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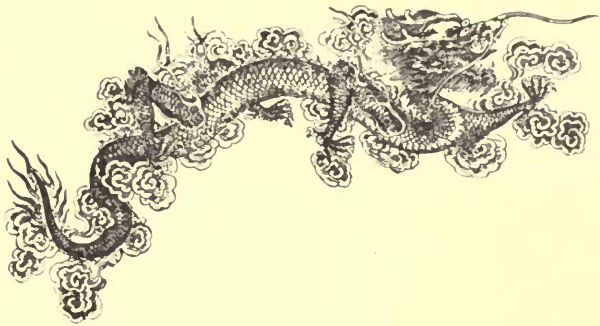


# THE MAKERS OF CATHAY



BY C. WILFRID ALLAN

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## PREFACE.

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CHINA has for centuries been a sealed country, and the part she has played in the history of the world has never been recognised by Europeans. Now that the East and West have drawn so much nearer together, it is seen that in that Empire movements have taken place which have considerably affected the other nations of the earth, and men have lived who deserve a place in the record of the world's great ones. Owing to the policy of seclusion that has characterised the Chinese nation, little has become known of the great characters of her history, and they have been denied the world-wide fame that ought to have been theirs. We are acquainted with the lives of men who in other countries and in other ages have proved their title to the world's homage, and the question of nationality is lost sight of in the consciousness that these men belong to us all; they are the elite of humanity. Who does not know something of Alexander the Great or Julius Cæsar, of Charlemagne or Luther? But who amongst ordinary readers knows anything of Chin Shih Huang Ti or Kublai Khan, of Tai Tsung or Mencius? And yet these latter names are worthy of a place beside the former.

Much has been written in recent years about China, but it has chiefly been descriptive of the country and its inhabitants, their curious customs and institutions. A few books have been written in which the Chinese character has been analysed and judged, and through these a better knowledge of the people has been obtained. Histories of the country have also been published, but being for the most part bulky volumes, have only reached those who were specially concerned in the political, commercial, or religious interests of the Chinese nation. The average European reader is still ignorant of the movements that have contributed

to the continuance of the "longlived empire" and knows nothing of the makers of her history.

The present volume is an attempt to put before the English public a record of the lives of some of China's famous sons. It is not written for sinologues, but for those whose opportunities of becoming acquainted with the history of the Chinese empire are scanty and who yet are interested in all that concerns the Far East. The lives outlined in this volume by no means exhaust the long list of Chinese worthies, but a selection has been made for the purpose of showing how from the standpoint of political, educational, social, and religious development, these men have contributed to the upbuilding of their own nationality. Some of the lives recorded are those of men who have been raised up to accomplish a special work or purpose, and the sketch of their doings also entails a description of some of the most interesting epochs of Chinese history. The plan of the work is chronological, and the characters described range from the period of the Chou dynasty, some five centuries before Christ, to the present day.

Among the books consulted for the preparation of this volume are the "Chinese Biographical Dictionary" and "Chinese Literature" by Dr. Giles, "History of China" by Professor Douglas, "History of China" by Mr. Boulger, "Guide to the Confucian Temple" by Mr. Watters, and the "Chinese Classics" by Dr. Legge. An acknowledgment of indebtedness to the above named authors is made here.



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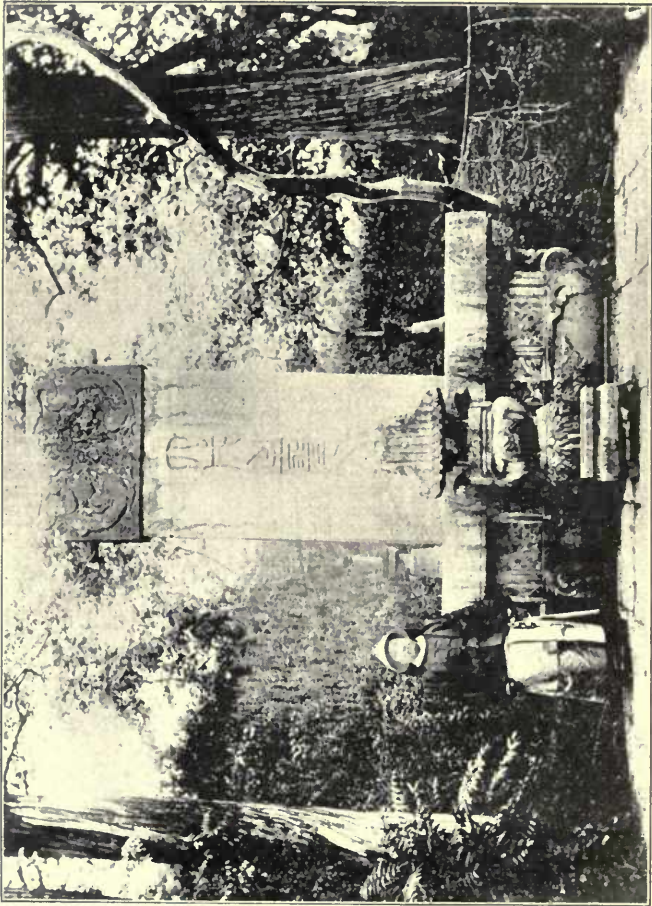
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




TABLET AT GRAVE OF CONFUCIUS.



# The Makers of Cathay.



## CONFUCIUS

### THE MORAL REFORMER.

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ONE of the most notable of Chinese Dynasties was that of Chou, which was founded in the year 1122 B. C. and lasted until 255 B. C., a period of over eight hundred years. The character of the government of China during that time was similar to that which prevailed in our own country when under the power of the barons, and the period may be termed the feudal period of Chinese history. The founder of the Chou Dynasty divided his kingdom into small states, each having its own ruler, who paid tribute to the central government and who might be called upon at any time to assist in war against an enemy. Of course, the kingdom ruled over at that time, was not co-extensive with the present empire of China, but was only a small territory, including the present provinces of Honan and Shensi, with parts of the adjoining country. The population would be about ten or twelve million people.

In process of time some of the inferior states under the rule of the house of Chou became powerful, and the result was internecine war, disorder, and the weakening of the central authority. Not only was the empire torn with rival factions within, but it was also harassed by the Tartars without, who made successful raids on the territory, and did much towards the destruction of the famous dynasty.

It was during a period of internal strife and dissatisfaction, in the declining days of the Chou Dynasty, that Confucius was born. This was in 550 B. C. The Chi-

nese name of Confucius was Kung, and this has been Latinized into his present appellation, which to a certain extent accounts for the knowledge of his life amongst people in the West. Had his harsh Chinese name alone been known, many more would have remained in ignorance of the sage's history. Confucius was a native of the State of Lu, a part of the modern province of Shantung, a state which at that time had a powerful influence in the affairs of Chou. He could boast of royal blood, being descended from the House of Shang, which had been the ruling power before Chou. His father, a man of note, had married in early life, and had nine daughters and one son, a cripple. The mother of Confucius, however, was a second wife, whom his father had married in his old age, and Confucius was the child of that union. The old man did not live long after the birth of his famous son, dying when Confucius was three years old and leaving the family in poor circumstances. Confucius acknowledges in later life the formative influences of this poverty on his character.

Of the early years of Confucius, little is known that is trustworthy. We gather that he was fond of ceremonials as a child, and his play was to be found on these lines, imitations of the stately ceremonies and proprieties that he from time to time witnessed. At fifteen we are told he studied hard, and at nineteen he married. The reference to his married life brings before us what evidently is a blot on the character of the Chinese sage. He is said to have divorced his wife, and his only reason for so doing was that he would have more leisure and better opportunities for study. Although Chinese writers defend their great countryman's action in this matter, they do not throw any clearer light on the subject, and our opinion of Confucius suffers in consequence. After his marriage we find Confucius employed under the chief of the Chi clan as keeper of stores, and also in charge of the parks and herds. This was only a mean office, and it speaks well



for the character of its holder who, although of royal blood, did not refuse to engage in such service. The philosopher Mencius, referring to this time in the life of Confucius, throws another light on his character, showing his diligent attention to the work in hand, his concentration upon the one object before him. Mencius says: "Confucius was once keeper of stores, and he then said: 'My accounts must be all right; that is all I have to care about.' He was once in charge of the public fields, and he then said: 'The oxen and sheep must be fat and strong and superior; that is all my business.'"

At the age of twenty-two Confucius began to teach. Those whom he instructed were not children in schools, but young men who, dissatisfied with the practices of the times, aspired to nobility of conduct and life. As Confucius was still poor, he accepted monetary aid from his pupils, but did not in any way make charges for instruction. Any who could not pay were equally welcome to his counsels; the only condition Confucius required being receptivity of mind and heart. He said: "I do not open up the truth to one who is not eager to get knowledge, nor help out anyone who is not anxious to explain himself. When I have presented one corner of a subject to any one, and he cannot from it learn the other three, I do not repeat my lesson." In some respects we may not consider this an ideal way of teaching; there is lacking the condescension and sympathy with the stupid and dull, but at the same time this method is characterised to stimulate thought in the minds of those really anxious to learn. Confucius felt that instruction was wasted on those who were lazy and indifferent; referring to one such he said: "Rotten wood cannot be carved, a wall of soil cannot receive the trowel; this man Yu, what is the use of my reproving him." The number of disciples who followed Confucius reached in later years to about three thousand, seventy or more of whom were special favourites of the sage, and constituted an inner circle about him. The

most attached to him accompanied him wherever he went, closely watching his movements and learning from his every posture and gesture what should be the character of a noble minded man. One of the Chinese classics, the Analects of Confucius, contains minute descriptions of the sage's person, manner, and deportment, some of which are really foolish and trivial, but they serve to show how closely the disciples must have studied their master, and they also speak much for the character that, whatever its imperfections, had so deeply impressed itself on their minds.

When Confucius had reached the age of twenty-four his mother died, and he buried her in the same grave as his father. In order to enforce his teaching of reverence for parents and respect to the dead, he determined to place a mound over the grave, the actual erection of which, however, he left to his disciples, who only completed it after several attempts; their efforts being nullified by showers of rain.

Of Confucius' life between the ages of thirty and forty not much is known. We are told that he studied music and ancient history. The prominence given to music in the Chinese classics, leads us to believe that it must have exercised considerably more influence over the ancients than the present people, and we are also led to think that its character must have been very different from the music of the modern Celestial. With regard to ancient history this gives us the key of the teaching of Confucius; his theme being a return to the practices and virtues of the worthies of a bygone time. At the age of thirty-four we find Confucius in the public service, at the same time continuing his instruction of his pupils in the principles of virtue and good conduct. About this time one of the chief ministers of Lu, dying, advised his son to join the school of Confucius. He accordingly did so, taking with him at the same time a relative, who was also anxious to profit by the sage's instructions. Through these pupils, Confucius gained influence at court, and shortly after was

sent by the Duke Chao of Lu to the Imperial Court at Lo Yang. Here he examined the library and also studied the court music ; here also he met the celebrated philosopher Lao Tzu, the founder of the Taoist religion. His stay at this city was not for long ; he returned to Lu the same year.

Soon after this the State of Lu fell into disorder, the ruler and his ministers were at variance, and the latter triumphing, the ruler fled to the neighbouring State of Chi. Confucius also went, accompanied by his disciples. On their way, whilst passing the Tai Shan, a celebrated mountain in that district, they beheld a woman weeping bitterly beside a grave. Confucius sent one of his followers to ask the woman why she wept, and the reply was that her husband's father, her husband, and recently her son, had all been killed by a tiger in the vicinity. When asked why she still remained there, her reply was that there was no oppressive government. "Remember my children", said Confucius to his followers, "oppressive government is worse than a tiger." Confucius whilst living in Chi was not happy. The ruler of the state, whilst having a certain amount of admiration for the sage, could not treat him as a man of rank ; several of the ministers ridiculed him. Confucius here, as in other places, endeavoured to instil his principles into the minds of those in office, but they were not heeded, and because of this he would not accept a salary that was offered to him by the officials. He shortly after returned to Lu.

For the next fifteen years Confucius led the life of a private citizen, giving his time to study and the instruction of his ever increasing band of disciples. He managed during this period to recommend himself to all citizens and magistrates alike, and won golden opinions from people of all degrees as to his manner of life. After Confucius had passed the age of fifty we again find him in the public service, holding the chief magistracy of the town of Chung Tu. During his term of office a marvellous reformation of the people took place, and the ruler of Lu,

recognising in Confucius an exceptionally worthy official, called him to higher office. He was finally appointed Minister of Crime, and his efforts to bring about a better state of things were crowned with success. Two of his disciples also obtained spheres of influence, and with their co-operation a wonderful transformation of the whole state of society under his rule was the result. He was able to suppress crime and ensure conditions under which life and property were safe. This he did, not by any tyrannical action, but by the inculcation of his principles. The following incident will serve to show the methods he adopted: On one occasion a father brought an accusation against his son. Confucius put them both in prison for three months. During their imprisonment one of the ministers approached Confucius, objecting that his action was inconsistent with his teaching on the subject of filial duty. Confucius replied: "When superiors fail in their duty, and yet go to put their inferiors to death, they are not just. This father has not taught his son to be filial; to listen to his charge would be to slay the guiltless." After the three months Confucius called the prisoners before him, and the father acknowledging his neglect of his son, was released with the injunction to instruct him in the right principles. Confucius also dismissed the boy, telling him to remember that filial piety was a first duty.

Such was the alteration in the condition of the state of Lu under Confucius that the ruler of the neighbouring State of Chi began to fear for his own welfare. He saw Lu becoming powerful, and apprehended an invasion of his territory that would result in his downfall. He knew that the prosperous condition of Lu was due to the influence of Confucius, and determined to lessen the power of that influence. He accordingly sent to the ruler of Lu, as a present, a large company of singing girls and a troop of horses. Confucius saw the motive and advised his prince to refuse the present, but the ruler was not proof against the seductions of the singing girls, and abandoned

himself to sensual pleasures. The sage, disappointed, felt that he could no longer continue where his counsels were disregarded, and taking advantage of some slight irregularity, resigned his position. He did this in such a way as to give the marquis a chance to recall him, but the ruler having thrown good advice to the winds, let him retire without any sign of regret.

Confucius not only at this time retired from office, but he left the country. He conceived the idea of travelling through the different states, trying to induce the various rulers and officials to adopt his principles, but he met with very little success. The country was torn with strife, men were engaged in war; their chief object being self-enrichment and self-aggrandisement; none had any inclination to listen to the teachings of the reformer. At times he was ill-treated, conspiracies were formed against him, and he soon reduced himself, by his wanderings, to a state of poverty.

The principles of Confucius were not outrageous; they were not even new; all he asked was a return to the virtues and graces of the ancients. He did not assume the role of a prophet, he professed no divine revelation, he was humble enough to disclaim any originality; what he required was that men should copy the examples of those who had in days long gone by contributed to the welfare of the empire, and whose names had been handed down as models of virtuous conduct.

Confucius on leaving Lu made his way to the State of Wei, situated in the modern province of Honan. The ruler he found to be friendly and well-disposed, but weak, his wife being a stronger character. Confucius saw that he had no chance to influence the prince, and soon retired. On leaving Wei an incident occurred which might have had disastrous results for him. Passing through the district of Kuang, he was attacked by the populace and kept prisoner for five days, and was only released when the people found out it was a case of mistaken identity.



He had the misfortune to bear a resemblance to Yang Hu, an officer of Lu, who had incurred the displeasure of the people of Kuang, and this was the cause of the attack on his person. Matters were made worse also by the fact that the driver of his chariot on this occasion was a disciple who had in time past been associated with Yang Hu. Reference is made to this incident in the Analects of Confucius, and we there gather the confidence that Confucius had in his mission and the certainty of his immunity from failure. He is represented as saying: "After the death of King Wen, was not the cause of truth lodged here in me? If Heaven had wished to let this cause of truth perish, then I, a future mortal, should not have got such a relation to that cause. While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of Kuang do to me?"

Confucius during his wanderings from state to state, must have been greatly disheartened by the fact that none would listen to his counsels, and yet, strong in his convictions, he continued to seek for those who were likely to profit by his teaching. There were those who would have turned him from his purpose, but he kept on, conscious that he had a mission to fulfil. At that time many who had looked for better days in the empire, in their disgust and disappointment, had retired from the world and were living hermit lives. On one occasion, Confucius and his disciples were seeking for a ford to cross a river, and they enquired of one of these recluses the exact place to cross. The hermit, realising that Confucius was present, would not give the necessary information, but proceeded to advise one of his disciples to leave his vain pursuit, saying: "Disorder, like a swelling flood, spreads over the whole empire, and who is he that will change it for you? Than follow one who merely withdraws from this one and that one, had you not better follow those who have withdrawn from the world altogether?" These words being reported to Confucius, he said: "It is impossible to associate

with birds and beasts, as if they were the same with us. If I associate not with these people—with mankind—with whom shall I associate?" These words show that Confucius had in his mind a right idea of reform. He felt that only by associating with men, by the power of example, by personal influences, could a reformation be brought about, and in this anticipated the teaching of one greater than he, "Ye are the salt of the earth".

Nothing daunted, though often defeated, Confucius kept on his way, and it was only after years of fruitless effort that he realised the impossibility of success in his mission. Broken in spirit he returned at the age of sixty-nine to his native State of Lu. During the time of his wanderings, one of his disciples had remained in Lu, and he, being in an official position, had influenced the ruler, son of the former prince, in favour of Confucius. The prince offered Confucius office, but he declined, and spent the remaining years of his life in retirement, engaged in literary work.

Although the life of the sage takes us far back in the known history of the world, yet China had a literature before Confucius, and the study of this, brightened the declining years of the reformer's life. He collected the ancient records, known as the Canon of History, and wrote a preface to them. He compiled the Book of Odes, a selection of poems that at the present day serve to throw much light on the condition and life of the early empire. A book of divination, known as the Canon of Changes, was a favorite with Confucius, so much so that he felt in his old age that he had not exhausted its possibilities and wished he had more opportunities for its study. But although Confucius studied the ancient literature he added very little by his own writing; the only work coming from his pen being a history of his native State of Lu, a work that possesses little literary merit, and one that presents problems that involve to a certain extent the character of the writer. The book is known as the Spring and Autumn Annals.

One might have expected that a teacher like Confucius would have left behind him an exposition of his principles, a system of his teaching for future generations, but this he has not done. His study of the ancient literature led him to base his teaching on the characters of old time, and he endeavoured to influence men towards an imitation of the virtues of those who had walked before them in the path of rectitude and goodness.

When Confucius was seventy years of age he began to realise that his work was coming to a close. His son died, and in the same year he lost his favourite disciple, Yen Hui. Two years after, his next favourite, Tzu Lu, died, and before many more months had passed, the sage himself was on his deathbed. Sad indeed must have been the end of the great reformer. Disappointed at his failure to influence the various rulers for good, sorrowful on account of the condition of the empire, grieving over the loss of his most loved disciples, with no relative or member of his family to comfort him in his last hours, Confucius died, manifesting no conviction that truth would finally prevail and giving no sign as to his expectations of a future life. His disciples buried him with great pomp, and to show their love and appreciation of their master, built themselves huts and remained by his grave for three years mourning for him as for a father, but without wearing the mourning dress. Tzu Kung, the third favourite disciple of Confucius, had acted as master of the ceremonies during the time, and at the expiration of three years, when the other disciples were about to retire, they took a formal leave of him, and Mencius tells us that on this occasion, looking towards each other, the disciples wailed so much that they all lost their voices. On their retiring, Tzu Kung built himself a house on the altar ground of the grave and lived there other three years.

