British political system.		Poppy cultivation in China noticed.
1819.	British supremacy acknowledged by the Rajput States Establishment of the enlarged British Empire.		Opium first recognised as article of trade.
1820.	Consolidation of British dominion.	Gradual enfeeblement of the Shogunate or feudal system.	Emperor Chiaching dies and is succeeded by Taokwang.
1821			Trouble on the Mongolian Plateau.
1822	Beginning of land settlements in North-Western Provinces		

YEAR.	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1823.	Lord Amherst Governor-General.		Inundations in the valley of the Hoang-Ho, called "China's sorrow."
1824.	First Burmese war against King of Ava		
1825.	War continued.		
1826.	Peace concluded. The province of Assam, and the coast districts ceded by the King of Ava.		
1827.	Empire established within limits not to be expanded for several years.		
1828.	Lord William Bentinck Governor-General.	Happy in having no history.	Imperial constitution growing gradually weaker.
1829.	Peaceful improvements throughout the Empire.		
1830.	Barbarous rites abolished.	But the old order of things preparing to pass away	Army and Fleet antiquated.
1831.			Unfit to contend with any civilised power.
1832.			
1833	East India Company's trading functions abolished—territorial position continued. Law commission, and Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay law member of Government of India.	Still no effect on Japanese exclusiveness.	Increasing trouble with European traders at Canton.
1834.	Small State of Coorg annexed. Penal Code in preparation.		Lord Napier's commercial mission to Canton.
1835.	Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe, Governor-General temporarily. Freedom of the press granted.	Asleep before a rude awakening	Failure of the Mission, and death of Lord Napier at Macao.
1836.	Establishment of the silver standard and currency. Earl of Auckland, Governor-General.	Ienari, the Shogun, resigns in favour of his son Ieyoshi.	Taokwang, the Emperor, appoints Lin to be Commissioner at Canton.

YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1837.		Ieyoshi, the Shogun, begins to rule. First attempt by an American vessel to trade.	Seizure of opium by Lin, and other acts of hostility.
1838.			
1839.	Expedition to Afghanistan—Candahar and Caubul occupied.		War between British and Chinese at Canton.
1840.	The British in Caubul and Candahar.	Feudal system growing weaker; arms, armament and discipline inefficient.	First war with the British. Appearance of British squadron for the first time in Pechilee gulf.
1841.	Afghan uprising at Caubul — hostilities in Afghanistan.		War continued in Yang-tsze valley, and Hong Kong ceded to the British. Commercial treaty with Britain.
1842.	First Afghan war concluded. Lord Ellenborough, Governor-General.		Commercial treaties with European powers and America. Treaty ports acknowledged.
1843.	Empire begins again to expand. Sind annexed.		
1844.	Sir Henry Hardinge, Governor-General.	Letter from King of Holland about trade.	Strained relations between British and Chinese at Canton.
1845.	Trouble arising among the Sikhs of the Panjab.		
1846.	First Sikh war, piece of the Panjab annexed.		
1847.		First attempt by British ship to trade	
1848.	Earl, afterwards Marquess of Dalhousie, Governor - General. Uprising in the Panjab, and second Sikh war begun.	Similar attempts continued.	
1849.	War concluded, and the Panjab annexed.		Taiping rebellion beginning near Canton.
1850.	The Lawrence brothers administer the Panjab.		Taokwang, Emperor dies and is succeeded by Hsienfeng.

YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1851.	Canals of irrigation undertaken.	Becoming apprehensive of repeated attempts of foreigners to trade.	Progress of Taiping rebellion.
1852.	Second Burmese war. Pegu with Rangoon annexed.		
1853.	Railways (Trunk lines) introduced.	Commodore Perry from America appears at Yedo, delivers President's letter and departs. Death of Shogun Ieyoshi, succeeded by Iesada.	Taiping rebels in possession of Yang-tsze valley.
1854.	Public instruction and education formally introduced.	Commodore Perry returns for answer, and Shogun Iesada signs preliminary treaty of commerce.	Taiping rebels moving toward Peking are repelled near Tientsin.
1855.		Similar treaties with European powers.	Are circumscribed in Yang-tsze valley.
1856.	Oudh annexed.	Treaty ports recognised.	Yeh, Viceroy of Canton. Affair of the lorcha vessel "Arrow." Beginning of war. Earl of Elgin despatched from Britain as Plenipotentiary.
1857.	Outbreak of Sepoy mutinies in India — revolt of native soldiery. Fall and recapture of Delhi. Grave crisis surmounted.	Iemochi (infant) becomes Shogun.	Earl of Elgin arrives with a force at Canton. Hostile action of Yeh, whereon Canton bombarded and Yeh taken prisoner.
1858.	Disturbances throughout India suppressed. East India Company abolished, and the Government of India taken over by the British Crown.	Shogun signs enlarged commercial treaties with the Powers.	Lord Elgin proceeds to Pechilee Gulf, takes Taku Forts at mouth of Peiho river, and proceeds to Tientsin. Treaty of Tientsin with improved provisions for commerce. Emperor agrees to receive British representative.
1859.	Military changes.	British legation at Yedo threatened.	British representative comes, but is stopped at the Taku Forts.

YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1860.	Army reorganisation. Financial system (Budget) introduced after English model.	Increasing discontent and violence among feudal retainers.	Anglo-French expedition proceed to Peking, Emperor flies his capital and signs convention of peace. Summer Palace destroyed as a punishment.
1861.	Development of Protestant missionary enterprise. System of canal irrigation extended.	Kamon-no-Kami, the regent, murdered: first political assassination.	Death of Emperor Hsienfeng. Tungchih (an infant) becomes Emperor, under a Regency.
1862.	Earl of Elgin, Governor-General.		Final suppression of Taiping rebellion undertaken.
1863.	Military operations on North-West Frontier—peace restored. Death of Earl of Elgin.	The Feudal attempt to close the strait of Shimonoseki.	Gordon, called "Chinese," appointed to command Chinese forces against the rebels.
1864.	Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence appointed Governor-General. Hostilities with Bhutan, and Doars annexed.	Foreign representatives send Naval expedition to Shimonoseki Strait.	He extinguishes the rebellion.
1865.	System of public sanitation introduced.		Nienfei rebellion extinguished.
1866.		Emperor at Kyoto accepts the Commercial treaties made by the Shogun at Yedo.	
1867.	Marked progress of railways.	Iemochi, the Shogun, dies End of the Shogunate or feudal system.	Great development of Protestant missions.
1868.		Accession of Mutsuhito, as Mikado or Emperor. Foreign representatives received for the first time at Imperial Court in Kyoto.	Progress of European trade, especially British at Hongkong and Shanghai.
1869.	Sir John Lawrence leaves India. The Earl of Mayo, Governor-General, meets Shere Ali Ameer of Caubul, and concludes arrangements with Afghanistan.	Provisional constitution and abolition of the feudal (Daimyo) system. Emperor takes charter oath	