When it became known amongst the people of the empire that the sage had passed away, they began to realise their loss, and an appreciation and veneration of

Confucius was manifested, to which he had been a stranger in his life time. Since then it has increased, and all down the centuries the name of Confucius has been handed as symbolical of all that is great and good.

The teaching of Confucius was based upon his interpretation of the lives of the ancients. He had a belief in human goodness and in the power of example, and his efforts were in the direction of a repetition of the golden age, when virtuous rulers governed a virtuous people. He went to the root of the matter by trying to influence those who had authority and power, confident that if they led the way in the path of virtue, those under their rule would follow. A paragraph from the classics illustrates this, and at the same time gives us an instance of the boldness of Confucius in reproving men who could have answered his unwelcome words with imprisonment and death. Chi Kang, a usurper, asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied: "To govern means to rectify. If you lead on the people with correctness, who will dare not to be correct." Chi Kang, distressed about the number of thieves in the state, inquired of Confucius about how to do away with them. Confucius said: "If you, sir, were not covetous, although you should reward them to do it, they would not steal." Chi Kang asked Confucius about government, saying: "What do you say to killing the unprincipled for the good of the principled?" Confucius replied: "Sir, in carrying on your government, why should you use killing at all? Let your evinced desires be for what is good, and the people will be good. The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and the grass. The grass must bend when the wind blows across it."

Confucius laid great emphasis on the five relationships that are supposed to sum up the whole duty of man, namely, the relationship between ruler and subject, husband and wife, father and son, elder brother and younger brother, and between friends. In all but the

latter, the sage's teaching was defective, as it represented the rule and authority merely on the one side, which was not balanced by any equivalent on the other.

Confucius can hardly be called a religious teacher; his system was one of ethics and morals, but he said little on the deep questions that have been in the minds of men in all ages. He manifested no desire to investigate or discuss the nature of the supernatural or unseen, he made no profession of any revelation of truth beyond what he himself had evolved from his own study of the ancients. This may have been because at the time a spirit of speculation with reference to unseen things was growing, the result of Taoist teaching, but whatever the cause, Confucius left such severely alone. He may be described as an agnostic, but not an agnostic in the modern sense of the term. There was no dogmatism about his uncertainty such as characterises those of the present day who, unknowing, decline to admit the possibility of any one being wiser than themselves. The following passage is often quoted to show the attitude of Confucius on these questions:—Chi Lu asked about serving the spirits of the dead. The Master said: "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits." Chi Lu added: "I venture to ask about death?" He was answered: "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?"

There is hardly any doubt that Confucius had a consciousness of a supreme power in the world, but it is too much to say that he realised the presence of a personal deity. A close study of the Chinese classics has led some to think that he had a clearer knowledge than his present countrymen; others, equally versed in the classic literature, have given a verdict in the opposite direction. But, however, this may be decided, it shows that on this question also Confucius did not give much light.

In some of the precepts of the great sage, echoes of the teaching of one greater than he have been found, and many of his words have been compared with those of Him



who "spake as never man spake". We are able to see in these, shafts and flashes of light that have their source in the "Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world".

It is hard to say wherein lies the secret of the influence that Confucius has wielded over one-third of the human race for more than two thousand three hundred years, but it is certain that the use of the books he himself honoured, and the books written by his disciples about him, at the examinations in the Chinese empire, account for much. When the rulers of China adopted these as text-books they took what was best in the literature of the country, and their influence has been on the side of righteousness, even though they have brought the sage into greater prominence than Christians care to see. Confucius, according to Mencius, appeared at a crisis in the history of the empire, and as in all ages the time has produced the man, he was specially raised up to fulfil a definite mission, and may be accounted one of the world's great reformers. Whatever we of the West say about him, amongst the Chinese he is above all depreciation, as the concluding chapters of the Analects show. Says Tzu Kung, the surviving favourite disciple, to one who had reviled Confucius: "It is of no use doing so. Chung Ni (Confucius) cannot be reviled. The talents and virtue of other men are hillocks and mounds, which may be stepped over. Chung Ni is the sun or moon, which it is not possible to step over. Although a man may wish to cut himself off, what harm can he do to the sun or moon?"

If any one at the present time visits the tomb of the sage, which is still to be seen, he may hear the first words of a popular Chinese history from the lips of some worshipper, as he prostrates himself before the mound:

"Confucius, Confucius, how great is Confucius,  
 Before Confucius was there no Confucius,  
 After Confucius has there been no Confucius,  
 Confucius, Confucius, how great is Confucius."

# MENCIUS

## THE SOCIAL REFORMER.

THE district of Yen Chou Fu in the province of Shan-tung is sacred soil to the Chinese, not only because it produced the great Confucius but because it is also the birthplace of the man who, second only to the sage, is honoured and revered in every quarter of the empire. Mencius, the social reformer, has left his impress on the minds and hearts of his countrymen, and the people of his native province are proud of the double distinction which rests upon them. From their midst have come the two men whom China delights to honour more than all others.

Whilst the dynasty of Chou held sway in China, the State of Lu, from which Confucius came, boasted the presence of three powerful clans. One of these clans of the name of Meng, losing its authority and prestige, became divided and eventually was broken up, a branch settling in the adjacent principality of Tsou. Of this branch came Meng Ko or as he was afterwards known Meng Tzu, the philosopher Meng, whose name, like that of his greater predecessor, has been Latinized into Mencius.

It is difficult to assign an exact date to the birth of Mencius, as the material regarding his childhood and youth is very scanty, but most writers agree in placing it somewhere about 372 B. C., a little over a hundred years after the death of Confucius. The only information of any interest or value about the childhood of Mencius is that referring to his mother, who was evidently a noble-minded woman, and whose teaching and influence resulted in the development of a like mind in her son. Mencius lost his father when he was three years of age, and thus his training and education devolved upon her whose name has

been handed down through all ages of Chinese history as the model mother. When very young, Mencius with his mother lived near a cemetery, and the familiar sight of funerals and their attendant rites so impressed the boy that in his play he rehearsed the practices he had witnessed. The mother, thinking that this would have an injurious effect on his character, removed to a different neighbourhood, close by a market. Here Mencius had new sights before his eyes, and it was not long before he was imitating the buyers and sellers of the market place. His mother, not wishing her son to develop any trading instincts that might lead him in after life to a business career, once more removed, and took up her abode close by a college. Here Mencius, seeing the students attending the college, naturally became interested, and shortly after attended school, where he proved to be intelligent and quick to learn. At first he does not seem to have devoted himself to his studies as assiduously as his mother would have liked, and we find her reproving him for wasting time and opportunities. The story is as follows: One day, when Mencius returned home from school, his mother looked up from the web she was weaving on the household loom and asked how he was getting on with his studies. He answered carelessly that he was doing very well. At this reply he was surprised to see his mother take a knife and cut the web she had just been weaving. Alarmed at her action he asked the reason and she replied that she had only done what he was doing. She had lost her labour and thrown away the time spent by cutting the web, and she pointed out to him that he was doing the same sort of thing in the neglect of his studies. The lesson had a good effect, and Mencius afterwards devoted all his energies to the acquisition of knowledge.

Another story is told which illustrates the care taken by his mother to instruct him in the principles of integrity and morality. One day, seeing a butcher killing pigs, he asked his mother the reason, and she replied thoughtlessly :

“To furnish you with food”. Not being in a position to buy much flesh meat, the mother's conscience accused her of saying what was not strictly true and, anxious not to set an example to her son of untruthfulness, she went and bought some pork to prove her words.

The stories just recorded serve to show the esteem that the mother of Mencius is held in amongst the Chinese ; her name being a household word amongst them for an ideal mother, and this leads us to attribute the moral worth and high character of the philosopher to his early training under such a devoted parent.

Mencius during his youth is said to have studied under Tzu Ssu, the grandson of Confucius, though this is disputed by some on the ground that too great a distance of time separated Tzu Ssu from his illustrious countryman. This, however, is a matter of slight import, as Mencius needs no reflected glory, and the tutorship of Tzu Ssu cannot add anything to the merit of the philosopher.

It has been already stated that information respecting the youth of Mencius is exceedingly slight, but even up to middle age we have nothing to show us the early career of the reformer. Mencius is more than forty years of age when he appears again on the page of history. Up to this time we can gather that he had spent his years in making a thorough acquaintance with the literature of his country, studying the Classics as handed down by Confucius, becoming well versed in the history of his nation and of its prominent men. His study had led him more and more to a high admiration and reverence of Confucius, he had imbibed his principles, and was thoroughly persuaded that their acceptance amongst men would result in a better state of society than then existed. And thus our first glimpse of him in manhood is as a teacher surrounded by a number of disciples, doing the same kind of work that his great master had done a century before.

Mencius as a teacher of men, was not only following the example of Confucius, but was doing what he thought

to be the best thing for the improvement of the times in which he lived. At that period the Chou dynasty was tottering to its fall. The best features of the feudal system had disappeared, war between the states had resulted in the conquest and subsequent absorption of the smaller territories, the central government had no power, the people were in a pitiful condition, misery and suffering were on every hand. The condition of the empire is described in the words of the minister Nan. "A host marches in attendance on the ruler, and stores of provisions are consumed. The hungry are deprived of their food, and there is no rest for those who are called to toil. Maledictions are uttered by one to another with eyes askance, and the people proceed to the commission of wickedness. Thus the Imperial ordinances are violated and the people are oppressed, and the supplies of food and drink flow away like water."

Amidst such disorder did Mencius endeavour to instill into the minds of his disciples the principles held by Confucius, which alas! had not in the time of the sage, or since his death, been accepted by the majority. Had they been so, the condition of the country would have been different and the glory of the dynasty enhanced, but the passions of men proved too strong and the evil that is in human nature asserted itself. Mencius, however, conscious of the power of his teaching and the value of his principles, held on his way, hoping for better success than had fallen to his predecessor. But Mencius, like Confucius, was not content with simply gathering about him a following of the more noble-minded spirits of the country; he also determined to visit the various rulers of the states and endeavour to enlist their sympathies in the work of renovation. This was possible for him as it had been years before for Confucius; the same regard for men of high character and literary attainments being still prevalent and constituting a passport into the courts of princes. Mencius knew the power of example, and he considered



that the right administration of one state in the principles of equity and justice would result in the renovation of the remaining states and finally bring about a consolidated empire existing for the benefit of its people. And so Mencius, leaving his comparative obscurity, launched into public life to carry on the mission of the reformer of a hundred years before.

Though following closely in the footsteps of Confucius, Mencius was by no means merely an imitation or copy of his master; he was possessed of a personality more interesting to us than that of the sage. He was of a bolder and more original type. Though considered inferior to Confucius by the literati of China, in some respects he seems to us superior, and can never be looked upon merely as a reduplication of the more honoured sage. We first find Mencius as a counsellor of princes in the State of Chi, a territory in which he spent the great part of his life. He had most probably been invited by the ruling prince Shuan, who was eager to hear what Mencius had to say on the problems of government. We can gather from his own writings that the prince had sent men to spy out what Mencius was like, wondering perhaps if his manner of life and personality were really different from that of other people. The first interview with the prince was not at all satisfactory to Mencius, and he resolved to leave, but almost immediately after circumstances occurred which decided him to stay and hold an honorary position, leaving himself free to retire when he chose. For some considerable time Mencius remained with the Prince Shuan endeavouring to influence him by his counsels, but finding that they were of no avail prepared to return to T'sou. The prince, misunderstanding the motives of Mencius, attempted to induce him to remain, but the reformer saw that his principles were not accepted by the ruler, and so finally he resigned his office and left the court of Chi.

The ruler to whom Mencius had offered his advice and counsel was one of the most powerful of that time,

but unfortunately his rule was not characterised by clemency or merciful consideration of his people. His dominions may not have been in a worse condition than those of other princes, but his extended rule and acknowledged authority promised a good field for the exercise of government according to the reformer's ideas. Mencius was painfully aware of the fact that the administration of the different states was piteous in the extreme, and he strove to bring about a better state of things in which the populace should have more consideration. His theory was that the people of a country were of more importance than the ruler, a theory that will commend itself to the spirit of modern times. He held that the sovereign should make it his first duty to seek their welfare by securing for them immunity from hunger and disease, giving them reasonable pleasures and providing opportunities for their education. He contended, and rightly so, that affectionate care of a people by a ruler would ensure him his throne against all enemies. In answer to the questions of the prince of Chi on this subject Mencius said: "When a ruler rejoices in the joy of his people, they also rejoice in his joy; when he grieves at the sorrow of his people, they also grieve at his sorrow. A sympathy of joy will pervade the empire, a sympathy of sorrow will do the same; in such a state of things it cannot be but that the ruler attain to the Imperial dignity."

But Mencius did not merely show a sympathy with the people by exhorting their princes to practise benevolent government; he acknowledged their right to such government in the attitude he took towards rulers who failed in this respect. He held that princes were heaven-appointed, and that their worth of character was their justification. If they failed to administer justice and to rule their dominions in righteousness, they ought to forfeit their position. The following dialogue between the reformer and Prince Shuan will serve to show his teaching on this matter. Mencius said: "Suppose that one of your Majesty's ministers were to entrust his wife and children to

the care of his friend, while he himself went into Chu to travel, and that on his return he should find that the friend had caused his wife and children to suffer from cold and hunger. how ought he to deal with him?" The prince said: "He should cast him off." Mencius proceeded: "Suppose that the chief criminal judge could not regulate the officers under him, how would you deal with him?" The prince said: "Dismiss him." Mencius again said: "If within the four borders of your kingdom there is not good government, what is to be done?" We are told with a sort of dry humour that "the prince looked to the right and left and spoke of other matters." The logical outcome of Mencius' teaching on this point is of course rebellion and regicide, and Mencius is regarded as having inculcated principles and precepts to that effect. There is no need to deny this; it only throws into stronger relief the convictions of the reformer with regard to the rights of the people.

Not only did Mencius exhort those in authority to practise better government but he hesitated not to censure and reprove those whom he considered at fault. He was a courageous man, free from that servility that seems to characterise so many of Asiatic origin, a man whose zeal and boldness reminds us of the Hebrew prophets. Being possessed of a thorough belief in his own and his master's principles, fired by the injustice and license of the ruling princes, he used hard and strong words to those he rebuked, little caring what the consequences might be. Said he to the Prince of Liang: "Is there any difference between killing a man with a stick or with a sword?" The prince replied that there was no difference. Once more he asked, "Is there any difference between doing it with a sword and with the style of government?" "There is no difference," was the reply. Then said the bold censor to the prince, "In your kitchen there is fat meat, in your stables there are fat horses. But your people have the look of hunger, and on the wilds there are those who



have died of famine. This is leading on beasts to devour men. Beasts devour one another and men hate them for doing so. When a prince, being the parent of his people, administers his government so as to be chargeable with leading on beasts to devour men, where is that parental relation to the people? ”

Mencius having left Chi made his way to the court of the Sung State, situated in the modern province of Honan. About his movements at this time we have little information, and it is difficult to assign any definite period of time spent there. Whilst in Sung, Mencius was visited by the Crown-Prince of the Tang State, who had heard of the reformer and wished to profit by his instruction. We are told that he was much impressed with Mencius, which led him in after days to learn more of the sage's teaching. From Sung, Mencius went to Shieh, a state bordering on that of Chi, and from thence returned to his native state of Tsou ; no doubt disheartened because of his failure to influence the princes he had visited.

Mencius had been some time in Tsou when the Crown Prince of Tang, now King of that state, sent to him for advice with regard to the ceremonies connected with the decease of his father. The reformer's advice proved acceptable to the ruler, who in spite of the opposition of his ministers and relatives acted upon it. Shortly after this we find Mencius himself in Tang, but he does not seem to have stayed long there, nor to have had any better success in his own mission.

Whilst Mencius was endeavouring to gain the ear of princes and induce them to institute reforms, he was at the same time engaged in opposing the principles of other reformers who, like himself, sought followers amongst the high-born and those in authority. There were those who, conscious of the disorders and troubles of the time, had their own theories and schemes of reform and were equally zealous to see them carried out. Amongst such was one Hu Shing, a man who professed to follow Shen

Nung, one of the five famous emperors of early days and the supposed father of husbandry. He taught that the rulers of the country as well as the people should labour at agriculture and thus take a share in the work for the common weal. Hearing that Mencius was advocating reforms in Tang, he proceeded to that state, in the hope of inducing the prince to discard the ideas of his adviser and adopt the principles that he himself expounded. He had a considerable following, and these all with him supported themselves by making sandals and weaving mats. It was with one of these disciples, Chen Shiang, that Mencius had to do, and we find him opposing the teaching of the sect and pouring contempt on the person of its founder. Says he, refuting the socialistic ideas of his opponent: "It is the nature of things to be of unequal quality. Some are twice, some five times, some ten times, some a hundred times, some a thousand times, some ten thousand times, as valuable as others. If you reduce them all to the same standard, that must throw the empire into confusion. If large shoes and small shoes were of the same price, who would make them? For people to follow the doctrines of Hu, would be for them to lead one another on to practise deceit. How can they avail for the government of a state?" This is how Mencius answers the disciple of "this shrike-tongued barbarian of the south, whose doctrines are not those of the ancient kings".

The most noteworthy achievement of Mencius in dialectics is his refutation of the principles of two noted heresiarchs of earlier times—Yang Chu and Mo Ti. Yang Chu's teaching was that of Epicureanism, a selfish indulgence in all attainable pleasure, whilst Mo Ti taught that all existing evils might be remedied by the manifestation of an universal and equal love for all men. The principles of both these leaders of thought were very rife in the time of Mencius, and the reformer attacked them vigorously. It has been contended that Mencius unfairly represented the doctrines of Mo Ti, but

whether this is so or not, he evidently considered both systems as heterodox and opposed to the teachings of his master Confucius. He sums them up in this way: "Yang's principle is, 'each one for himself', which does not acknowledge the claims of the sovereign. Mo's principle is, 'to love all equally', which does not acknowledge the peculiar affection due to a father. But to acknowledge neither king nor father is to be in the state of a beast."

Mencius evidently earned the reputation of being fond of disputing for disputing's sake, but he assures his disciples that his opposition to the heresies of the time is the outcome of a deep concern for the welfare of his country. He was alarmed at the prevalence of certain views which he considered harmful and he felt called to do his best towards their suppression. Says he: "If the principles of Yang and Mo are not stopped, and the principles of Confucius not set forth, then those perverse speakings will delude the people and stop up the path of benevolence and righteousness . . . . I am alarmed by these things and address myself to the defence of the doctrines of the former sages . . . . I also wish to rectify men's hearts and to put an end to these perverse doctrines, to oppose their one-sided actions and banish away their licentious expressions, and thus to carry on the work of the three sages. Do I do so because I am fond of disputing? I am compelled to do it."

In B. C. 319 we find Mencius at the court of King Hui of Liang. Liang was another name for Wei, a powerful state of that period of the Chou Dynasty. It had received this name from the capital city of Tai Liang, where the king had established his government. Mencius here as in other places was engaged in offering counsels to the ruler for the benefit of his kingdom, but we do not gather that he had any better success than in other states. Whilst Mencius was in Hui the king died and was succeeded by his son Shiang. Mencius does not seem to

have been at all impressed with this prince, for he only had one interview with him and shortly after retired from the court. On leaving Liang, Mencius went once more to Chi, where he remained till 311 B. C. Why he returned is not easily determined; perhaps he thought that the prince had altered and would be more ready to accept his proposals. He seems, however, to have met with little success, and although he lingered for eight or nine years had finally to retire a disappointed man.

It was some time during these years that the mother of Mencius died. She had been living with him in Chi, but after her death he took the coffin with her remains to the ancestral grave in Lu. The funeral ceremonies were on a grand scale, and he was much criticised by those who were envious of his position. He defended himself on the ground that "the superior man will not for all the world be niggardly to his parents", a shabby funeral indicating a want of respect and affection for those who had done so much for him. In accordance with the custom revived by Confucius, Mencius retired from the court for three years to mourn his mother.

Towards the end of Mencius' residence in Chi there was trouble in Yen, a large state situated on the western border. The prince of this state, a weak silly man, thinking to make a name for himself by copying the example of the ancient Yao, resigned his throne to his prime minister, in the expectation that the honour would be declined. The prime minister, however, accepted the throne and the prince had to retire. He proved a tyrant and soon disorder and rebellion were manifest in the state. Prince Shuan of Chi, judging from reports that Mencius approved of his action, attacked Yen and conquered the territory. Mencius afterwards being asked whether he advised such a proceeding or no, answered in the negative. Misunderstandings having arisen, and the people of Yen rebelling at that time, Mencius seems to have made this an opportunity of leaving Chi, making his way once more to Sung.

The last court at which we find Mencius is probably that of Lu. The prince of this state had given office to one of Mencius' disciples, Yo Cheng by name, and the reformer hoped that through his follower he might gain a hearing at the court. The prince seems to have been willing to make his acquaintance, for we are told that the royal carriage had already been yoked and he was about to step into it to visit Mencius, when he was hindered by one of his favourites, who vilified the sage. Mencius on being told of this accepted it as a final intimation that his work would be of no avail. He recognised in the interference of the favourite the decree of Heaven, and abandoning all hope of ever influencing princes and rulers by his precepts, retired into private life.

With regard to the later years of Mencius there is very little trustworthy information. He appears to have spent the rest of his time with his disciples engaged in literary work, the result of which is seen in the books now bearing his name. He died in the year 289 B. C. After his death the title of "The Sacred Prince of Tsou" was given to him, a tablet to his memory was placed in the Temple of Literature, and the honours paid to Confucius were given to him also.

The literary work of Mencius is a small book of fourteen chapters, which now forms one of the classics of the Chinese empire. It contains the principles and precepts of the reformer in a dialogical setting, and it is this characteristic that makes the book of abiding interest to all who read it. From what we have already seen Mencius was a great disputant, and his method of procedure shows a mind capable of acute reasoning. In arguing with an opponent he does not contest the point at issue by an accumulation of evidence, but he leads his opponent from one admission to another until he is obliged to confess his defeat or maintain what is absurd. The book of Mencius contains many examples of his skill as a controversialist.

and one is obliged to recognise his as a more logical mind than that of his great master Confucius.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the book of the philosopher is his discussion and views of human nature. He teaches that the nature of man is good and that it is perverted by outside influences. The circumstances of a man are accountable for his goodness or his evil life. Man is naturally righteous, but he loses his integrity as a tree loses its branches by the axe of the woodman or the cattle browsing upon them. But human nature has still its power to be good, and any man by the exercise of his will may attain to a state of exalted purity and righteousness. Mencius in this connection has uttered a noble sentiment, which serves to show his own determination to "cleave to that which is good". Says he: "I like fish and I also like bears' paws (a delicacy). If I cannot have the two together I will let the fish go and take the bears' paws. So I like life and I also like righteousness. If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go and choose righteousness." Mencius' idea of the great man is, he "who does not lose his child's heart", that is, he who retains his original goodness and purity in spite of the evil influences around him.

One cannot help but look upon Mencius as a man of nobility of character. To consider him in this light does not put aside the fact that some of his principles may have been faulty, or he himself not free from imperfections, but he seems to have been a man of deep convictions and ready to make any sacrifice for the truth he believed himself to possess. Failing as he seems to have done with regard to his attempts at reform, let us hope that his advice to the prince of Tang echoed in his heart for his own comfort: "As to the accomplishment of the great result that is with Heaven. What is that Chi to you, O prince? Be strong to do good. That is all your business."



## CHIN SHIH HUANG TI,

### OR THE FIRST EMPEROR.



**D**URING the period of strife that characterized the latter days of the famous Chou Dynasty, one of the notable families of the empire, that of the Chin's, had been steadily growing stronger and was making its influence felt in all directions. The members of this family were daring and capable men, and whilst the Imperial authority was declining, they were extending their domains by the conquest of the surrounding states. At last the crash came, the Chou Dynasty, that had ruled for more than eight hundred years, fell, and in 249 B. C. Chao Shiang Wang, of the Chin State, offered sacrifices to heaven and assumed the imperial yellow, constituting himself emperor.

This result had not been unforeseen. Years before, men had looked with alarm at the growing power of Chin, and it had needed no prophet to foretell the outcome. On one occasion a politician, advising the king of the Chao State to cease warring against his neighbour, remarked as follows: "This morning when crossing the river I saw a mussel open its shell to sun itself. Immediately an oyster catcher thrust in his bill to eat the mussel, but the latter promptly closed its shell and held the bird fast. 'If it doesn't rain to-day or to-morrow', cried the oyster-catcher, 'there will be a dead mussel.' 'And if you don't get out of this by to-day or tomorrow', retorted the mussel, 'there will be a dead oyster-catcher.' Meanwhile up came a fisherman and carried off both of them. I fear lest the Chin State should be our fisherman."

And so it had proved. The warring mussel and oyster-catcher states had been taken by the fisherman of Chin, and Chao Shiang-wang ascended the imperial throne a conqueror. He did not, however, live long to enjoy his title. During the following year he bequeathed

his throne to his grandson, who endeavoured to extend his territory by attacking the remaining independent states. He was successful in overthrowing three of them, but the rest, combining, defeated him in battle, and he had to flee, dying shortly after. The throne of Chin was now left to a boy of thirteen, Prince Cheng, the son of the defeated warrior. The territory under his rule at that time comprised the whole of the modern province of Shensi and parts of Shansi and Ssuchuan, about one-fifth of the China of to-day. It remained for this boy to extend in after years his already wide domain, to consolidate the empire into one great unity, and to make his mark on the history of his race.

It would be too much to say that all that he accomplished, was the outcome of his strength and genius alone; he was blessed with one or two able advisers, in whose counsels he trusted, and the great achievements of his reign were due to the combination of the talents and abilities of ruler and ministers. The first of these was Lü Pu-wei, formerly a jewel merchant of Honan, who had been a friend and adviser of his father's during his occupation of the throne. To this man's help and influence the young prince owed a great deal, and was saved from many of the mistakes of youthful rulers.

The boy prince had not long been on the throne before he attempted to subdue the remaining independent states. This turned out to be an easier task than in his father's time, because the states had dissolved the league which bound them together and were occupied as before in fighting against each other. Up to this time, although the Chin family had become so powerful and had assumed imperial authority, a combination of states might have reduced that power and prevented the continuance of the new dynasty. But the opportunity was lost. For some reason or other (perhaps the rulers were lacking in ambition) no attempt was made, and this left the way open for further extension on the part of Chiu. The



young ruler was wise enough to see that an undue flaunting of the imperial yellow in the faces of the conquered, would not make for peace, and he accordingly, for the time being, gave up the title of emperor, and only called himself the King of Chin. The result of this and other wise measures was seen in the ensuing ten years of quietude and prosperity, during which time the people enjoyed an immunity from distress and calamity, such as most of them had never before experienced.

As the boy grew to manhood, not only were his abilities and genius made more manifest, but also the worst traits of his character were revealed. Born of a conquering tribe, with all the energy and fierceness of his ancestors, he had given play to his passions until he had lost all power of self-control. This was painfully shown in acts of cruelty and savagery that have caused his name to be execrated by the Chinese unto this day. A few years after his accession to the throne his mother had contracted a secret marriage and had given birth to two children. The emperor becoming acquainted with the facts, put the two children and their father to death and banished his mother to the confines of the empire, where she lived in great distress and poverty. His trusted adviser, Lü Pu-wei, having in some manner been connected with the affair, was obliged to leave the court, and he, fearing the emperor's revenge, shortly after committed suicide.

The most influential class in China are the literati, and during the chequered history of the empire they have often made themselves felt. Studying the principles of their master, Confucius, they have always constituted themselves the guardians of the public morals and upheld the teachings of the sage. The cruel act of the young ruler drew upon his head the wrath of these men, and this was the beginning of a long and bitter struggle with them that only ended by an act of extreme ferocity, and has made his name odious in the annals of the empire. On the banishment of the queen mother, the literati

pointed out to the emperor the duty of filial piety, and the outrage against this principle, by the treatment she had received; they also interceded for her restoration. The prince was admonished and petitioned to such an extent that he issued an edict forbidding all interference in the case on pain of death. In spite of this proclamation twenty-seven of the scholars persisted in interceding for the queen, and they were at once put to death and mutilated. Nothing daunted, a fearless man, Mao Chiao by name, succeeded in influencing the ruler, and the banished queen was recalled. Mao Chiao did not suffer any punishment as might have been expected; perhaps the fearlessness of the man impressed the emperor, and he was shortly after raised to the position of Imperial Councillor. No doubt the conduct of the literati, although odious to him, had also impressed the fierce autocrat, for no one could help admiring men who dared to die for their principles.

Savage and cruel as Prince Cheng seems to have been, he had many of the qualities of a successful ruler, and many of the best features of the China of the present day are the result of his efforts. He determined to make his reign glorious in the highest meaning of the term, and although some of his methods were harsh, yet he succeeded in procuring for the people under his rule such conditions of life that they became prosperous and happy. In one thing he was unlike the rulers of the present dynasty in his willingness to introduce improvements and his readiness to welcome foreign methods and agents. The word foreign here has not the same wide application as is generally given to it, but means all outside the dominions and political horizon of the empire. This action, whilst productive of good, was resented by the people, and they petitioned the throne for the expulsion of all who were not strictly their countrymen. The prince listened to their request and issued an edict to that effect. A certain Li Ssu, an accomplished scholar and a man of broad views, sent in a memorial to

the throne, pointing out the unwisdom of such an edict as had been issued and showing that the rejection of outside methods and help would sooner or later cause the decadence of the realm. Said Li Ssu: "As broad acres yield large crops, so for a nation to be great there should be a great population and for soldiers to be daring their generals should be brave. Not a single clod was added to the Tai Shan in vain; hence the huge mountain we now behold. The merest streamlet is received into the bosom of ocean; hence the ocean's unfathomable expanse. And wise and virtuous is the ruler who scorns not the masses below. For him no boundaries of realm, no distinctions of nationality exist." As the result of this memorial the edict was cancelled, and once more the empire welcomed into its borders all who chose to come. It is interesting to note that this memorial of Li Ssu, though written so long ago has, to a certain extent, influenced the present Chinese government in the same direction. Cheng recognised the talents and wisdom of Li Ssu and elevated him to the position of Prime Minister, and in this way he became one of the notable advisers of the emperor, whose whole after career was greatly influenced by him.

No sooner was Li Ssu established in power than he began to work towards the accomplishment of his schemes and managed to gain the sympathies of the ruler, who soon saw that his adviser was at one with him in a desire for empire and aggrandisement. One of the great results of the reign of this monarch was the abolishment of the feudal system which had obtained so long under the previous dynasty. There is no doubt that the idea originated with Li Ssu, but the prince found it to his liking, and the two worked together towards that end. Their aim was to absorb all the separate states and unify the empire.

Up to this time there were still several of the Chou States which were independent of Chin, and young Cheng set about their subjugation. Great sums of money were raised and a large army was soon gathered together. By

all kinds of scheming, discord was sown amongst the separate rulers of the states, which resulted in constant warfare with each other, until weakened and depleted, one by one they sought for help from Chin. This help was given, but was used by the prince to further his own ends, and soon he acquired authority over several of the small kingdoms. When this policy did not avail, he resorted to other methods, not stopping short even of horrible massacre and slaughter. At times he was defeated, but the loss of an army did not seem to make much difference to him; soon more men were in the field and the campaigns carried on with more vigour than ever. As an example of the struggle mention may be made of one occasion where his army of 200,000 men was defeated; 40,000 men and seven generals being left dead on the field and many more killed during the flight afterwards. Yet shortly after a second army of 600,000 men was raised, and this time was successful.

On account of the militarism of this ruler he has been called the Alexander or the Napoleon of the East, and his campaigns justify the title. He had a severe struggle to subjugate the outlying states, but his military genius proved sufficient for the occasion. Not only, however, did he gather all the petty states into one whole, but he sent his generals to all points of the compass to win glory for his arms. The Tartars on the northern border had often been a source of trouble, and he despatched in 215 B. C. a large army of 300,000 men under General Meng Tien. This noted soldier crossed the terrible Gobi desert and made Hami a frontier fortress of the empire. After his return with a handful of soldiers, Meng Tien once more carried the arms of the prince into the southern districts now known as Kuangsi and Yunnan. In this manner were the borders of the realm extended and the State of Chin grew into the empire of China.

Prince Cheng not only satisfied his military spirit with ever fresh conquests, but he required the constant presence

of his soldiers. The courtyard of his palace at the capital was so large that a company of 10,000 men could be drawn up in it at any time needful. He required all his generals to reside in the capital and had a standing army there, in which he took great pride on account of the physical strength of the men. No one acquainted with Chinese history can help comparing this monarch with those great military leaders, the names of which are so familiar to all in the West, and Chin Shih Huang Ti is worthy of a similar place on the roll of fame.

In 221 B. C., in the 26th year of his reign, Cheng had destroyed all the independent states and had become ruler over one great empire that stretched from Chihli to the Yangtze River and from Ssuchuan to the sea coast. And now, glorying in his might, he resolved to have his full title. Up to this time he had been content with the name of Tien Wang, that is, "Heaven-appointed King", but now he took the title Huang Ti, "August or Imperial Sovereign". He also used the character Shih, meaning "First"; the idea being that he was the first real emperor of the Chinese people. So the full title given at the beginning of this sketch, Chin Shih Huang Ti, stands for "The First Imperial Sovereign of the Chin Dynasty". He moreover commanded that his successors should be called the "Second", "Third" and so on, but alas for human hopes he was the mightiest of his family, and not long after his death the Chin Dynasty fell ignominiously.

Having conquered the empire, this great monarch endeavoured to establish it on a firm basis. As has been stated, he aimed at a complete abolition of the old feudal system, determining that his authority, and his alone, should be recognised. Two of his ministers who clung to the old *régime* besought him to appoint his kindred over the various states as had been done before, but this did not meet with the emperor's ideas of government. Here again we notice the influence of his Prime Minister Li Ssu, who saw that the old system might eventually bring

back the old abuses. He said: "A system that has brought about the destruction of the empire, must itself be destroyed if the new empire is to be permanent." The emperor accordingly divided his territory into thirty-six provinces, and over each province he placed an official, who was given a fixed salary. The princes of his own house received handsome incomes, but they were not invested with any authority. This plan has been followed ever since, and is the principle of the present government of China.

Chin Shih Huang Ti had established his capital at Shien Yang, the modern Si Ngan in the province of Shensi, and he made this a brilliant centre of the manifold life of the empire. In order to increase the population, he transported about 120,000 families to this place, and from these he drew the workers necessary for the erection of stately buildings that embellished the city. His own palace within the city walls was a splendid structure, and details are given by historians that serve to show how he surrounded himself by the art treasures of the time. He is said to have erected also, palaces and pleasure houses, exactly like those of the princes he had conquered. These palaces contained the same things that had before adorned the houses of the vanquished rulers, and they were also peopled by the same eunuchs and slaves.

But Shih Huang Ti would not have been so famous had his only aim and ambition been the embellishment of his capital. He had fought for empire and he determined to make the empire such as would contribute to his glory and fame. To accomplish this, he resorted to harsh methods, making great exactions of the people in the shape of arduous work for the carrying out of his schemes and enterprises. He did not confine himself to the precincts of his capital, but more than once took extensive journeys through the empire, and the result was the making of great roads, the building of bridges, and other achievements necessary for the development of commerce.



His energetic character is shown in the fact that he frequently walked on these journeys, and that on ordinary occasions he sought recreation in this exercise. He is the only emperor of China of whom such an unusual thing is recorded.

Besides accomplishing much towards the extension and development of the commerce of the empire, Shih Huang Ti inaugurated many other schemes that greatly benefited the populace. He spared no pains to become acquainted with all the abuses and grievances that marred the lot of the common people, and was instrumental in producing an altered condition of things in every circumstance of their life. He spent much time and labour over a revision and readjustment of the system for providing the revenue, and the consequence was more money for the treasury and less taxes for the long oppressed citizens. In all his schemes and enterprises, Shih Huang Ti manifested his versatile powers; he carried into them his tireless energy and eventually reaped the reward of his labours by seeing the empire raised to a state of culture, prosperity and power that had never been known before.

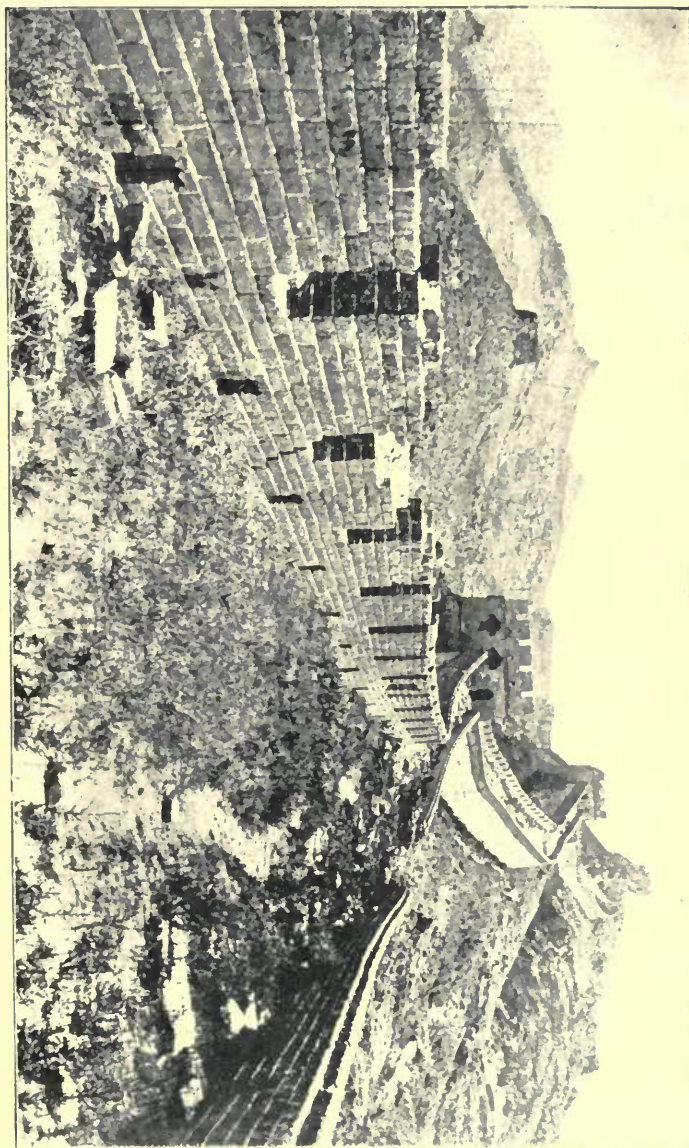
All the time that the emperor was trying to secure the welfare of the people within his borders, hostile tribes and clans of other nationalities were endeavouring to make inroads into the territory and hung constantly upon the frontiers, harassing and destroying the defenceless. Reference has been made to the expeditions sent out under Meng Tien, the general who crossed the Gobi Desert. Although these campaigns extended the borders of the empire, there is no doubt that they were first begun, at least in the North, to make reprisals for injury received at the hands of the invaders. The Northern Tartar tribes had for centuries carried on guerilla warfare, and the states under the Chou Dynasty had suffered considerably. And now the Chin emperor determined to do something to alter the condition of things. He conceived a plan of building a wall along the Northern frontier that would



enable the border people to keep out the enemy. Already small disconnected walls had been built by different princes and rulers in different parts, and the emperor decided to erect a solid rampart, connecting these lesser works of defence that should stretch along the whole of the exposed frontier line. The work was enormous and demanded numerous labourers. No fewer than one million men are said to have been employed in this great task. The work was commenced on the coast of the Liao Tung Gulf by ships sinking iron for the foundations. The wall was carried inland from thence a distance of fifteen hundred miles to the extreme west of the modern province of Shensi. Curious calculations have been made as to the amount of material used in this defence, and all serve to show the enormous aggregate of labour entailed. The quality of the wall varied in different parts; in some places it reared itself proudly a solid mass of masonry, whilst in others it was little more than a mud bank. Although more than two thousand years have sped since the completion of this great work, the wall still remains a monument of human energy and power, and so long as it lasts will the name of Chin Shih Huang Ti be known amongst men.