YEAR.	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1870.		Imperial seat of government moved from Kyoto to Yedo.	
1871.		Name of the capital changed to Tokyo.	Panthay rebellion in Yunnan. Rebellion near frontier of Mongolia—both Moslem.
1872.	Earl of Mayo assassinated. Lord Northbrook, Governor-General.	Deliberative assembly constituted but fails in practical effect.	Tungchih (Emperor) attains majority and is married.
1873.		Progressive party in Japan growing in activity.	Recapture of Talifoo in Yunnan by Imperialists.
1874.	Famine in Bengal and Behar. Principle settled that Famine-Relief should be fully undertaken by the state.		Mysterious death of Emperor Tungchih and of Empress Ahluta.
1875.	Prince of Wales visits India.		Kwanghsu (Emperor), infant, under Regency of the Dowager Empresses and of Prince Kung.
1876.	Lord Northbrook quits India. Lord Lytton, Governor-General.	Embers of old Feudalism smouldering.	Murder of Mr. Margary with complicity of Chinese officials. Chefoo convention for trade.
1877.	Imperial assemblage at Delhi, and Queen proclaimed Empress of the Empire of India. Famine in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay.	Satsuma rebellion under Saigo. Okubo murdered — second political assassination.	Severe famine.
1878.	Second Afghan war, peace concluded.		Expedition for recovery of Mongolian Plateau.
1879.	Recrudescence of trouble at Caubul.		Successful campaign in Yarkand and Kashgaria and general victory for Chinese troops in the Great Plateau.
1880.	Military operations in Southern Afghanistan. Lord Lytton quits India. Marquess of Ripon, Governor-General.	Consolidation of Emperor's position as a Constitutional Sovereign.	Progress of Christian Missions.

YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN	CHINA.
1881		Reorganisation of the country into boroughs and districts	Treaty with Russia regarding Kuldjá in Central Asia.
1882			
1883		New Japan growing apace	
1884.	Earl (afterwards Marquess) of Dufferin Governor General	Christianity fully tolerated Large development of missions.	Favourable point in fortunes of China before decadence rapidly sets in.
1885.	Third Burmese war, annexation of the Kingdom of Ava		
1886			Trouble with France in Tonking.
1887	Progress of Christian missions Queen's Jubilee celebrated		Kwanghsu, Emperor, receives charge of the government from the Regent.
1888.	Marquess of Lansdowne, Governor General		
1889	Completion of Railway system on North West frontier up to border of Southern Afghanistan.	Full constitution with Imperial Diet established and Mikado (Emperor) takes the oath Electoral system fully introduced Mori Arinori murdered, third political assassination	Kwanghsu, Emperor, enthroned
1890		Promulgation of the Constitution Army and Navy organised on modern system	Naval stations established in Pechihlee Gulf at Port Arthur, Wei-hai Wei Army left unreformed.
1891	Trouble beginning with France and Siam		
1892.	Mints ordered to be closed against coinage of silver, owing to the extreme depreciation of the Rupee.		
1893.	Earl of Elgin, Governor-General Closure of Mints taken effect		Trouble in Korea and force despatched there.

YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1894.	Joint Anglo-French guarantee of independence for Siam.	Force despatched to Korea—War breaks out with China.	War with Japan.
1895.		Successful by sea and land.	Naval stations of Port Arthur and Wei-hai-Wei lost, also Liao-tung Peninsula.
1896	Outbreak of Plague and Famine.	Treaty of peace at Shimonoseki.	Peace treaty ratified.
1897.	Queen's Diamond Jubilee celebrated	Retrocession of Liao-tung to China at instance of France and Russia with some support from Germany.	Aid of European powers invoked for first time by China. Kiaochow taken by Germany.
1898.	Troubles on North-West Frontier War on Frontier successfully conducted.	Diet thanks Emperor for the manner in which he has directed the national forces by land and sea.	Port Arthur leased to Russia, and Wei-hai-Wei to Britain.
1899.	Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Governor-General.	Treaty Ports abolished, together with Consular jurisdiction: all ports thrown open.	Railway concessions to subjects of the several European powers.
1900	Preparation for Gold Standard Severe famine Marked loyalty regarding War in South Africa	Uneasiness regarding action of Russia near coast of Korea Anxiety regarding possible interruption of trade with China	Dowager Empress, virtual ruler. Internal troubles, hostility to reform Anti-European rebellion and precautions by European Powers to guard their several interests at Peking.

INDEX.

C

D.

K.

L.

Q

R.

T.

U.

V.

W.

X.

Y.

Z.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

THE BOXER MOVEMENT, 1900–1901.