One would think that the name of an emperor who had so mightily extended his fame by all manner of great works, would be held in high esteem by the later generations of his countrymen, but it is not so. It has already been stated that the emperor at the beginning of his reign came into collision with the literati, the most influential party in the empire. As time went on the opposition of these gentry increased, and he in no way tried any policy of conciliation. On the contrary, the more they opposed him the more he treated them with contempt, and the result of this struggle with such an influential faction is seen to-day in the universal execration of his name. The conflict began when the monarch, following his own course, refused to listen to the advice and admonition of

A PORTION OF THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA.





these self-constituted guardians of public morality. They despised him for his neglect of Confucian teaching, for his cruelty and savagery, for the innovations he was constantly introducing, and accordingly they used all means possible to make him unpopular with the people of the empire. The scholars found congenial employment in lampooning and caricaturing him ; they heaped all manner of abuse upon his name, even to questioning the legitimacy of his birth, and it is not difficult to see what effect such action would have on the nature of a man like the First Emperor. The struggle became more and more acute, until circumstances arose, which ended in the complete silencing of the emperor's antagonists.

In the year 213 B. C. a Grand Council of the empire was held at the capital Shien Yang. Not only were the military and civil officials present, but also many of the most influential of the literati. Such a gathering of the élite of the empire contained all the elements necessary for an explosion, and it only needed the slightest spark of feeling to fire the train. The emperor was present and called upon the various members of the Council to express their opinion of his rule. Whether this was prompted by vanity, or a real desire to benefit his people, cannot now be determined ; but whatever the motive, it gave opportunity for free discussion. A member of the emperor's household rose and in glowing terms extolled the virtues and powers of the monarch, declaring him to have surpassed the greatest of his predecessors and to be for all time the most famous of Chinese rulers. This panegyric was received by the literati with murmurs of dissent, and one of their number rose to denounce the "vile flatterer" who had just spoken. This scholar of course voiced the opinions of his fellows when he depreciated the work of the emperor and pointed the Council back to the earlier rulers who had left their mark on the life of the empire. Not content with disparaging the monarch's efforts, he called upon the Council to bring about a revival of the

old systems and usages. The emperor at this stage called on his favourite Li Ssu to reply, and the minister answered by accusing the literati of stirring up strife and rebellion. He complained of their constant opposition to the throne, of their incessant criticism of all the emperor's doings, and gave it as his opinion that if such things were allowed to continue, the emperor would not be able to retain his power and his imperial authority. In order to put a stop to the practices of the literati, Li Ssu advocated a radical proceeding that should for ever silence their murmurings. "Your Majesty," he said, "mildness and indulgence have not up till now had any effect on these stubborn people; all regard for them has only made them more officious and more shameless. Let us try some other means, or rather, let us make use of the only expedient to root out an evil which soon would become unbearable. It is the books which instilled those opinions, of which they boast, into our high minded literati. Let us snatch the books away from them. Only when they are for ever robbed of that which nourishes their arrogance can we hope at last to stop up the inexhaustible source of their stubbornness."

Such was Li Ssu's advice. The books he referred to were the Confucian Classics, the treasury from which the literati drew their stores of learning and morality. The minister proposed that all the canonical books, the old histories, and other works dealing with the bygone ages, should all be destroyed, and that only works on agriculture, medicine, and prophecy be spared. To this the emperor gave his consent, and an edict was issued commanding that all such books as were condemned should be given up to the officials within the space of forty days, and that they should be publicly burnt. A great cry of indignation went up from the scholars throughout the empire, but the emperor's commands were obeyed. The literati attacked him more than ever with their satires and caricatures, but this of course only added fuel to the flame of the monarch's wrath. Many of the scholars concealed

their precious volumes in the hope of future use, but the vigilance of the officials was not in all cases eluded. The most courageous of the literati refused to comply with the emperor's demands and they suffered an awful fate; over four hundred of them being buried alive with their books in a great pit dug for the purpose. The heir to the throne protested against this act of savagery, but he was banished for his interference. In such a manner did the First Emperor destroy or try to destroy all the elements of antagonism to his rule, and for the time was successful. The awful death of the courageous men of letters, the branding and banishment to work at the Great Wall, then in process of construction, the harsh methods used to secure the authority of the emperor, resulted in the establishment of peace and quiet. And so the empire was tranquillized, but at what a price! For this act the name of Chin Shih Huang Ti has been handed down to all the generations of Chinese as the name of a tyrant, and nothing in his great works for the benefit of the empire has ever been able to bring down the balance in his favour.

As may be expected, the emperor was no follower of Confucius; had he been so, there would have been no opposition on the part of the literati. He had come under the influence of the Taoist priests and accepted their tenets and practices. But although under their influence, he refused to be ruled by them. He ascended the sacred mountain to worship and offer sacrifices, but followed his own course and paid no heed to those who would have him worship in the orthodox way. He erected altars in different places for the Taoist cult, but they were in reality monuments to his fame and glory. He spent much time and money in the pursuit of the elixir of immortality, firmly believing that there were in existence such elements as would ensure his immunity from death. When he was in Shantung the priests there induced him to organise an expedition of one thousand young men and maidens to



seek for the islands of the Eastern sea, where the immortals lived, and bring back the elixir of life. The expedition sailed, but never returned ; the young people most probably reaching the country of Japan and settling down there. Japanese history seems to confirm this.

The emperor seems to have had a great dread of death, hence his constant attempts to obtain that which would secure him immortality. In this matter he was guided by the Taoist priests, and of course was in every way imposed upon ; the superstitious nature of their royal patron enabling them to carry out their designs. They made him believe that he was constantly followed by malignant spirits, and in order to escape them he must sleep in a different place every night and keep the place a secret. To do this he gave orders for the erection of an immense palace with innumerable apartments. Several hundreds of thousands of men were engaged in this task. In spite of the ceaseless efforts of the First Emperor to secure a life that should be everlasting, he did not even attain to old age. His tireless energy, his passionate nature proved the undoing of his bodily frame, and while yet in the prime of life, he had to see all his glory and power slipping from his grasp. He became gloomy and irascible, was subject to paroxysms of frightful rage, and was the terror of all with whom he came in contact. To the very last he travelled about the empire, endeavouring to add to his glory by further works and enterprises, and it was whilst on a journey through Shantung province that he contracted a fatal illness. He pursued his course even into Chihli, but there ended his life at the age of fifty, in the year 210 B. C.

The funeral of the First Emperor was in keeping with the character of his reign. Ssu Ma Chien, the great Chinese historian, tells us that the monarch in his lifetime had tunneled and prepared a mountain for the reception of his body after death. Seven hundred thousand men had been employed in digging deep the foundations for a

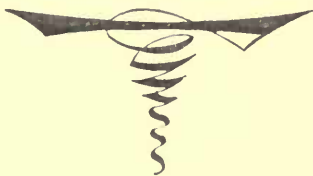


magnificent mausoleum, and completing a tomb worthy of the remains of such a mighty ruler. The body of the emperor was placed in this mausoleum, and the historian tells us that the workmen who knew the secrets of the royal resting-place, and who had conveyed to it the precious stones and metals, were themselves buried alive in the same great tomb. Not content with this wholesale murder, the wives and concubines of the deceased monarch were also slain to contribute to the effect of a posthumous glory.

On the death of the First Emperor, the minister, Li Ssu, and a powerful eunuch of the court, succeeded in establishing the second son on the throne, while the rightful heir was put to death. The faithful general Meng Tien also met the same fate. The Second Emperor, however, had neither the ability nor the force of character of his father; he spent his days in idleness and sensuality, and three years after his accession to the throne, the Chin Dynasty ended in defeat and ignominy.

It is a difficult matter to pronounce upon the character of a man like Chin Shih Huang Ti. To listen to the verdict of Chinese historians is to accept a judgment that is exceedingly biassed, for the literati of that empire have never forgotten the treatment of their early representatives at the hands of the monarch. To say the least of the First Emperor, he was a great man, and accomplished much that has contributed in later years to the welfare of the Chinese nation. He was a despot living in barbarous times, and his actions cannot be judged by the standard of present-day morality. There is much in the lives of other great characters in history that calls to mind the qualities of the First Emperor, and we must accord him the same sympathy and appreciation that have been given to the Julius Cæsars and Alexanders of our race. Chin Shih Huang Ti has made an indelible mark on history, which will be more and more recognised as the East and West are drawn closer together. Dr. Martin has pointed out

that there remain to-day three monuments of the fame and power of the First Emperor. One is the great wall of China, a concrete witness to the might of its builder; another is the name "Huang Ti", which since the reign of the First Emperor has been given to all other rulers of China; and the third is the name China itself, which can be traced back to the dynasty that was inaugurated under the name of Chin.



# CHU KO LIANG

## STRATEGIST AND STATESMAN.

THE early years of the third century of the Christian era constitute the most romantic period in the history of China. It may in some respects be compared to the age of chivalry in Europe. At that time the empire was disunited and contended for by rival princes, and the story of the campaigns, plots, and stratagems of officers and statesmen, makes it conspicuous as a period of intense interest in the national life.

The famous Han Dynasty which had lasted for over four hundred years was tottering to its fall. The elements of solidity and strength that had characterised its existence for so long a time were now absent, and the members of the royal house had become weak and effeminate. The best blood was exhausted, and the princes belonged to a degenerate stock. Dissensions and feuds took place between them, with the result that the empire was split up into three principalities of kingdoms. The period of which we write gets its name from this fact and is known in Chinese history and literature as the period of the Three Kingdoms.

The three kingdoms were: First, that of Wei, comprising the central and northern provinces, with its capital the city of Loyang. Here the last of the Han emperors remained, but a noted general named Tsao Tsao, who has come to be known as one of the three great traitors or usurpers of China, obtained possession of the territory and forced the weak emperor to abdicate. The second was the kingdom of Shu, which consisted of the province of Ssuchuan and the region of the West. Its capital was Chung Tu. This was held by Liu Pei, a member of the royal house, who claimed to be the rightful heir to the throne of the Hans. Eventually he succeeded in establishing a dynasty afterwards known as the Minor Han Dynas-

ty, and this is recognised by Chinese historians as the lawful line during this time of confusion. The third of the kingdoms was that of Wu, which comprised the provinces south of the Yangtze River and which had as its capital the city of Nanking. It was ruled by a noted general, Sun Chuan.

It is in connection with the stirring events of this time of disunion and strife that we have to record the life of Chu Ko Liang, a man whose name stands out conspicuously in this period, who by his sagacity and wisdom, his wonderful strategy and mechanical ingenuity, has earned for himself a reputation second to none, and who is to-day the darling of the Chinese people.

The halo of romance thrown round the period of the Three Kingdoms, and the popularity of such characters as Chu Ko Liang, is largely owing to the fact that the story of this time has been written in the form of a historical novel, and which constitutes one of the great books of China. Not that it in any way rivals the great Confucian Classics, but it is without doubt the most popular book of the empire, and is to be found in the homes of every class of the people. It was written by Lo Kuan Chung, who lived in the thirteenth century, during the occupation of China by the Mongols, and was probably produced under the influence of the stirring events of that time of conquest. It is a marvellous production of romance written in a captivating style, and its twelve volumes remind one of a Western parallel in the unique Waverley novels of our own great author. It is through this book that certain characters of the period of the Three Kingdoms have laid hold of the hearts of the Chinese people, and none more so than Chu Ko Liang, the famous statesman and general of the Kingdom of Shu. No man in Chinese history is better known. He is often represented on the Chinese stage, and one can hardly ever witness a dramatic performance without seeing the popular hero in some phase of his life. As Mr. Watters says: "You know him

by his dress and appearance—the sallow face and thin beard, the black robe of a Taoist alchemist with the mystic Pa Kua wrought in gold on the back, the feather fan with the Fungshui compass in its heart, and the old-fashioned cap.”

Chu Ko Liang, or as he is almost better known Chu Kung Ming, was born in the province of Shantung in 181 A.D. His father was the magistrate of the town of Tai Shan, but he died whilst Chu was quite a child. On his death Ko Liang and his brother were taken in charge by an uncle, who removed to the district of Shiang Yang in Hupeh. Not long after, however, the uncle died, and the two boys were left to look after themselves. Young as they were, they were both possessed of energy and pluck, and they built themselves a reed cottage and kept themselves by farming. Ko Liang grew up to be a tall well-built youth, possessing great strength and courage, but perhaps lacking in humility, and his bold conceit and airs seem to have unfavourably impressed the people amongst whom he lived. As a boy he was deeply interested in the stories of bygone times, of their heroes and stalwarts, and the influence of these names upon his character was such that he supposed himself to be something of a national worthy, and this no doubt contributed to his success when afterwards called upon to accomplish great things for the empire. Whilst in his seclusion and obscurity he worked hard on the farm, but even then was no common labourer, as he manifested signs of literary genius, and occupied much of his leisure time in writing verses and ballads. He became known to his immediate neighbours as a clever young man, but was not particularly liked by them, most probably on account of his forwardness and self-confidence. He had no friends with the exception of one Shu Shu, who afterwards became even more attached to him as the days went by.

Chu Ko Liang seems to have been ambitious even in his obscurity and, longing for the time when he could do

something to distinguish himself, but the opportunity never seemed to present itself. He used to sit at night outside his little cottage with a far away-look on his face whistling softly to himself. He was building his castles in the air. It was not until he was twenty-six years of age that the opportunity came to him to do something towards securing the fame he coveted.

It was the time of struggle between the rival generals Liu Pei, Tsao Tsao, and Sun Chuan. Liu Pei, realising his position as a member of the royal house, was striving for position and power, and fighting against the usurper Tsao Tsao with all his energies. His camp at this time was on the borders of Hupeh and Honan, and he happened to be feeling the want of some capable adviser and helper, when he was recommended to send for Chu Ko Liang. Chu seems to have impressed people with his knowledge of affairs, and although only a country farmer, yet had the reputation of great wisdom. Liu Pei, acting on the advice given him, went three times to the cottage of Chu, but only on the last occasion did he succeed in obtaining an interview. Liu Pei was astounded at the knowledge of the young man, and wondered how he could possibly have made himself so well acquainted with the affairs of the empire, living as he did in comparative seclusion. After a long conversation Liu Pei succeeded in persuading Chu to leave his house and farm and help him in the task of securing a throne. The noted general was delighted in having secured the services of one who seemed so capable a counsellor, and trusted implicitly in him, with the result that in after years he came to rely solely on his wisdom and guidance, and invariably took his advice.

It was the strategic ability and cunning of Chu Ko Liang that made him so useful to Liu Pei in his struggle against the rival powers. Chu seemed always to be ready for an emergency, and his marvellous skill in conducting campaigns and not less marvellous manner of retrieving disaster and defeat have given him his reputation amongst



the great ones of China. Not only was he wise and skilful in planning, but he was courageous and collected, and managed to carry out his schemes with perfect coolness and deliberation. Liu Pei was assisted in his campaigns by two famous generals named Chang Fei and Kuan Yu. These men had agreed to be faithful to each other till death, and had signed the compact by blood drawn from each other's arms. During the period of strife they were all distinguished for their feats of arms, and Kuan Yu so much so that in after years he was deified as the god of war and is worshipped in China to-day under the name of Kuan Ti. When Chu Ko Liang was received as the adviser and friend of Liu Pei the other two worthies manifested a little dissatisfaction and jealousy, but they were noble-minded enough to extend the right hand of fellowship to Chu when they saw his success and prowess. Another general, however, named Chou Yu, was not so magnanimous; he resented the influence exercised over Liu Pei by Chu Ko Liang and endeavoured to bring about the disgrace of the latter. His method of procedure forms one of the great scenes in the historical novel, the *San Kuo Chih*, or *History of the Three Kingdoms*, and is given here as an example of the material the book contains, and also as an example of the skill and cunning displayed by Chu, which has rendered his name so famous in Chinese history. We are told that "Chou Yu feared lest some day Chu Ko Liang might become too powerful, and determined to undermine his influence with Liu Pei. He invited Chu Ko Liang to his tent, ostensibly for the purpose of deliberating with him in regard to the conduct of the war against Tsao Tsao, but really for the purpose of enticing him into a trap which would cause his downfall. When they were seated and drinking wine together, Chou Yu inquired, 'What are the best weapons to use in a sea fight?' Chu Ko Liang answered, 'I believe the bow and arrow to be the most efficacious.' Chou Yu then went on to say that at present there was a great scarcity of arrows

among his soldiers, and that he wished to commission Chu Ko Liang to procure for him without fail ten thousand arrows before ten days had elapsed. Chu Ko Liang saw through the device and perceived that this seemingly impossible task had been given to him so that he might meet with failure in his attempt to accomplish it, and in consequence be covered with disgrace. He instantly answered, however, 'I will procure them in three days, and if I do not keep my promise, I am willing to suffer any punishment you may choose to inflict'. Then, taking his departure from the tent of Chou Yu, Chu Ko Liang sought out a trusty friend and asked him to prepare twenty boats, each to be manned with thirty soldiers, and to stack on each boat, in an upright position, a thousand bundles of straw. After all preparations had been made, Chu Ko Liang still waited two days without making any movement. On the morning of the third day, when he must either redeem his pledge or suffer the penalty, he commanded the boats to put off from the shore and make for the opposite bank of the Yangtze River, where the army of Tsao Tsao was encamped. Chu Ko Liang, who was skilful in prognosticating the weather, had foreseen that on that morning there would be a dense mist over the surface of the river. The boats put out in this fog, and, when they had drawn near to the opposite bank, Chu Ko Liang gave orders to the men concealed beneath the bundles of straw to attract the attention of the enemy by beating with vigour upon their drums. The enemy hearing the sound of the drums, rushed to the banks of the river and prepared for a conflict. The dense mist which enveloped everything, made it impossible for the soldiers of Tsao Tsao to do more than barely make out the outlines of the approaching fleet of boats. Immediately a shower of arrows was sent whizzing through the air, to find a lodgment in the stacks of straw on the boats of Chu Ko Liang. After enough arrows had been secured in this way, Chu Ko Liang commanded his soldiers to beat a

hasty retreat. As the boats made for the other shore Chu Ko Liang called out in a loud tone, 'Thank you for the loan of the arrows'. When the opposite bank was reached, Chu Ko Liang commanded his men to pluck the arrows from the bundles of straw and to count them. It was discovered that they had obtained from the enemy one hundred thousand. These were then taken to the tent of Chou Yu and presented to him, and were received with no little consternation and chagrin." Thus did Chu Ko Liang manifest the skill and resourcefulness that has made his name so famous.

The courage and ability of Chu were exercised in behalf of Liu Pei, with the result that Tsao Tsao suffered several defeats, and Liu Pei was placed upon the throne of the kingdom of Shu. After the accession of this prince, Chu Ko Liang still continued to serve him, and became more than ever his trusted adviser. He devoted himself to internal reforms and strove to make the kingdom prosperous, whilst at the same time he bent all his energies towards the organisation of a great army. Not only was he counsellor and director but he was also commander of the forces, and led the troops in the field of battle. And so in every way possible he endeavoured loyally to serve the man who had called him from obscurity, and Liu Pei to the day of his death never regretted his choice of the young but capable countryman.

During Liu Pei's occupation of the throne of Shu, Chu Ko Liang was sent by him to the court of Wu to induce Sun Chuan to form an alliance against Tsao Tsao, and the scene, as depicted in the History of the Three Kingdoms, is one of the most striking recorded in that remarkable book. Chu, handsome and elegant, with haughty mien, stands before a large number of the civil and military counsellors of Wu, and in his own inimitable manner silences all the objections that are brought forward by these worthies. It is a veritable "war of the tongue", in which Chu is the conqueror, and the counsellors acknowledge their defeat by consenting to the appeal to arms.

Liu Pei had a son, Shan by name, whom he entrusted to the care of Chu Ko Liang, telling the latter to occupy the throne himself, should his son prove unworthy of the position, when it became vacant. Chu, however, at the death of Liu Pei, seated Liu Shan on the throne and served him with the same loyalty that had distinguished his past career. He became also the trusted adviser of the young prince and endeavoured to guide him aright in the administration of the kingdom.

Liu Shan after his accession to the throne of Shu continued to carry on hostilities against the Kingdom of Wei, where Tsao Pei, the son of Tsao Tsao, now ruled. Chu Ko Liang marshalled his forces and made great preparations for the subjugation of Wei, but before marching against that territory he deemed it advisable to subdue the tribes on the Burmese frontier, who were getting troublesome, and accordingly led an expedition with that intent. He carried his arms right into Burmah and conquered the border peoples, thus securing peace in the West and South. It is said that the Burmese to-day worship Chu Ko Liang as the conqueror of their ancestors. Returning from this expedition in 227 A.D. he at once started for the Kingdom of Wei. In the meantime Tsao Pei had died and left the throne to his son Tsao Jui, who took the imperial title of Ming Ti. Chu Ko Liang, however, was not successful in this campaign, for he had to do with an opponent, the noted Ssu Ma I, who was almost as clever a strategist and as great a soldier as Chu himself. The armies of Shu were defeated and had to retreat, but even in this time of disaster, Chu's skill and resourcefulness were made manifest and his forces were saved from complete annihilation. We are told that with a handful of men still left to him, he took up his quarters in a deserted walled city. As the enemy drew near in pursuit, he gave orders to his men to throw open the city gates and stand before them with brooms in their hands as though they were engaged in sweeping the

streets. He himself went on to the city wall, and taking up a position in the tower over one of the gates, began to play on his lute. When the soldiers of Wei arrived at the city, they were surprised at this strange sight of men with brooms, standing in the open gates, and fearing an ambush, were afraid to enter. Not knowing the strength of Chu's forces, they retreated, and that skilful commander was enabled to lead off the remnant of his army without further loss.

When Chu Ko Liang reached the capital of Shu after this disastrous campaign he asked to be dismissed from office, acknowledging his failure. Liu Shan, however, continued to keep him at the head of affairs, knowing the value of his master mind, and he subsequently led several successful expeditions against Wei. On one occasion he nearly succeeded in securing the overthrow of his famous opponent, Ssu Ma I, and was only hindered from doing so by his superstitious fears. Chu and his soldiers had hemmed in Ssu Ma I and his forces within a deep valley, and there was no possibility of escape. Fire was set to the brushwood, and many horses and men perished, but the fire was suddenly extinguished by a heavy rain which fell, and Chu, recognising the interference of the gods, allowed his prisoners to escape.

The conquest of Wei, however, was never accomplished by Chu. Successful as he may have been in single campaigns, with all his ability and skill he was not able to secure for the kingdom of Shu its permanent continuance. He waged warfare at a great disadvantage. The scene of strife was often far away from the base of operations and he had to overcome the great difficulty of transit of supplies to the front. This meant conveying food and goods across the mountains of Ssuchuan, which proved no easy task. Chu was noted for his mechanical ingenuity, and we are told that he was able to make wooden oxen, which in some way helped him in this difficulty. He was also able to improve on the weapons of war, and it is said that

he invented a bow that could shoot several arrows at once. The record of his wonderful achievements has been given to the Chinese people in the work that has already been mentioned, and although much of it must be purely imaginary, yet underneath there is the substratum of fact.

Chu Ko Liang served the two princes of the Minor Han Dynasty for nearly thirty years, and courage, skill, and strategy made his name famous amongst friends and enemies alike. He did not live to see, however, the fulfilment of his purposes and schemes, for it was during one of his campaigns against Wei that he was taken ill, and whilst waiting for his forces to engage those of Ssu Ma I, died at the age of fifty-three. This was in 234 A.D. After his death, Liu Shan, or as he is better known by his title Hou Chu, was deprived of his wisest and best counsellor, and being a man of little worth himself, his character soon deteriorated, and instead of pursuing a vigorous policy of struggle for the supremacy, gave himself up to luxuriousness and ease. The King of Wei soon saw his opportunity, and taking advantage of the indolence of his former rival, invaded the territory of Shu and took Hou Chu prisoner. The captive prince was taken in triumph to the capital of Wei, and with his fall ended the Minor Han Dynasty.

Of the private life of Chu Ko Liang very little is known. He had a wife and one son. His wife was a plain homely person, but possessed of considerable mechanical ability, and we are told that she used several ingenious contrivances in her ordinary household work. It may have been that Chu was helped in his wonderful plans and schemes by his wife more than the historians care to state.

It has been already stated that Chu Ko Liang showed literary ability as a young man in the writing of verses and songs. He also wrote a treatise on what is known as the Pa Chen, a system of marshalling in divisions, each consisting of eight companies, arranged round one single



point. The Pa Chen is of very ancient origin, but it is supposed to have been first turned to practical account by our hero. Another book called the Book of the Heart is also attributed to Chu Ko Liang, but on doubtful authority. This work treats of the character and duties of a good general, his relations with his officers and soldiers, and also his relations with his ruler. These two books, with official documents and letters, constitute the literary remains of the famous commander.

Chu Ko Liang was given a posthumous title, that of Chung Wu Hou, or the Loyal Military Marquis, and after a lapse of years a tablet to his memory was placed in the Temple of Confucius. This title shows the character of Chu and explains the hold that he has obtained on the hearts of the Chinese people. He was a man who, at the call of duty, left his home to give his best to the empire, and who, although possessing many defects of character, was throughout his life a loyal and faithful minister.

# FA SHIEN AND SHUAN TSANG

## THE BUDDHIST PILGRIMS.



THE Chinese first became acquainted with the doctrines of Buddha during the reign of the First Emperor.

In the year 216 B. C. an Indian priest, Shih Li Fang, accompanied by seventeen others, arrived at the capital of China. They were not well received, however; being foreigners, they were looked upon with suspicion and were eventually thrown into prison. The story goes that they were miraculously delivered from their confinement by the advent of Buddha himself, and that the emperor was so alarmed at the manifestation of that deity, that he afterwards treated the visitors with great respect. No more is heard of these strangers, however; they probably quickly departed, disgusted at their treatment.

In later years Buddhism was again heard of through the medium of a Chinese envoy, Chang Chien, who had been sent on a mission to the west and had been imprisoned for ten years amongst the Tartars. He returned to China in 126 B. C. and reported the existence of such a religion in the countries bordering on the region of his imprisonment. It was not, however, till the first century of the Christian era that Buddhism was really introduced into the Chinese Empire. The emperor Ming Ti, of the celebrated Han Dynasty, one night saw in a dream a golden figure floating in a halo of light across the pavilion where he was sleeping. He acquainted his councillors with the fact, and they said that it must have been an apparition of Buddha, the great western deity. Ming Ti, anxious to know something of the new religion, despatched an embassy of enquiry to India. After an absence of eleven years the embassy returned to the capital, bringing with them two Indian monks and a large number of books and pictures. This was about the year 67 A. D. The

monks were favourably received by the emperor, and they settled down in the city to translate the books they had brought and to propagate their faith. A temple was built and copies of the pictures were used to adorn its walls, and also the walls of the imperial palace. The emperor accepted the teaching of the priests, and thus Buddhism was officially introduced into China.

During the next few centuries many more missionaries found their way from India, and making their home in the Chinese Empire, laboured with great zeal to spread abroad the doctrines they believed. They spent much time in the translation of their own books into Chinese, and before very long the religion of Buddha was permanently established in the country.

By the end of the fourth century the new religion had made great headway. It had its priesthood and its endowed monasteries and possessed a voluminous literature. Owing, however, to the imperfect knowledge of the Chinese language on the part of the translators, this literature was not satisfactory, and it was felt that correct copies of Buddhist works were needed. A learned and skilful priest was invited to the court of the Tsin Emperor to revise the books already in existence, but in the meantime the desire for true knowledge had laid hold of a young Chinese Buddhist, who determined to seek for himself correct copies of the literature containing the doctrines of salvation. Fa Shien, the earnest-minded priest, set himself to brave the dangers of unknown regions in the search for truth, and eventually accomplished one of the most astonishing of pedestrian journeys ever undertaken by man.

Fa Shien was a native of the province of Shansi. His family name was Kung, but on entering the Buddhist priesthood as a child, his name was altered, and he took the name Fa Shien instead, being a religious designation intended to show his connection with the Buddhist law. When he had grown to manhood's estate, he was ordained into the order, and went to the city of Chang An to study

the religion he professed. It was here that he came to realise the unsatisfactory condition of the religious books already translated, and his desire for truth led him to prepare for a visit to India, in the hope of securing correct copies, and also with the idea of seeing something of the region with which Buddha's name was so intimately associated. Since the time of Fa Shien's journey many changes have taken place in the regions through which he travelled, and it is not easy to describe in detail the direct route he took ; some of the places mentioned in his own account of his travels being to-day unidentified. But the general direction of his journey is known, and when one considers the distance traversed, the condition of Asia at that time, one is compelled to a great admiration for the man who possessed such a courage and such a spirit of perseverance as to brave all dangers and overcome all obstacles for the sake of what he considered to be the truth.

Fa Shien did not set out alone from Chang An ; he had with him four companions, named respectively Hui King, Tao Ching, Hui Ying, and Hui Wu. The first place of importance after leaving their home was Chang Ye in the province of Kansuh. At this time the territory was under the rule of an independent prince, who received Fa Shien and his companions with favour on account of their religious profession. He treated them with great hospitality, and as the rainy season was about to commence, begged them to stay with him until the roads would be in a better condition for travel. There happened to be other religious pilgrims in the city at the time, and so Fa Shien and his companions stayed until the elements were more propitious. After a considerable time the pilgrims moved forward, and after marching through a long stretch of country arrived at the town Tun Wang in Tangut on the borders of the terrible Gobi Desert. Here Fa Shien and his companions stayed a month making preparations for the crossing of the great tract of inhospitable

table country that lay ahead. The military governor at this place proved very kind to the pilgrims and provided them with many things necessary for the crossing of the desert. When all preparations were complete, Fa Shien and his four friends started on their journey, leaving behind them the pilgrims with whom they had travelled from Chang Ye. After a journey of seventeen days, in which they had travelled five hundred miles, the little company arrived at a place called Shen Shen, where they remained a month in order to regain their strength, which had been severely taxed in their march across the country. At the end of the month the pilgrims once more set out in a north-westerly direction, and after fifteen more days' hard travel arrived at Wei. This territory was also under the rule of an independent prince, and he, hearing of the little band of religious enthusiasts, welcomed them and provided them with things necessary for the remaining part of the journey across the desert. He also provided Fa Shien with a passport, which saved him and his companions much trouble and unpleasantness on the road they subsequently traversed.

From Wei the travellers pushed on across the worst part of the great desert. For thirty-five days they endured miseries almost beyond description. Fa Shien in his account of his journey refers to the Gobi thus: "In this desert there are a great many evil spirits and hot winds. There are neither birds above nor beasts below. Gazing on all sides, as far as the eye can reach, in order to mark the track, it would be impossible to succeed but for the rotting bones of dead men which point the way." Through such a tract of land did the little company travel, and at the end of five weeks reached Khoten more dead than alive. Here, however, they found themselves amongst friends. There was a Buddhist monastery already established in the place and Fa Shien and his companions found a home. After a long rest they purposed to push on, but just at that time there was a special festival and

procession of images, and so the pilgrims waited a little longer, and three months had passed before they were ready again for the road.

The pilgrims had now been on their journey the greater part of a year, but had not yet reached the borders of the land of Buddha. Their stay at the monastery being completed, Fa Shien and his friends once more set out on their travels, and after other twenty-five days reached Tson Ho. Here they stayed a fortnight and then directed their course towards the great mountains of the Hindu Kush, and after a journey of twenty-five days arrived at Kartchou. After resting a short time in this town, Fa Shien and his fellow-travellers started on their perilous ascent of the passes of the Hindu Kush. All along the journey they experienced great difficulties and were often in danger of their lives. Although the winter had passed, the snow greatly impeded their progress. They had to negotiate steep crags and precipices, and literally to cling to walls of rock ten thousand feet high. They crossed rivers by means of rope bridges, a feat that needed the steadiest of nerves, and in many ways suffered a living death in their perilous progress towards their destination. Finally, however, they crossed the great range and found themselves in territory now known as Afghanistan. They rested during the rainy season and then pushed forward. They had not done with the mountains, however, and an arduous journey was still before them. Crossing the Khyber Range in the winter time the cold was so excessive as to cause one of the little company to give up in despair. He laid himself down to die and besought Fa Shien and the others to continue their journey. Fa Shien tried to restore and help his comrade, but it was of no use, and the intrepid traveller paid for his zeal with his life. The other four still continued on towards the south-east, and finally arrived at Peshawur in North India. The hardships endured during the crossing of the mountains proved too much for another



of the little company, and he reached this town only to die. Another of the band, after suffering such trials to the flesh, had no heart to go further, and although he had already accomplished the worst part of the journey he refused to go on, but stayed in Peshawur, and eventually made his way back to his native country. Fa Shien was, however, determined to execute his mission, and his remaining companion, perhaps inspired by his courage and earnestness, decided to continue the journey with him. The two set out again and soon arrived at the town of Bannu, after which they turned to the east, and in a few more days crossed the river Indus and found themselves in a country where the name of Buddha was specially revered. The people of the district were very much affected at the thought of these strangers coming from such a distance as the land of China, and they treated them with the utmost kindness and hospitality. Through this region the pilgrims travelled until they arrived at a place called Sravatsi, a town where Buddha had spent twenty-five years of his life. On arriving at the temple at this place Fa Shien saw many other pilgrims from all parts of the continent, and as he realised that all these had come to worship at the shrine of the great one, who had lived in this very town, he was affected almost to tears. The priests there noted his sadness and said to him: "From what country are you?" Fa Shien replied: "From the land of Han." The priests were astonished and exclaimed "Wonderful! to think that men from the remotest corner of the earth should come so far as this from a desire to search for the Law", and they added that they had never known Chinese come so far before.

Now that Fa Shien was in the land to which his thoughts had often turned, he made it his object to visit every place and see everything that was at all associated with the name of Buddha. He with his companion wandered many a weary mile in order to gain all the knowledge

he could of the being he worshipped, and also in the hope of finding the literary treasures that had lured him onwards from the very commencement of his travels. The two visited Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Buddha, then turned towards the south, and after a circuitous journey, covering a great extent of time, arrived at Patna. It is impossible in a short sketch like this to give in detail the itinerary of the travellers, but a short paragraph from Fa Shien's own account will show the nature of their wanderings. He says: "The pilgrims now arrived at the city of Gaya, also a complete waste within its walls. Journeying about three more miles southwards, they reached the place where the Bodhisatva formerly passed six years in self-mortification. It is very woody. From this point going west a mile they arrived at the spot where Buddha entered the water to bathe, and a god pressed down the branch of a tree to pull him out of the pool. Also, by going two-thirds of a mile further north they reached the place where the two lay-sisters presented Buddha with congee made with milk. Two-thirds of a mile to the north of this is the place where Buddha, sitting on a stone under a great tree, and facing the east, ate it. The tree and the stone are both there still; the latter being about six feet in length and breadth by over two feet in height. . . . From this point going north-east half a yojana, the pilgrims arrived at the cave where the Bodhisatva, having entered, sat down cross-legged with his face to the west and reflected as follows: 'If I attain perfect wisdom, there should be some miracle in token thereof'. Whereupon the silhouette of Buddha appeared upon the stone, over three feet in length, and is plainly visible to this day."

The above extract shows with what zeal and earnestness Fa Shien and his companion travelled here and there so that they should miss nothing that in any way contributed to the fame and worship of the great deity, whose

name was held in such reverence. When they arrived in Patna, they had covered hundreds of miles, and had witnessed many sights, the remembrance of which would be ever present with such a devoted follower as the young Chinese priest.

Up to this time Fa Shien had not been able to procure the copies of the books he sought, but here at last in Patna his search was rewarded. He found in the monastery the scriptures he had so longed to see, and set to work at once to copy out the strange looking characters. He settled down there to learn Sanscrit, and for the next three years his time was given up to that object. At the end of this period he turned his thoughts once more towards his native land and made preparations for his return journey. His companion having become greatly enamoured of the life in the monastery, determined to remain, and so Fa Shien set out alone. He did not make his way back to north India, but travelled in a south-easterly direction until he came to a place called Tambuc, near the mouth of the Hooghly River. Here Fa Shien for some reason or other stayed two years and then finally embarked on a vessel for Ceylon.

This island is described by the traveller as follows. He says: "This country had originally no inhabitants; only devils and spirits and dragons lived in it, with whom the merchants of neighbouring countries came to trade. When the exchange of commodities took place, the devils and spirits did not appear in person, but set out their valuables with the prices attached. Then the merchants according to the prices bought the things and carried them off. But from the merchants going backwards and forwards and stopping on their way, the attractions of the place became known to the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, who also went there, and thus it became a great nation. The temperature is very agreeable in this country; there is no distinction of summer and winter. The trees and plants are always green and cultiva-

tion of the soil is carried on as men please, without regard to seasons."

When Fa Shien arrived in Ceylon he had been many years away from his native land of China. He was alone ; his companions having either died or left him. There is no doubt that he felt all the sorrow and anguish of the exile, and many a time his thoughts turned to the old home and to the land of his fathers. In his travels we are given a picture which is full of pathos, and serves to bring the earnest pilgrim nearer to us as we realise that he was a man of like passions as ourselves. He had visited a temple in Ceylon, and whilst standing by the image of Buddha, he saw a man present a Chinese fan to the god. The sight of the familiar article was too much for the wanderer, and he wept as he thought of the land of his birth and his present circumstances. Fa Shien, however, did not allow such feelings to hinder him in his mission, and he stayed two years in the island, during which time he procured several precious literary treasures. At the end of that period, with his books and manuscripts and other precious relics he embarked on a vessel bound for the east. All went well for some time and then a terrible storm arose, and much of the cargo of the ship had to be thrown overboard. Fa Shien, terrified lest his books and documents would have to go, threw away all his personal belongings and prayed vehemently that the storm might abate. For thirteen days the little vessel was tossed in the tempest, and her timbers were so strained that she sprung a leak. The mariners, however, managed to get ashore on a small island, and there they repaired the ship, after which they continued their journey, arriving eventually at the island of Java. Here Fa Shien spent five months and then again embarked for his native shores. For a month the voyage was an enjoyable and a favourable one, but at the end of that time trouble overtook him once more. A squall arose and the ship was in danger of sinking. This was followed by a series of storms, and the crew thinking that Fa Shien was

a sort of Jonah, determined to put him ashore at the first opportunity. They were now sailing along the coast of China, but as the territory was comparatively unknown to the mariners they were afraid to land. Fa Shien found a friend in the pilot, who spoke in his favour, and he was allowed to remain in peace. Still the storms continued and the ship was drifted day after day until she had reached the Shantung Promontory in the Yellow Sea. No one on the ship knew their whereabouts, but seeing men on shore the sailors effected a landing at a place near to the present Kiao Chou. The strangers were treated well, and the ruler of the district carried Fa Shien with his books and relics to his seat of government at Ching Chou. The priest stayed in this town during the winter and the following summer, after which he went to Nanking and then started on his homeward journey, reaching Chang An in 415 A. D. after being away from his country for a period of fifteen years. The remainder of his life was spent in peace in the monastery at Chang An, where with a friend he occupied himself in editing his books and writing an account of his adventurous journey.