THIS review of Chinese history in the Nineteenth Century had been carried on to 1899. I am now requested, early in 1901, to resume my pen for a while, and to present a summary of the striking events which have happened since the writing of the former chapters of this book.

In August, 1899, having traced the steps of China on the road to ruin all through the Nineteenth Century, I represented her as tossing about like a dismasted vessel on a sea of trouble, ready to sink at any moment, with lowering clouds around her. In fact at that very moment there were movements in secret progress which were known doubtless to many conspirators, though concealed with more or less success from the outer world, and which were destined within a few months to precipitate China into a danger more grave, a depression more profound, a crisis more acute than any she had ever undergone.

Like as in former chapters, I shall in this chapter use strictly historic materials. I shall adopt in part only the reports made by the many correspondents of the Press. I shall mainly rely on the Parliamentary Blue Books 3, 4, and 5 of 1900, on the report by

the correspondent of the London *Times* published on the 15th and 16th of October, 1900, and subsequent date, and on Mr. Stanley Smith's *China from Within*, published in November, 1900, and quoting largely from the *North China Herald*. I have also to acknowledge advice obtained from Professor Douglas of the British Museum.

At the beginning of Chapter XXX. of my work, I had spoken of the present Emperor Kwanghsu as reigning rather than ruling, and as being under the domination of his aunt the Dowager Empress, who had been in effective power ever since 1860. The distribution of sovereignty between the aunt and the nephew is better known now than it was in the middle of 1899, and it should here be stated, as it lies at the bottom of the trouble which has astonished the world.

In the autumn of 1898 the Emperor, a man of thirty years of age, was ruling and had been so doing for some little time, though being childless he had not the full weight of authority. He had fallen under the influence of enlightened and patriotic Chinese, called the Reform Party, who, seeing the benefit which Japan had derived from adopting European civilisation, wished to do the same for China. Some of them went even further and proposed to adopt Christianity as a State religion. A memorial to this effect, together with the recommendation of other reforms upon the European model, was prepared for the Emperor. This was reported to the Dowager

Empress, who, with furiously flashing eyes, denounced the traitors, put some of them to death, banished others, shut up the Emperor in close retirement and reassumed the reins of government. That she could do all this at the instant is a proof of the power possessed at the Capital, Peking, by the Reactionary Party, and of her influence over it. They indeed knew her to be the one of all others most after their own heart. But she did more then and there; she began an organisation of volunteers in town and country, patriotic men from her point of view, to be styled by a Chinese title which has been translated into English as Boxers. With the help of this she meant immediately to attempt the execution of a long-meditated design which was nothing less than the extermination of all Europeans in China, or at least their expulsion from the country, and the destruction of everything European within Chinese limits—that is, railways, telegraphs, houses and other property. The reality of a design so monstrous and wondrous as this might seem incredible, were it not historically proved to have been seriously entertained, to have been vigorously prosecuted, and to have been carried, in Peking at least, to a point not far short of accomplishment.

Besides many kinds of evidence there is the specific proof consisting in a long series of Edicts, sinister, malignant, truculent, issued during a course of many months, and couched in terms fearfully explicit. The Dowager Empress and her advisers, if

cited before the bar of history and of the world, have the testimony of their own words against them given under the imperial hand and seal. About the Court the Tartar Manchus, as immediate adherents of the Manchu dynasty, were the more fierce and blood-thirsty; the Chinese proper were generally milder and more inclined to reasonable counsels.

The main faults alleged against the European States in these Edicts are earth-hunger and tiger-like voracity for eating up China piece by piece. Religion, that is the propagation of Christianity, is alluded to but indirectly, and that in connection with the alienation of the Chinese from national customs and their subjection to foreign ideals. Respecting the territorial allegation it could hardly be meant for the acquisitions actually made by Europeans which were either seaports like Port Arthur, Wei-hai-Wei, or an island like Hong Kong not much thought of by Chinese, or some commercial concessions which were strips. It related rather in all probability to the discussions which were going on regarding the possible rearrangement of the country into spheres of influence as between the several European Powers, whence arose the ominous phrase, "the partition of China."

Whatever may have been the potency of these motives, the impelling motive was this, the determined exclusiveness which was founded in pride and ignorance which had been cherished at heart since the time of Confucius, which engendered an utter in-

tolerance towards white people and which steeled the Chinese heart against European influence.

While thus declaring a fanatical hatred of all European thoughts and things, the Dowager Empress and her advisers were importing European armament and ammunition at great cost and on a vast scale into China, Krupp and Creusot guns, and Mauser rifles, to be used of course against Europeans. They were instructing and drilling select bodies of Chinese troops in the use of these weapons. This was done with as much secrecy as possible; and experience has shown in other parts of the world that arms and guns can be imported under concealment and disguise without any special suspicion being aroused. Certainly China was known in 1899 to possess such things, but not at all to the extent to which she was found in possession of them by the beginning of 1900. To denounce and forbid the use of all European things, while using the most potent of those things, accords with the inconsistency and insincerity which the Chinese have exhibited from time to time all through the Nineteenth Century. Indeed they are impervious to prickings of conscience in this respect.

Toward the end of 1899 the Boxers rose up in small bands all over the country; but their chief, perhaps central, quarter seemed to be the Province of Shantung, or the territory between the British Wei-hai-Wei and the German Kiao-Chow. They were at first falsely represented as rebels by the

Chinese Government through its several Embassies in Europe. Originally there may have been doubt among the European community in China as to their real character, as irregular bodies of this sort are but too well known to Chinese history. Before the end of 1899 the truth became self-evident. The Boxers were no rebels; they were under the patronage of the Dowager Empress, and in fraternity with the Imperial troops; they were the volunteer and reserve forces of the country, organised for a particular service and a deadly purpose.

The first blood was drawn in the last days of December, 1899, by the murder of Mr. Brooks, an English missionary in Shantung. The Dowager Empress' Government pretended through its ambassador in London to have punished the murderers, while the local Governor who had ordered—or at least countenanced, the murder was promoted to another province. After the beginning of 1900, events followed fast and furious. The railways which had extended from the head of the Pechilee Gulf to Peking, and to the head of the Liaotung Gulf near Newchwang, were destroyed. Still more determined efforts were put forth against the Russians in Manchuria. The Russian railways and stations, then in course of construction, were threatened or destroyed, and the attacks were advanced right up to the Russian frontier on the Amur. At one time hardly anything Russian remained in Manchuria except Port Arthur. Christian churches, schools,

colleges and stations, Roman Catholic and Protestant, in the Provinces of Shantung, of Pechilee (which is the imperial or metropolitan province round about the capital Peking), and of Honan, just to the south, were attacked or destroyed but for the most part the missionaries and their families, together with their very numerous converts, escaped with their lives after many hairbreadth adventures and many devoted exertions, inasmuch as places of refuge and safety were near at hand and accessible. It was sadly different with the Province of Shansi, embosomed in hills to the west of Peking and in a certain sense off the lines of communication. It was full of Protestant missions, largely American, all very successful, with numerous bodies of Chinese adherents and converts. It had been regarded as one of the most happy and peaceful parts of China. In the summer of 1900 the Boxers appeared there, and under the directions of the Governor, murdered most of the missionaries and a great number of their converts.

These deeds in the northern provinces, as above mentioned, near Peking were perpetrated under express Edicts of the Dowager Empress. Copies of the same Edicts were circulated in the middle provinces, that is the Yang-tsze-Kiang valley behind Shanghai, and in the southern provinces behind Hong Kong and around Canton. But there the Viceroys and the provincial Governors stood firm, and forbore to carry out their atrocious instruc-

tions. Public anxiety there was indeed, also distressful anticipation among the European communities. Boxers were moving about in parties, though not in organised bands as in the northern provinces. If here and there they attempted to rise suppression promptly followed. The wolf was coming, coming, and his dread bark was often heard, but he never came. All this is noteworthy as showing that, after all, the local authorities in China can answer for order when they have a mind to do so.