The travels of Fa Shien have been made known to the western world through the labours of more than one scholarly Chinese missionary, and the account is of great interest. But the character of the young Chinese priest specially calls forth admiration and esteem. For the sake of what he considered to be the truth, he braved all dangers and suffered many hardships, and has thus left a name that has been handed down through many centuries of Chinese history.

Some two hundred years after Fa Shien's visit to India, Buddhism had become very influential in the Chinese empire, in fact it had acquired, in spite of persecution and opposition, what has since proved to be a lasting hold on the minds of the Chinese people. Numerous monasteries and temples had been built, and the priesthood comprised a considerable number drawn from the masses of

the population. It was at this time that another young and earnest follower of Buddha conceived the idea of visiting India in order to procure more copies of religious works and also to see the holy places connected with his religion. The name of Shuan Tsang is famous in Chinese Buddhist history, and the record of his journey serves to show the courage and earnestness of a man who, like his predecessor Fa Shien braved all dangers and overcame all obstacles in the accomplishment of his purpose.

Shuan Tsang was born in the province of Honan in the year 602 A.D. He showed himself in childhood to be of a grave and studious nature, and it may have been this characteristic that led his elder brother, who was a monk in the monastery at Loyang, to take charge of him and teach him. The influence of his guardian was soon manifested, and Shuan Tsang, whose original name was Chen I, became a priest at the age of twenty. For some years after his ordination he travelled about the country visiting different monasteries, and finally settled at the city of Chang An, with which Fa Shien had been associated. On account of his studious habits he soon became noted as a scholar, and the fame of his learning spread throughout the district. Some time after his settlement at Chang An an irresistible desire took possession of him to visit the sources of Buddhist literature in India. He earnestly sought to understand the philosophy of his religion, and in order to do so wished to acquaint himself with all the books written upon the subject. Accordingly in the year 629, during the reign of the great Tai Tsung, he started on his solitary journey to brave the dangers of the desert and the mountains. He reached Liang Chou, the north-west extremity of China proper, and eluding the officers at the frontier, who were then forbidden to allow emigrants to pass, struck off into the terrible Gobi Desert, where Fa Shien and his companions had suffered so much before. He fared no better than his predecessor,



and would probably have succumbed, had it not been for occasional help at long intervals from the small garrisons stationed in the towers along the track of the desert. After great privation and suffering he eventually reached Hami, then the capital of a Turkish principality, where he was able to rest and recuperate after the terrible journey. Setting out again, he journeyed along the southern side of the Mountains of Heaven, then crossed the great tract of land to the Hindu Kush and ascended these mountains. Here he was face to face with great dangers, but he managed to cross and finally arrived at Peshawur in North India. Now that he was in the country of Buddha, he spent much time in the district round about Peshawur, then after a while crossed the Indus and eventually settled down in the valley of Cashmere, where he spent two years studying in the convents and visiting the monuments and relics of the Buddhist religion. At the end of this period he started off to visit the famous sites of Buddhist history and tradition, wandering over large tracts of country in the pursuit of his mission. He finally arrived at the college of Nalanda, the most famous seat of Buddhist learning in India, a place resplendent with the gifts of monarchs and religious-minded potentates. Shuan Tsang stayed in this monastery for two years studying Sanscrit and Buddhist philosophy. After leaving this place of learning, he once more wandered about, visiting shrines and temples and collecting images and relics, and then started on his homeward journey. Unlike Fa Shien, he retraced his steps, and passing again through north India, crossed the Pamir plateau, and journeying through Kashgar and Khoten, finally arrived on the borders of his own country after an absence of about fifteen years. He reached his home in Chang An in the year 645 A.D.

When Shuan Tsang returned, the emperor Tai Tsung was still reigning, and we are told that this monarch summoned the traveller to the capital to answer for his conduct in leaving the country without permission. Shuan

Tsang's apology was presented in a substantial form and is described as follows: "Twenty-two horses carrying 657 Buddhist works, 115 grains of relics, a gold statue of Buddha three feet three inches high, with transparent pedestal, a second, three feet five inches high, and many others of silver and sandal-wood." The emperor evidently satisfied at the result of Shuan Tsang's mission requested him to write a full account of his travels and at the same time leave the seclusion of the monastery and serve the state. This latter Shuan Tsang declined to do, but he devoted the remaining years of his life to the editing of his books and to the writing of an account of his journey. He died in the year 664. It is said that on the approach of death he caused one of his disciples to frame a catalogue of his good works, of the books that he had translated or caused to be translated, of the sacred pictures executed at his cost, of his alms, of the living creatures ransomed from death. This is of course in accordance with the doctrine of merit that he and his co-religionists believed, but it lends a pathos to the scene of a mortal man passing into the Great Unknown, happy and satisfied in the accomplishment of his own good deeds and with no fear for the future. "When Kia Shang (the disciple) had ended writing this list, the master ordered him to read it aloud. After hearing it, the devotees clasped their hands and showered their felicitations on him." Thus passed away Shuan Tsang the great Buddhist traveller and enthusiast.

A review of Dr. Legge's translation of Fa Shien's Travels, which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, is worth quoting here, as the writer seems to have had the same admiration for the Buddhist pilgrims as is manifested in this short account. He says: "The visits to India, paid in the early centuries of the Christian era by eager Chinese pilgrims are most interesting historical events. They stand out to great advantage from the mass of myths and legends which do duty as Hindu history. The spirit

which drove these restless monks, the Luthers of an earlier Reformation, to seek truth at the cradle of their faith, preserved the records they left behind them from taint of fable and exaggeration; and the result is in many respects a trustworthy tale. Nor are those elements wanting which might move us to deeper feeling than a mere passing interest. When we consider what a journey from China to India by way of Central Asia means even in these days, we may well be moved to admiration by the devotion, the zeal and the fortitude which must have inspired a humble traveller to venture on such a journey fourteen centuries ago."

# LI SHIH MIN

OR

THE EMPEROR TAI TSUNG.

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THE sixth century of the Christian era was a period of strife and disunion in China. No less than three dynasties rose and fell; the last one, however, giving place to one of the most famous of Chinese dynasties, that of the Tang, which lasted for nearly three hundred years, and which left an indelible mark on the national life of the people.

The end of the House of Sui and the rise of the Tangs, was brought about by the rebellion of a general named Li Yuan, a descendant of the Liangs, who possessed the title Prince of Tang. This man was successful in carrying out his plans, and in a very short time found himself master of the empire. In the year 618 A.D., Li Yuan proclaimed himself Emperor of China, under the title of Wu Te.

Although Li Yuan was the nominal founder of this new dynasty, the establishment of the House of Tang was in reality owing to the prowess and ability of his second son Li Shih-min. Born in 597, Shih Min was a young man of twenty when his father first overthrew the authority of the reigning prince. He was a soldier, courageous and energetic, and throwing himself heart and soul into his father's cause, he was the principal means of the success of the movement which placed Li Yuan on the throne. After his father's accession, Shih Min took an active part in subduing the enemies of the new house, and by his military power and tactics, succeeded in firmly establishing the rule of the Tangs. In 621, three years after his father's occupation of the throne, he was nominated to the specially created post of Chief Guardian of the Empire, a position for which he

was peculiarly fitted. Whilst Wu Te was in the capital reorganising the administration of government, Shih Min was crushing his father's rivals and subduing the provinces to the new authority. He proved himself more and more a great soldier and a wise and able commander by the rapidity of his successes. At the head of a chosen band of cuirassiers, carrying black tiger skins, he by his dashing fearlessness often turned the tide of battle, which resulted in complete victory for his troops.

In a few years the task assigned to him was accomplished. The empire was pacified to an extent that had not been the case for centuries, and Shih Min returned to the capital in triumph. His entry into Chang An reminds one very much of the triumphant displays of the Roman emperors after their campaigns. Surrounded by his chosen body guard, and followed by forty thousand cavalry, Shih Min, wearing a breastplate of gold, rode through the streets of the capital, accompanied by some of his most notable prisoners, and returned thanks publicly in the ancestral temple for a glorious success to his arms.

But Shih Min's success was not all owing to his ability and prowess as a soldier. He was of a generous disposition, humane in his dealings with his enemies, and his moderation and kindness during his campaigns had won for him the hearts of the people, and when he returned to the capital, it was amidst the acclamations of thousands who recognised in him a true prince of the realm. His popularity, however, roused the envy of his elder brother, the heir-apparent, who was successful in poisoning the ears of Wu Te and the leading ministers, and Shih Min, disgraced, for a time withdrew from the court. This downfall was not sufficient for the elder brother, who determined not to rest until the young favourite was out of the way entirely. He accordingly conspired with a younger brother to kill Shih Min, but the plot failed and the conspirators were discovered. No mercy was shown on this occasion, and the heir-apparent, with others who

were partners in his guilt, were all executed. Shih Min was then finally proclaimed the true heir to the throne.

Almost immediately after this, Wu Te abdicated in favour of his son, and in the year 627, Shih Min ascended the throne, taking the title of Cheng Kuan. No doubt Wu Te's action was owing to the plot that had been revealed, but the official statement as to his reason for retiring from the administration of government, was founded on the fact of his old age and his desire for peace and quiet. Wu Te, or as he is better known as Kao Tsu, survived his abdication nine years, dying in the year 635.

Li Shih-min, on his accession, took the title of Cheng Kuan, but he is better known by the name of Tai Tsung, the name by which he was canonised in the ancestral temple after his death. The glories of his reign were such as to render the title a famous one in Chinese history, and Tai Tsung is remembered as one of the greatest monarchs that ever sat on the Dragon Throne.

The first achievement of the new emperor was a diplomatic victory over the Tartars. These people had, from time immemorial, been a source of great trouble to the Chinese. Under different names, they had for centuries crossed the border and harassed the peaceable peasants, and each successive dynasty had endeavoured in vain to check their ravages and secure a permanent peace for its subjects. During the period of which we write, the Turcoman power had risen, and these Tartar ancestors of the modern Turk had extended their authority even into Chinese territory. Tai Tsung during his father's occupation of the throne, had contended with this power and had made a treaty with them. In the first year of his reign the treaty was broken and the Turcomans invaded the empire, carrying all before them almost to the gates of the capital. The Chinese army was not able to drive back the invaders, and Tai Tsung had to resort to diplomatic measures to secure a peace. The Turcomans were bought over, and they returned to their territory friends instead of enemies.



This was the first and last time, however, that Tai Tsung resorted to such measures. Once the empire was clear of the Turcomans, he set himself to make the nation of which he was the head, a greater power than ever it had been before. He tried to revive the spirit of patriotism and gave the people to see that they had united interests and that the way to withstand all enemies was to present a united front. His military experiences had showed him that the armies he had led were not as well disciplined and equipped as they should be, and his first great reform was in this direction. His treaties with the Turcomans were humiliating, and he determined to be in the position of one who should dictate and not accept terms of peace.

For a long time the Chinese armies had been bodies of undisciplined men, owing their successes almost entirely to their numbers. During the period of disunion, things had gone from bad to worse, and more than one emperor had endeavoured to recruit his troops from the Tartar tribes. Mercenaries have always proved a dangerous factor in the life of nations, and Tai Tsung knowing this, determined to train his own men and gather together a standing army that should be efficient in all kinds of warfare. He accordingly raised an army of 900,000 men and divided it into three equal classes of regiments. The total number of regiments was 895, of which some six hundred were for home and the rest for foreign service. By this means he secured a supply of capable soldiers, who after regular drill and careful training, were well fitted to uphold the authority of their emperor. He also improved the weapons of warfare. The pike was lengthened and a stronger bow was supplied, and many of the troops wore armour. He paid special attention to the cavalry, a branch of warfare that has never been much used in China. Tai Tsung took pains to train his officers and led the way in the practice of all kinds of military manœuvres. He spent much time amongst the archers and was himself very skilful in the use of the bow. Many of the civil

mandarins were offended at the amount of time and attention paid by Tai Tsung to military matters, and considered that he was degrading his position as ruler of a people who had always given first place to literature and learning, but Tai Tsung's unwavering perseverance in his own path only shows the moral courage of which he was possessed. He instituted a Tribunal of War to which he entrusted the supreme direction of military matters. Tai Tsung's efforts in the direction of military reform were justified by the results. After a considerable amount of training the armies he had gathered, were ready for the field, and he started on a series of campaigns that were continued throughout his whole life. With regard to the Tartar tribes he found that his method was of more value than the erecting of great walls such as had distinguished the reign of the First Emperor.

The peace that Tai Tsung had made with the Turcomans did not remain long unbroken. These ambitious tribes gathered together and made plans for the invasion of the Chinese empire. Before these plans were complete, however, Tai Tsung surprised them by marching at the head of a large army into their territory. The Turcomans were not prepared for this movement and the majority of them made little resistance; several of the khans surrendering at once. At a general assembly of conquerors and conquered, Tai Tsung proclaimed himself as the supreme ruler of the tribes beyond the Chinese border, taking the title of Tien Khan, the Celestial Chief. This was the first occasion on which a Chinese ruler undertook the task of governing the peoples beyond his frontier, and to the present day, owing to the successes of later emperors, these tribes are still subject to the same authority. This rapid movement on the part of Tai Tsung into the territory of the Turcomans, ensured his success and brought tranquillity to his empire. With a formidable army on which to rely he felt master of the situation, and accordingly extended his authority into the region known as Kashgaria,

which he for the first time formed into a Chinese province. Some of his influential ministers opposed this policy, but Tai Tsung was not to be turned from his own schemes and had his own way in the matter. His ambition was not satisfied, however, and he extended his authority westwards until the bounds of his empire reached the Caspian Sea and the borders of Persia.

The subjugation of the Tartars meant peace for China, and Tai Tsung, when opportunity served, began a series of reforms in the empire. He divided his territory into ten provinces, each having sub-divisions. He reformed the Civil and Penal Codes and secured a better administration of government on the part of the officials. He sent commissioners into all parts of the country to inquire openly into the conduct of the mandarins, so that justice might be done to the people and bribery and corruption stopped. With regard to the latter he deemed it punishable with death and gave his orders accordingly. He improved the condition of the lower classes of the people, lessened the taxes, and in every way sought their welfare. He seems to have gained a true conception of his responsibility as a ruler. Said he: "I look upon myself in my empire as a father in his family. I love my subjects as my children. An emperor who oppresses the people to enrich himself is like a man who cuts off his own flesh to satisfy the cravings of hunger. These may be satisfied, but in a short time his whole body must perish." He had a far more sensible view of the relations of ruler and subjects than has often been present in the minds of European potentates. One day, whilst out in a pleasure boat with his family he said: "You see my children that the boat is supported by the water, which can at any time overwhelm it when aroused. Consider that the people resemble the water, the Imperial State, the boat." His treatment of his officers and the magistrates in the empire also shows his wisdom and nobility of character. On one occasion being advised to use unworthy methods of finding out the

faults and sins of some of his officials he replied : "This plan would doubtless be effectual, but if a sovereign uses deceit with his great men, can he exact uprightness from them? The fountain must be pure that the stream may be pure also. I would rather be ignorant of the evil that exists than discover it by oblique and unworthy means."

His popularity as a soldier before his accession had been largely owing to his humaneness and kindness of heart, and these qualities were shown when he had the government of the empire. He dealt in mercy and won the hearts of his subjects by his abstention from cruel and bloody punishments. It is said that on one occasion he allowed a number of prisoners, who were under the death sentence, to return to their homes during the New Year festivities on condition that they returned to their fate at a stated time. According to promise, these criminals all returned, and Tai Tsung was so pleased that he restored them all to liberty, giving them a free pardon.

Whilst a warrior of the first order, Tai Tsung was also a scholar, and during his reign he paid much attention to the claims of learning. He encouraged literature and art, establishing schools and colleges and providing the means of study. Close by his palace, in the capital, he built a great library, in which he placed 200,000 volumes of works he had collected. He was an enthusiastic disciple of Confucius and was very fond of holding discussions on the words of the sage with his ministers and the leading scholars of the capital. To him is attributed the saying, "Confucius is for the Chinese what the water is for the fishes". He ordered a complete and accurate edition of all the classics to be published under the supervision of the most learned men of the time. He also established a system of literary examinations by which the successful competitors were qualified to hold office, but whether he is to be considered the originator of the Chinese examination system is a moot point.

During the first portion of his reign Tai Tsung was greatly helped and influenced by his wife, the empress. She was a woman of rare goodness and ability, and set a shining example of virtue to her court. She was also a patron of letters, and it is said that the majority of Tai Tsung's literary and scholastic efforts and reforms were really due to her. She was the best adviser the emperor had, and some consider that after her death the glory of Tai Tsung's reign began to diminish. She no doubt contributed to the treatise known as the "Golden Mirror", a work on the art of government that is attributed to the pen of the emperor.

We have just seen that Tai Tsung was an earnest disciple of Confucius and did much to encourage the study of his teaching. We also read in a previous chapter that he received the Buddhist priest Shuan Tsang, requesting him to write concerning his faith and his travels and offering him a position in the empire. This leads us to remark the interest he took in religion and the toleration he showed, for it was during his reign that Nestorian Christians arrived in China and were well received, being given every opportunity to promulgate their doctrines. This may not have been the first occasion on which the Nestorians reached the Chinese empire, for there is evidence to lead to the belief that early in the sixth century they made their way thither. But the arrival of these Christians in the reign of Tai Tsung is attested by the celebrated stone known as the Nestorian Tablet. This stone was discovered in the year 1625 by some Chinese workmen who were engaged in digging a foundation for a house outside the walls of the city of Si An, the ancient capital. It is a dark coloured marble tablet, some ten feet high and five broad, and bearing on one side an inscription in Chinese and also Syriac characters. An interpretation of the inscription showed that Christianity had made considerable progress in China during the seventh century, and that its success was largely owing to the

toleration and interest of the emperor Tai Tsung. The following extract from the inscription will show this: "In the reign of the civil emperor Tai Tsung, the illustrious and sacred enlarger (of the Tang Dynasty), there was in Ta Chin (Judea or the Roman Empire) a man of superior virtue called Olopun who, guided by the azure clouds, bearing the true Scriptures, and observing the laws of the winds, made his way through dangers and difficulties. In the year 636 A.D., he arrived at Chang An. The emperor instructed his minister Fang Shuen-ling to take the imperial sceptre and go out to the western suburbs, receive the guest, and conduct him into the palace. The Scriptures were translated in the library of the palace. The emperor, in his private apartments, made inquiry regarding the religion; and fully satisfied that it was correct and true, he gave special commands for its promulgation."

The edict, bearing date, Cheng Kuan (the reigning title of Tai Tsung) 12th year, 7th month (639 A. D.), runs thus: "Religion is without an invariable name. Saints are without any permanent body. In whatever region they are they give instruction and privately succour the living multitudes. Olopun, a man of great virtue, belonging to the kingdom of Ta Chin, bringing the Scriptures and images from afar, has come and presented them at our capital.