Having done all the harm possible in the northern provinces and witnessed the failure of the attempts at mischief in the middle and southern provinces, the Dowager Empress nerved and braced herself for a crowning effort in the capital, Peking itself. The object of this effort was to bombard, overrun and stamp out the several Embassies of the European Powers, acts which must necessarily involve the murder of the several Ambassadors, Ministers, staff officers, families, servants and Chinese Christians or other native adherents. This was no mere idea, but a project practically and energetically compassed. Such an outrage on civilisation would hardly have been conceivable. But in matters relating to the comity of nations China never has been, and is not, civilised.

Before giving the fatal and irrevocable orders on June 16 (1900), the Dowager Empress held a grand Council of her Manchu and Chinese Grandees, herself virtually presiding. The miserable Emperor was present. He tried to say a word for reasonable-

ness and forbearance, but she silenced him. The Chinese Members pleaded in the same sense with firmness and prudence, she looking daggers at them all the while. Then the Manchus drowned the voices, so supporting their mistress. Thus the fiat went forth at once for that which will be known in all time coming as the Siege of the Peking Legations. It is understood that as the Council broke up the abject Emperor flung himself at the Empress' feet, seized the hem of her robe and passionately pleaded for forbearance while yet there was time, to avert the destruction that must ensue to the dynasty and to the nation. But she withdrew her robe, turned her back on him, saying, "What can a boy like the Emperor know about these things." If this scene has been truly reported, as may well be the case, then it is one of the weirdest even in the history of China. Immediately began the investment and bombardment of all the European Legations which were situated in the same quarter of the city.

Meanwhile the European Powers and the United States had been busy. It would hardly be just to say that they were taken by surprise; but certainly the storm burst upon them unprepared. Britain had, indeed, powerful squadrons in Chinese waters; other Powers had squadrons also. But sea-forces could not act in the threatened areas inland, and no Power had any land forces at hand available, except Russia. But then the Russian troops at hand were fully occupied with fighting their own battle in Man-

churia. The British sent for fifteen thousand troops from India, but they could not arrive for some little time. Japan had forces nearer at hand, but there was some hesitation in accepting her aid. Still that difficulty was soon overcome. In the main the allied troops must come from Europe. Fortunately the understanding between the Powers was good; there must be some generalissimo, so Germany proposed and the Powers accepted Field Marshal Count von Waldersee in that capacity. Thus there was a Concert of Europe and the United States; the object being to restore order, to put down all disturbers, to exact reparation, to provide security for the future, and all this without attempting the partition of China and without seeking advantage for any Power in particular.

The point of danger was seen to be Peking itself, and Britain was the first in the field with a strenuous effort for its relief. Admiral Seymour, with a small force of blue-jackets and marines, reached Tientsin, half-way between the sea and Peking, and had even advanced a good distance farther towards the capital, but was prevented by vastly superior force from proceeding farther. So the relief of the beleaguered Legations was unavoidably postponed. Soon the Allied forces came up, and after considerable fighting took Tientsin. The Chinese guns were of long range and excellently served; the Chinese infantry fired their rifles well; all which showed that their training and discipline had been carried

out in earnest. Then the combined forces marched on Peking.