"On examining the meaning of his instruction, it is found to be pure, mysterious, and separate from the world. On observing its origin, it is seen to have been instituted as that which is essential to mankind. Its language is simple, its reasonings are attractive, and to the human race it is beneficial. As is right, let it be promulgated throughout the empire. Let the appropriate Board build a Ta Chin temple in the quarter named I Ning of the imperial city and appoint thereto twenty-one priests.

"The power of the illustrious Chou dynasty having fallen, the green car having ascended westward, the re-



ligion of the great Tang family became resplendent, and the illustrious spirit found its way eastward. The appropriate officers were instructed to take a faithful likeness of the emperor, and place it on the wall of the temple. The celestial figure shone in its bright colours, and its lustre irradiated the illustrious portals. The sacred lineaments spread felicity all around and perpetually illuminated the indoctrinated regions."

Thus the stone which had been erected in 781 A.D. to describe the progress of the Gospel, and which had disappeared until two hundred years ago, bears testimony to the welcome given by Tai Tsung to the priests of the west and his efforts to promulgate the doctrines of Christianity.

The reign of Tai Tsung, however, is chiefly noted for its military successes, which brought the Chinese Empire into distinction amongst the nations of Asia. As a scholar the emperor was lauded by the literati, as a humane and beneficent ruler he has his place in the hearts of the people even to the present day, but his military achievements made the empire of which he was the head, famous even in the courts of Europe. We have seen how he extended his authority to the borders of Persia, subduing the tribes of the intervening territory. Persia itself became allied to China, and the relations between the emperors of the respective countries were cordial. In 644 A.D., Izdegerd III, reduced to extremity on account of the victories of the Mussulmans, sent to solicit the aid of Tai Tsung, and after his death and the conquest of Persia, his son Peroses succeeded in escaping to the Chinese emperor's court. In Europe the Greek emperor Theodosius heard of the fame of Tai Tsung and sent an embassy with magnificent presents of rubies and emeralds.

The conquest of Thibet was one of the achievements of Tai Tsung which added glory to his reign. During his occupation of the throne of China the Thibetans, or

Turfans as they were then called, had come under the power of a chief called the Shan Pu, or brave lord, who had made himself supreme in the country. They were at that time a rude and unlettered people, little better than savages, but under the influence and leadership of this chief they sought for fields of conquest. It is said that they crossed the Himalayas and carried their arms into India with success. The Shan Pu, desiring to form an alliance with a Chinese princess, sent envoys to Tai Tsung. That emperor received the embassy cordially and gave them many presents, but sent them back without acceding to the request of the Thibetan chief. The Shan Pu seems to have interpreted this refusal as an insult, and declared war against China. Tai Tsung was soon in the field, and the Shan Pu was defeated in his first battle. He purchased peace by the gift of five thousand ounces of gold and the acknowledgment of his vassalage to China. With this the whole country came under the suzerainty of the Chinese Empire. The Thibetan chief realising the superiority of his conquerors in all phases of civil and military life, adopted Chinese institutions, which so pleased Tai Tsung that he gave him one of his own daughters to wife. During the rest of the reign of the emperor there was no more trouble with Thibet, and the soldiers of that country seem to have acted as allies with the Chinese armies in the invasion of India. In the year 648 we find that one of Tai Tsung's generals, with an army comprising Thibetans and Nepaulese, as well as Chinese, penetrated to Magadha, the capital of Central India, and took the city.

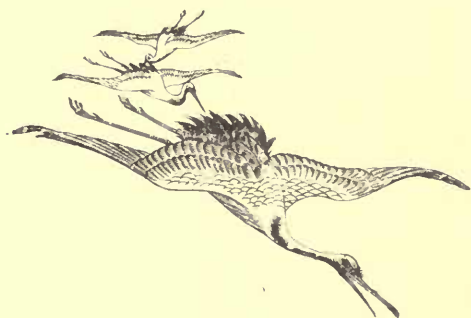
During the later years of his reign Tai Tsung endeavoured to subdue the three kingdoms which at that time constituted the country of Corea. Some writers tell us that he for the first time in Chinese history effectively conquered this territory, but this does not appear at all evident. Up to Tai Tsung's time many attempts had been made to bring Corea into subjection, but they had all

failed. This emperor, desirous of increasing his glory, called upon the ruler of the three kingdoms to pay tribute to China and thus acknowledge himself as a vassal. The ruler at this time was a noble who had killed his sovereign and had usurped the throne and he sent a defiant reply to the command of Tai Tsung. The Chinese emperor at once sent a large army in the direction of the Korean territory, and the ruler becoming alarmed, hastened to acknowledge his allegiance to the throne and sent tribute. Tai Tsung, however, would not accept his submission. It may be that he considered him a regicide and worthy of punishment, for instead of receiving the tribute he sent it back and intimated his intention of prosecuting war. This was a mistake on Tai Tsung's part, for the Korean ruler proved a determined foe. In the first campaign the Chinese army was successful, though they purchased their victories at a very heavy cost of life. The second campaign resolved itself into the siege of An Shih, a town near the Yalu River, which proved unsuccessful. The Korean troops in the open country were defeated, but the Chinese could not take the town. Winter came on and supplies failed, and Tai Tsung was obliged to raise the siege and return to his own country. Soon after this he made preparations for another campaign, but his death occurred before they were completed.

Tai Tsung died in 650 A. D. at the age of 53, having occupied the throne for twenty-three years. His son succeeded him, taking the title of Yung Hui, but he is better known in history by his posthumous title of Kao Tsung. Chinese historians tell us that on the death of the great ruler, several of his generals wished to commit suicide at his bier, and that representatives of tributary nations cut off their hair and sprinkled his grave with their blood. On every side there was great mourning, as the empire, from the highest ministers to the meanest subjects, realised its loss. Tai Tsung had proved himself a noble and worthy successor of the ancient kings, and his people

cherished his memory with affection. After the lapse of centuries his name still commands the respect and love of the Chinese nation.

Tai Tsung was the real founder and inaugurator of a dynasty that lasted for nearly three hundred years, covering a period that has since been looked upon as one of the most glorious in the history of the Chinese empire. As an evidence of this it is only necessary to refer to the fact that one of the names by which the Chinese still call themselves is "The Men of Tang".



# LI TAI PEH AND TU FU

## CHINA'S GREATEST POETS.

THE period covered by the 'Tang Dynasty is one of the most glorious in Chinese history, not merely because of its military achievements, its pomp and power, but because literature, encouraged and fostered by the rulers, flourished as it had never done before. This period has been well described as the Augustan age of Chinese literature. Poets, essayists, historians produced works that by common consent are acknowledged as having reached the high water mark of literary achievement and skill. In this realm of letters, however, poetry takes first place, and the name of the dynasty will ever be associated with the best productions of Chinese song, which have been handed down as finished models for future poets of all generations.

It was during these days of romance that China's greatest poets, Li 'Tai Peh and Tu Fu, lived. Possessed of rare abilities, they attracted the attention of the court, and many of their finest poems were produced amidst scenes of revelry and extravagance that characterised the Imperial sway. Both these men lived and died ignominiously, partly the result of their surroundings, but their work, the outcome of genius, lives, and to-day they are remembered with pride as the great bards of the Chinese nation.

Li 'Tai Peh was born in 705 A.D. He was a native of the province of Ssuchuan and supposed to be of Imperial descent. Before his birth his mother dreamt about the planet Venus, known as 'Tai Peh or the Exceedingly Bright, hence his name, and his comely appearance as a lad bore out the suggestions conveyed by the appearance of the beautiful evening star. At the age of ten he was able to read the classics and histories, was noted for his ability to converse on almost any subject, and had already

become famous on account of his poetical genius. As time went on he showed more and more his ability in versification and his love for letters, caring for nothing but his books, and unfortunately indulging freely in the wine cup. He styled himself the "Retired Scholar of the Blue Lotus", but on account of his precocity he was considered by others as an "Exiled immortal"; his genius and poetical fancy being so uncommon even in the romantic world of their time.

As a young man, Li developed a taste for adventure, and being an expert swordsman, he took to wandering about the country, giving full play to his passions and wild desires. The love of wine grew stronger in him, and he seems to have given himself entirely up to its influence, living a wild Bohemian life, with scarcely a higher desire than to indulge to his heart's content in strong drink. Falling in with some literary companions he retired with them to the mountains, where they spent their time in the discussion of poetry and the imbibing of their favourite beverage. This clique of scholars called themselves "The Six Idlers of the Bamboo Grove".

Li, however, did not remain with his boon companions very long. Hearing of a special quality of wine in a town some three hundred miles distant, he left his seclusion and wended his way thither in the hope of a carouse, and it was in this town that the first link in the chain of events that brought him into Imperial favour was forged. Singing one day in a tavern he was heard by a military commander who happened to be near, and who was so charmed with the song that he sent to enquire the poet's name. Li, ever ready for company, soon made himself friendly with the commander, and the result was that he found a home under the soldier's roof. The commander was charmed with his protégé, and realising that his attainments were of no mean order, strongly advised Li to go to the capital, Chang An, and compete for literary honours, expressing his opinion that he had every chance



of success. Li took the advice and set off for the capital, and had not been in that city long before his powers as a poet and singer had attracted attention.

In Chang An, Li became acquainted with one of the great scholars connected with the newly-founded Hanlin Academy, Ho Chih-chang by name. This gentleman being struck with Li's personality and poetic genius, invited him one night to an inn, where they discussed literary questions and quaffed goblet after goblet of wine until the day broke. After this carouse, Ho was more than ever charmed with his companion, and accordingly carried Li off to his own house, where the two soon became well acquainted and spent their time day by day making verses and poetical couplets, and of course making free with the beverage that seemed indispensable at least to the great poet. The friendship that grew up between these two men was real and lasting, and Li owed much of his success in later life to the kindly offices of his patron Ho.

When Li had become permanently established in the home of Ho Chih-chang, he expressed his intention to his companion of competing in the literary examinations soon to take place. Ho was delighted, and rendered him all the help necessary. He told Li that as a stranger and an adventurer, he would have no chance in the examinations unless he could win the favour of the examiners Yang and Kao, men of high rank and of great influence, one of whom was brother to the empress and the other commander of the emperor's body-guard. The way to win favour was of course by gifts and presents, but Li, who had always spent his money on his favourite wine, had nothing at all, and Ho wrote a friendly letter to the two great officials asking them to consider his protégé. The two examiners on receiving this letter, which contained no promise of money or presents, thought that Ho was enriching himself at their expense, and they decided at once to reject Li's papers and give him no chance in the examination. On the appointed

day Li sat with the other competitors, and soon finished his composition, which was handed up to the examiners. Yang receiving the paper did not even trouble to look at it, but said with scorn: "Such a scrawler as this is good for nothing but to grind my ink". Kao, the other official, added: "To grind your ink; say rather he is only fit to put on my stockings and lace up my buskins". In this manner was Li's paper rejected, and his chances of success in a literary career utterly destroyed. Filled with rage at his treatment the poet swore that if he ever in any way got a position in the empire, he would make the two powerful officials, Yang and Kao, do what they said he was only fit for, grind his ink and put on his stockings and boots.

Li's chances of passing the examination being lost, his friend Ho endeavoured in other ways to advance him in position. The two continued to live together and made their lives merry with wit and wine, until an opportunity presented itself, which resulted in the turn of the tide of fortune for Li Tai Peh.

At the time of which we speak the Tang Dynasty had seen its best days; its most worthy rulers having passed away. The emperor, who occupied the throne at this period, had given great promise in his early years, but circumstances had proved too strong for him, and he had degenerated into a sensualist and debauchee. Ming Huang, on his accession, overcame all his enemies and began a reign that had every indication of prosperity and usefulness. He considered his people, and laboured for their welfare; he was a man of considerable literary attainments and did much for scholarship. At his court he invited all who had made their name in the realm of letters, and he himself contributed to the literature of the nation. He was fond of music, and established a college known as the Pear Garden, for the training of young people of both sexes as instrumentalists, singers and dancers. But the influence of the eunuchs and others in the palace was too

strong for him, and he fell from the position of a good ruler to a self-indulgent palace weakling. Beginning his reign with reforms that largely reduced expenditure, he became most extravagant, and whereas he once invited the literati on account of their attainments as scholars, he came to associate only with those of the wine-bibbing fraternity who loved revelry and debauch. It was during these later years of degeneracy on the part of the emperor that Li Tai Peh became a prominent figure in the court, and although commanding the admiration of Ming Huang and his favourites by his poetical genius, his presence was sought more for his readiness to take part in the carousals and scenes of dissipation that characterised the reign of that unfortunate monarch. The story of Li's introduction to the emperor is an interesting one, and contains all the elements of a romance. It may be that the story has been embellished somewhat, but the main facts are historical. It is said that one day there arrived at the capital some ambassadors from a country beyond the confines of Corea, bringing a letter written in a character unknown to the scholars of the Chinese court. The emperor ordered the examiner Yang to read it, but he was unable to do so, and it proved that there was not a literary man in the palace or Hanlin College that could decipher the strange characters: The emperor waxed indignant at the incapacity of his officials and gave them a sound rating, declaring that if at the end of six days they had not translated the epistle they would be deprived of their rank, and that if at the end of nine days they had not done so their lives would be forfeit. Ho Chih-chang, the patron of Li Tai Peh, went home and told his protégé of the situation in the palace, and Li suggested that he would have been able to help the emperor out of the difficulty. Ho had a great opinion of Li's attainments, and being convinced that the poet could read the strange letter, he went next day to the palace, and passing through the crowd of courtiers to the throne, he acquainted the emperor with the fact of Li's presence

in the capital, and suggested that he should be sent for to read the ambassadors' epistle. The emperor, hoping to find in Li a solver of the difficulty before him, sent a messenger to Ho's house for the poet. Li refused to present himself at the palace, urging as an excuse the fact that he had no degree and that his presence might offend some of the officials. The emperor on hearing this asked Ho for an explanation of the poet's refusal, and that gentleman had to state plainly that some time before, Li's essay had been thrown out by the examiners. Ho, making most of the opportunity on behalf of his friend, suggested to the emperor that a degree be conferred on Li because of his abilities, and that he be sent for by an officer of rank. The emperor at once complied with this request, and sent a special court outfit for Li in which to appear before the throne. When Li was presented to the emperor, that monarch received him courteously, and handing him the letter asked him to decipher the strange characters. The poet, however, seeing an opportunity for revenge, politely suggested that the great examiners were able to read it, because they had boasted of superior knowledge by refusing his own essay at the examinations. Rejoicing in their confusion of face Li read out the letter before them all in the Chinese language. It proved to be a message from the ruler of the country beyond Corea complaining of the incursion of Chinese soldiers into his territory and stating in offensive language his determination to declare war if the soldiers were not withdrawn. The emperor on hearing the letter hardly knew what to do, but Li suggested that he should speak face to face with the ambassadors, and the following day was fixed for this to take place. During the rest of that day Li was the hero of the court. A great banquet was spread in his honour, he had musicians and singing girls to minister to his pleasure and the best of wine in abundance. The following day the emperor at the appointed time went to the hall of audience to receive the envoys and to hear Li speak to them. The poet,

however, was in such a condition from his night's debauch that he was not possessed of all his faculties. The emperor seeing this, sent to the kitchen for some soup and wine, which was accordingly served, but the soup was too hot, and the monarch himself stirred it with the ivory chopsticks and gave it to Li, who received it whilst kneeling before the imperial dais. Li, recovering from the effects of his carousal, seated himself on a cushion by the side of the emperor and prepared to address the envoys, but before so doing he determined to revenge himself on his opponents Yang and Kao, the two examiners. Li made excuse that his boots were not fit for imperial eyes to look upon, and asked for some buskins and stockings, and to the surprise of the emperor demanded that Kao should pull off his boots and lace up the buskins that had been given to him. That great official had to submit to the degradation and do as Li had demanded. Then in order to keep his oath Li requested that Yang rub the ink for him whilst he prepared to write a letter to be sent with the envoys to their king. Yang accordingly at the bidding of the emperor submitted, and thus Li fulfilled the vow he had made in the time of his disgrace. When this farce was enacted Li astonished the emperor and all the onlookers by addressing the envoys in their own language and writing a letter in the very characters that had appeared so strange. The ambassadors were dismissed and from that day Li Tai Peh became the spoilt child of the court of Ming Huang. The emperor found in him a man of great genius and was delighted with his literary productions, but Li's capacity for wine and his delight in revelry seem to have attracted his majesty still more. It was during these days of dissolute pleasure that some of Li's best poems were written, and these, with other of his verses, have made his name famous throughout the length and breadth of China, as the greatest poet of the nation.

The toleration of such a wine-bibber as Li in the palace shows the condition of the court of the Tangs at that

time. The emperor had abandoned himself to all kinds of sensual pleasure and surrounding himself with such favourites as Li, took no more interest in the welfare of his country. His time was spent with his favourite concubine, the notorious Yang Kuei Fei, and in company with Li and kindred spirits the days flew by in one long course of dissipation and degrading pleasure. For a considerable time Li was the idol of the revellers; his escapades only making him more acceptable to the ring of debauchees, of whose number he was a distinguished member. On one occasion, when the emperor sent for him, he was found lying drunk in the street, and he had to have his face well mopped with cold water before he could be presentable. On another occasion the emperor, who was in the palace grounds with his favourite concubine, called for Li to write some verses descriptive of the scene around. After some delay the poet was brought, supported by two eunuchs. "Please your Majesty", he said, "I have been drinking with the prince, and he has made me drunk, but I will do my best." At once he wrote ten stanzas of eight lines each, one of which is given here, as translated by Dr. Giles in his "Chinese Literature." It depicts the life of a palace favourite :—

Oh the joy of youth spent in a gold-fretted hall,  
In the Crape-flower Pavilion, the fairest of all,  
My tresses for head-dress with gay garlands girt,  
Carnations arranged o'er my jacket and skirt;  
Then to wander away in the soft scented air  
And return by the side of His Majesty's chair.  
But the dance and the song will be o'er by and by,  
And we shall dislimn like the rack in the sky.

As Li 'Tai Peh's fame rests upon his poetical genius and not on his capacity for wine-bibbing, it will be well here to give one or two extracts from his poems. For these I am indebted to the book above named, and the translations of Dr. Giles will place before the reader in his own tongue some of the imperishable productions of



China's greatest bard. The following is a verse that might have been written in England, so home-like does it seem :—

Homeward at dusk the clanging rookery wings its eager flight ;  
 Then, chattering on the branches, all are pairing for the night.  
 Plying her busy loom, a high born dame is sitting near,  
 And through the silken window-screen their voices strike her ear.  
 She stops, and thinks of the absent spouse she may never see again ;  
 And late in the lonely hours of night her tears flow down like rain.

Many of Li's poems are tributes to the powers of his beloved wine, such as the following :—

The river rolls crystal as clear as the sky,  
 To blend far away with the blue waves of ocean ;  
 Man alone, when the hour of departure is nigh,  
 With the wine-cup can soothe his emotion.

The birds of the valley sing loud in the sun,  
 Where the gibbons their vigils will shortly be keeping ;  
 I thought that with tears I had long ago done,  
 But how I shall never cease weeping.

What is life after all but a dream ?  
 And why should such pother be made ?  
 Better far to be tipsy, I deem,  
 And doze all day long in the shade.

When I wake and look out on the lawn,  
 I hear 'midst the flowers a bird sing ;  
 I ask " Is it evening or dawn ?"  
 The mango-bird whistles " 'Tis spring."