Meanwhile the siege of the Legations had been going on for eight weeks in the height of summer. The concentration of the garrison was in the British Legations, as being the largest. The heroic story has been told in burning, undying words by Dr. Morrison, correspondent of the London *Times*, and confirmed by Sir Claude Macdonald. None can say who did the best when all did superbly well,—a little garrison, a very few hundred soldiers, a very few hundred civilians all white people, a very few thousand native Chinese adherents—European, American, clergy, laity, Roman Catholic, Protestant, white folk, coloured folk, men, women. They were constantly bombarded by guns of long range worked and manned by Chinese artillerymen under command of high Chinese officers who were clearly recognised and often under the eye of the Dowager Empress herself. There were many casualties and some victims of distinction, foremost among these being Baron von Ketteler, the German Minister. All this time the Imperial Government kept up a show of diplomacy: conciliatory words were uttered by the Chinese Ambassadors in Europe; friendly messages were sent to the Ministry in the Legations in their stress and duress, and one day in the very height of the siege a present of fruit was offered. In such wise do the Chinese ever try to throw a gauze veil over the mailed fist. The bombardment was con-

ducted skilfully enough; but no disposition was shown to storm by assault, and the Chinese troops showed generally the cowardice and ineptitude that might have been expected. The French Minister has pointed out the mistakes they made; indeed, it is hardly too much to say that, had they done anything but what they did, the little garrison must have been overwhelmed. At length the Allies effected a relief about the 14th of August; the British happened to be earliest to enter; and the first to succour the Allied garrison were Indian troops of the Rajput Regiment. The Dowager Empress fled the city disguised as a common woman in a country cart; whether she will ever return must depend on the mercy of the Allied Powers.

After a short breathing time the Concert of Europe and the United States began to consider how a settlement of China could be arranged and with whom any terms of peace could be concluded. The railways to the coast were repaired so far as that could be done in haste; Tientsin and other intermediate points between the capital and the coast were strongly held; the capital itself, Peking, was held by an allied force of over fifty thousand men. The Imperial Court was found to have fled to Singanfu, a historic place not far from the Mongolian frontier and some hundreds of miles from Peking. One or two Princes of comparatively fair character were sent to represent it in the allied camp. Li Hung Chang, a man already known to history, was ap-

pointed to negotiate. The "dreary drip of dilatory" negotiations succeeded; naturally it was the policy of the Chinese to interpose every imaginable objection. Whether the Concert of Europe showed the requisite firmness and promptitude remains to be proved. Note after note has been discussed and agreed to, but never actually signed. At first the capital punishment of certain Imperial Princes whose murderous guilt had been demonstrated was demanded; but this demand after remonstrance was mitigated. A strong European garrison at Peking was insisted on; after this had been objected to it was limited to adequate guards for the Legations. The only point that has not in any degree been yielded is the holding of the line by European military strength from Peking to the coast. The financial demands for indemnity and compensation do not seem to have been much resisted by China. Nothing is known for certain regarding the future settlement of the Manchu dynasty in China. The character of the Emperor has been already described; he is well-meaning, but wholly wanting in moral power. It is hoped that the Dowager Empress will be permanently set aside, as few women in human annals have wrought such mischief as she. The protraction of negotiations is for one reason not to be regretted, because it shows that the Allies mean to stay till the work is really done, however long that may be. The undue haste in departing after victory in former wars, and so leaving China too soon to her-

self, has encouraged the Chinese to believe that they might defy us yet again.

In conclusion, Britain and Germany have published an agreement whereby they bind themselves to keep open all ports in China for trade, to abstain from seeking any territorial advantage, and to strive to prevent others from seeking it. The other Powers have also subscribed to this doctrine. Doubts, however, arise as to the meaning and effect of this agreement, inasmuch as Russia, one of the subscribing Powers, subsequently secured what seemed to be aggrandisement in Manchuria. This was to be obtained by means of a Convention which the Chinese Government was requested to sign, but which after a while that Government at the instance of the Powers declined doing. In fine, the clouds hang thicker than ever all round the horizon of China. They may lift soon, or alas! they may not; meanwhile the only gleam of light comes from the fact that, despite all the evil in Peking, the local authorities in the Yang-tsze Valley and around Canton did preserve order on the whole.

Edinburgh:
Printed by W. & R. Chambers, Limited.