Overpowered with the beautiful sight  
 Another full goblet I pour,  
 And would sing till the moon rises bright  
 But soon I'm drunk as before.

The old proverb, " Familiarity breeds contempt ", is well illustrated in the case of Li Tai Peh. For a considerable time the idol and pet of the palace, closely intimate with the emperor and his favourites of the harem, he fell into disgrace. The examiners who had suffered such degradation at his hands left no stone unturned to accom-

plish his downfall, and finally succeeded in estranging the hearts of the imperial concubine Yang Kuei Fei and other of her friends from him. Li left the court, and once more took to a wandering life, solacing himself with the wine-cup and writing more of the verses that have made his name so famous. His last effort is given here :—

An arbour of flowers and a kettle of wine :  
 Alas ! in the bowers no companion is mine.  
 Then the moon sheds her rays on my goblet and me,  
 And my shadow betrays we're a party of three.

Though the moon cannot swallow her share of the grog,  
 And my shadow must follow wherever I jog—  
 Yet their friendship I'll borrow and gaily carouse,  
 And laugh away sorrow while spring-time allows.

See the moon—how she glances response to my song ;  
 See my shadow—it dances so lightly along ;  
 While sober I feel you're both my good friends,  
 When drunken I reel, our companionship ends.  
 But we'll soon have a greeting without a good-bye,  
 At our next merry meeting away in the sky.

Not long after writing the above poem Li met with his death. He was on a journey, and, travelling by boat, was in his usual state of drunkenness when seeing the reflection of the moon in the water he attempted to embrace it and was drowned in consequence. This was in 762.

Thus ended the career of the greatest poet China has known. Possessed of great genius and remarkable abilities his was a life sacrificed at the shrine of Bacchus. He seems to have produced his best work under the influence of wine, but his whole life is a record of brilliant gifts prostituted before the altar of sensual pleasure. We are reminded of the words of our own greatest poet :—

Oh, that men should put an enemy in  
 Their mouths to steal away their brains ! that (they)  
 Should, with joy, pleasance, revel and applause,  
 Transform (themselves) into beasts.

## TU FU.

Tu Fu, the second great poet of China, was a contemporary of Li Tai Peh. He was born in the province of Shensi in 712 A.D. He gave great promise in his youth as a scholar, but somehow or other failed to distinguish himself in the examinations. This is all the more noteworthy because verse-making counts for so much in the examination system of the Chinese. He retired into comparative obscurity and gave himself to the study of poetry, writing verses that he himself considered were very fine, even if they failed to secure him a degree, for we are told that he prescribed his poems as a cure for malarial fever. Later on in life he attracted the attention of the emperor known as Ming Huang, the patron of Li Tai Peh, who gave him a position at court. Tu Fu was also a devotee of the wine-cup, and he took his place in the revels and carousals of the imperial palace. He became increasingly popular with the court favourites, and was emboldened to ask for an increase in salary, which the emperor granted. He kept the favours of his imperial patrons when Li Tai Peh was disgraced, but not long after this, the rebellion broke out, which deprived Ming Huang of his throne. The emperor fled to Ssuchuan, whilst the favourite Yang Kuei Fei was killed, and returned only after having abdicated in favour of his son. During the rebellion Tu Fu had also to flee, but he was once more instated in office on the accession of Su Tsung, the next ruler. He found his post a difficult one and suffered for his faithfulness to duty, being deprived of his office by that same monarch. He was appointed governor of a town in his native province, Shensi, but this being equivalent to banishment he resigned the position on his arrival at the place and retired to the wilds of the province of Ssuchuan. For some time he was a wanderer, and lived a life of hardship and adventure, and then accepted the office of Secretary in the Board of Works. This post he held for about six years and then once more took to his wandering life. In 770

he went to visit some old ruins in the Hukuang Province, and was overtaken by a flood, which compelled him to take refuge in a deserted temple. For ten days he lived on roots, and was then rescued by the local magistrate. He died, however, next day from the effects of eating too much meat and drinking too much wine, after so long a fast in the temple.

The poems of Tu Fu are considered second only to those of Li Tai Peh, and are looked upon by the literati of China as perfect specimens of the art of verse-making. I give here one or two as translated by the same gifted Chinese scholar Dr. Giles :—

The setting sun shines low upon my door,  
 Ere dusk enwraps the river fringed with spring ;  
 Sweet perfumes rise from gardens by the shore,  
 And smoke, where crews their boats to anchor bring.

Now twittering birds are roosting in the bower,  
 And flying insects fill the air around. . .  
 O wine, who gave to thee thy subtle power ?  
 A thousand cares in one small goblet drowned.

A petal falls—the spring begins to fail,  
 And my heart saddens with the growing gale.  
 Come then, ere autumn spoils bestrew the ground,  
 Do not forget to pass the wine-cup round.

Kingfishers build where man once laughed elate,  
 And now stone dragons guard his graveyard gate !  
 Who follows pleasure, he alone is wise ;  
 Why waste our life in deeds of high emprise ?

# HAN YÜ

## THE PRINCE OF LITERATURE.

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**D**URING the years immediately following the period in which Li Tai-peh and Tu Fu sang the praises of wine, there lived one whose name is perhaps the most highly esteemed of all in any way connected with the literature of China. As statesman, philosopher, and poet, Han Yü made for himself a place in the hearts of the Chinese literati, and rising as he did, from the humblest of the people, to fill the most important offices in the state, he has left a name that is honoured and revered by all classes of his countrymen.

Han Yü was born in 768 A.D. at Teng-chou, in the province of Honan. He was the youngest of three sons, and he lost both parents before he was three years of age. He was accordingly taken in charge by his eldest brother, who was considerably older, and when the latter had fallen into disgrace and was banished to Kuang-tung, Han Yü was taken with him. Some years after the brother died, and the widow returned to Honan, taking Han Yü with her. Having settled in that province, she brought up her young charge with great care and affection and watched over his education. As Han Yü grew up, he manifested a fondness for study and worked exceedingly hard to qualify himself for the civic examinations. Whilst still very young he succeeded in obtaining a degree, and shortly after was appointed to a small public post. His high qualities becoming known, he rose gradually into favour, and whilst still a young man occupied an important position in the empire.

Han Yü proved himself a very honest and upright official. He realised his responsibility with regard to the people over whom he exercised authority, and laboured for their welfare. Having belonged to the working classes

himself, he sympathized with their struggles for a livelihood and endeavoured to mitigate the disabilities under which they were placed. It was this regard for the common people, however, that led to his disgrace and degradation from office. In the year 803 he presented a memorial to the throne, objecting to the collecting of taxes in the province of Chihli in that year. This memorial brought upon him the displeasure of the Emperor Teh Tsung, and he was banished to the town of Yang-shan, in Kwang-tung. Here, however, he did his duty in this inferior post and served his Emperor faithfully.

But Han Yü was soon to incur even greater Imperial displeasure, the provoking of which has made his name famous as a champion of Confucianism and has greatly helped to give him his place in the affections of his countrymen. The Emperor Shien Tsung, who ascended the throne in 806, was a weakling and a fool, given to superstitious fears and practices. He was very much influenced by Taoist ideas, and spent much time and money in the search for the elixir of life that was supposed to ensure immunity from death. He issued an edict commanding any who knew how such a valuable potion was to be obtained to appear before him, and offered offices and emoluments as a reward. In the year 819 the Emperor received intimation of the fact that in the monastery at Fung-shiang, in Shensi, there was a bone of the great Buddha that exercised a peculiar influence over the district. It was said that peace and prosperity abounded on account of the presence of this wonderful relic. Shien Tsung ordered this precious bone to be brought to the Imperial palace and gave instructions to the Buddhist priests to receive it with the proper ceremonies. He ordered a lofty tower to be erected, from which he could view the procession, and the whole court turned out to see the reception of the relic by the superstitious monarch. Amongst the literati there were no doubt many who objected to this foolish act of the Emperor, but did not manifest



their displeasure in any marked manner, and it remained for Han Yü to remonstrate with the monarch on the subject, a proceeding which nearly cost him his life.

Han Yü was an ardent Confucianist, a zealous maintainer of the customs and practices of the ancients. For some time he had viewed with alarm the rapid progress of Buddhism in the country and had trembled for the fate of the principles of the great Master. His hatred of the representatives of the two sects grew stronger, and he felt it incumbent upon him to speak out in plain terms. In his essay on Confucianism his sentiments were made known in no uncertain manner. Said he: "Unless these false doctrines are rooted out, the true faith will not prevail. Let us insist that the followers of Lao Tzu and Buddha behave themselves like ordinary mortals. Let us burn their books. Let us turn their temples into dwelling-houses. Let us make manifest the method of our ancient kings, in order that men may be led to embrace its teachings." Hearing of the reception of the bone of Buddha by the Emperor, Han Yü addressed to that monarch a fiery remonstrance that roused the Imperial fury. It was a courageous act and showed the calibre of a man who was prepared to defend the principles in which he believed even if death were the outcome. In the memorial Han Yü drew attention to the fact that in the early days of the empire the rulers were long-lived and the people were happy before they had ever heard of Buddha. He reviewed the successive dynasties and showed that the rulers most inclined to Buddhism had the least worldly prosperity. He protested against being indebted to barbarians as he considered Buddha himself was, for the rule of conduct, and regretted that the Emperor had stooped to such unworthy practices as had been reported. Said he: "Supposing that this Buddha had come to our capital in the flesh, under an appointment from his own state, then your majesty might have received him with a few words of admonition, bestowing on him a banquet and a suit of clothes previous to

sending him out of the country with an escort of soldiers, and thereby have avoided any dangerous influence on the minds of the people. But what are the facts? The bone of a man long since dead and decomposed, is to be admitted, forsooth, within the precincts of the Imperial palace! Confucius said: 'Pay all respect to spiritual beings, but keep them at a distance.' And so when the princes of old paid visits of condolence to one another, it was customary for them to send on a magician in advance, with a peach-wand in his hand, whereby to expel all noxious influences previous to the arrival of his master. Yet now your majesty is about to causelessly introduce a disgusting object, personally taking part in the proceedings without the intervention either of the magician or of his peach-wand. Of the officials not one has raised his voice against it; of the censors, not one has pointed out the enormity of such an act. Therefore your servant, overwhelmed with shame for the censors, implores your majesty that these bones be handed over for destruction by fire or water, whereby the root of this great evil may be exterminated for all time, and the people know how much the wisdom of your majesty surpasses that of ordinary men. The glory of such a deed will be beyond all praise. And should the Lord Buddha have power to avenge this insult by the infliction of some misfortune, then let the vials of his wrath be poured out upon the person of your servant, who now calls heaven to witness that he will not repent him of his oath."

The Emperor on receiving the memorial of Han Yü was furious, and determined to execute him there and then, but friends interceded on behalf of the fearless scholar, and his life was spared, but he was banished to serve as Prefect in Chao-chou-fu in the east of Kuang-tung. At that time this district was inhabited by wild tribes, and Han Yü found himself face to face with a hard task. He, however, acquitted himself with distinction, and soon his name was known on account of his able administration of the territory

under his rule. He exercised a civilizing influence on the natives, and was successful in lifting the whole region to a higher degree of prosperity and peace. It is recorded of Han Yü that whilst in this district he was the means of driving away a large dragon or crocodile that had made much havoc in the rivers and swamps. It is said that he wrote an ultimatum to the offensive reptile, and then threw it into the river along with a pig and a goat, and that from that time the monster never troubled the district again. This may have been a fact, but it is considered by some to be merely a legend symbolical of the expulsion of the demon of ignorance from the midst of the tribes under the jurisdiction of Han Yü, who so profited by his teaching and example. The following extract, as translated by Dr. Giles, is from the celebrated manifesto to the dragon: "O Crocodile! thou and I cannot rest together here. The Son of Heaven has confided this district and this people to my charge; and thou, O goggle-eyed, by disturbing the peace of this river and devouring the people and their domestic animals, the bears, the boars, the deer of the neighbourhood, in order to fatten thyself and reproduce thy kind,— thou art challenging me to a struggle of life and death. And I, though of weakly frame, am I to bow the knee and yield before a crocodile! No! I am the lawful guardian of this place, and I would scorn to decline thy challenge, even were it to cost me my life. Still, in virtue of my commission from the Son of Heaven, I am bound to give fair warning; and thou, O Crocodile, if thou art wise, will pay due heed to my words. There before thee lies the broad ocean, the domain alike of the whale and the shrimp. Go thither and live in peace. It is but the journey of a day."

On the summit of a hill not far from Chao-chou is a temple dedicated to Han Yü. It contains a huge picture of the famous scholar and official, and underneath are the words, "Wherever he passed he purified." Thus at the present day is the memory of Han Yü kept green in that district.

The memorial to the Emperor Shien Tsung on the subject of Buddha's bone, and the ultimatum to the dragon, are two of the compositions of Han Yü, which with others have marked him out amongst the scholars of China as unsurpassable as an essayist. His prose works are specially prized by the literati, and their admiration for him and his writings is the same as that of the scholar Liu Tsung-yuan, a contemporary of Han Yü, who said that he never opened the latter's works without first washing his hands in rose-water.

Han Yü was also a poet of no mean order. His verses were on a great variety of subjects, and have been handed down as models of excellence and taste. The following lines are from Dr. Giles' "Chinese Literature", a translation of one of Han Yü's poems written on the way to his place of exile in Kuang-tung:—

Alas! the early season flies,  
Behold the remnants of the spring!  
My boat in land-locked water lies,  
At dawn I hear the wild birds sing.

Then, through clouds lingering on the slope,  
The rising sun breaks on to me,  
And thrills me with a fleeting hope,—  
A prisoner longing to be free.

My flowing tears are long since dried.  
Though care clings closer than it did.  
But stop! All care we lay aside  
When once they close the coffin lid.

Besides being a scholar and a poet, Han Yü was also a philosopher, and contributed towards the understanding of some of the problems that have perplexed not only the Chinese but people of all nations. One of the great questions under discussion by Chinese scholars of all ages is that of the nature of man. Mencius was perhaps the first in China to promulgate the doctrine of the inherent goodness of human nature, which was disputed in his lifetime by Kao Tzu, who stated that human nature was

neither good nor bad, but indifferent. Another later philosopher emphatically states that man's nature is evil. Han Yü in his turn took up the controversy. In his "Essay on Human Nature" he states that "there are three grades of the nature—the superior, the middle, and the inferior. The superior grade is good, and good only; the middle grade is capable of being led; it may rise to the superior, or sink to the inferior; the inferior is evil and evil only." According to him the other disputants merely looked upon human nature as it is seen in the middle grade. He considers them wrong in neglecting to recognise the other grades, the really good and the really bad. In support of his views he instanced well-known names in history, showing how some, with the best of training, had turned out badly, and others, who had only been taught evil, became good men.

The upright character of Han Yü and his splendid services to the state led the Emperor, after a lapse of time, to pardon him and to recall him to the capital, where he was re-instated in high office. Han Yü, however, had been delicate all his life, and during his banishment had grown prematurely old. Not long, after his return to favour, he was seized with severe sickness and died in the year 824.

According to the laws of China there must be in most of the towns one or more temples built, in which to offer honours to the memory of Confucius. Not only, however, is Confucius worshipped, but honours are paid to the memory of others who have in their lives developed his teaching and obeyed his precepts. And so in the temples are to be found tablets on which the names of the great ones are inscribed, and in this way is their memory perpetuated. All down the course of Chinese history, since before the Christian era, have the upholders of the doctrines of Confucius who have distinguished themselves in this matter been canonized, and a tablet to their memory placed in the Temple of Confucius. This was the honour

conferred upon the memory of Han Yü, and he was given a position in the temple of worthies under the name of Han Wen-kung, and it is on account of this name that he has been described as the Prince of Literature. There is no doubt, however, that this position of posthumous honour was given because of Han Yü's services in the cause of Confucian orthodoxy. He stood up against the heresy of Buddhism, and was prepared to give his life for the sake of the principles of the great sage of China.

Nearly three hundred years after his death a shrine was put up by the people of Chao-chou in honour of the champion, and the celebrated poet Su Tung-po wrote the following lines, in which he describes Han Yü as the third in the triumvirate of genius, of which the other two were the poets Li Tai-peh and Tu Fu.

He rode on the dragon to the white cloud domain ;  
He grasped with his hand the glory of the sky ;  
Robed with the effulgence of the stars,  
The wind bore him delicately to the throne of God.  
He swept away the chaff and husks of his generation.  
He roamed over the limits of the earth . . .  
He cursed Buddha ; he offended his prince ;  
He journeyed far away to the distant south ;  
He passed the grave of Shun, and wept over the daughters of Yao.  
The water-god went before him and stilled the waves.  
He drove out the fierce monster as it were a lamb.  
But above in heaven there was no music, and God was sad,  
And summoned him to his place beside the throne.  
And now with these poor offerings I salute him  
With red lichees and yellow plantain fruit.  
Alas ! that he did not linger awhile on earth,  
But passed so soon, with streaming hair, into the great unknown.



## WANG AN-SHIH

POLITICAL ECONOMIST AND NATIONAL REFORMER.

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**D**URING the rule of the Sung Dynasty, from the tenth to the thirteenth century of the Christian era, there existed in China another period that has become glorious on account of its literary achievements. Historians, essayists, and poets vied with those of the Tang Dynasty in producing works of merit that to-day are looked upon as monuments of Chinese scholarship. Some of these writers were statesmen of great ability and far-sightedness, and their memory is revered on account of their services in the government of the empire, as well as their brilliancy in letters. But amongst these have been men who departing from Confucian orthodoxy, have endeavoured in their own way to benefit their country, but who have been unfortunate enough to call down upon themselves calumny and disgrace, and whose memory, instead of being honoured, is reviled. Such a man was Wang An-shih, the powerful Minister of State and national reformer of the eleventh century, a man of originality and force of character, whose innovations and schemes of reform resulted in his disgrace and the continuous aspersion of his memory.

Wang An-shih was born in 1021 in the province of Kiangsi. As a youth he was a keen student and a hard worker; possessed of considerable energy he made rapid strides in the path of knowledge. Whilst still a young man he took the degree of Chin Shih or Doctor in the Civil Service examinations, and was appointed to a magistracy in the Yen district, in the province of Chekiang. Like Han Yu, he devoted himself to the welfare of the people, improving the condition of the embankments, and carrying out other reforms that resulted in the bettering of their

condition. On account of his labours in this direction he was recommended to the throne, and in the year 1060, when only thirty-nine years of age, was appointed to a high office. Shortly after this he was invited to the court by the Emperor Ying Tsung, but declined the honour, preferring to stay in his present position. In 1068, on the accession of the Emperor Shen Tsung, he became Prefect of Chiang-ning, but soon after was transferred to the capital, where he was given the post of Expositor in the Haulin College, and finally became chief Minister of State. Wang was possessed of an original mind, and his thoughts went out towards the uplifting of the people and bettering of the empire in a manner quite different from the ordinary methods inculcated by the disciples of Confucius. Acquainted as he was with the principles of the great sage, and the after-development of them in his country's history, he was inclined to think that the government of the empire was not exactly in accordance with their spirit, and he threw all his energies in the direction of drastic reform. Having come into a position of influence he determined to carry out his plans, and accordingly promulgated his ideas with great eagerness and enthusiasm. He was led to re-study the classical writings, and seeing in them what he considered as supporting his opinions, he made ample commentaries on these works, which were extensively circulated. He also compiled a dictionary, giving the meaning of terms as somewhat different from those already accepted. He possessed an eloquent tongue, had great powers of persuasion, and carried on his propaganda with all the confidence and self-possession of a man who was destined to achieve unqualified success. According to Wang An-shih, his schemes and reforms, if carried out fully would result in happiness and prosperity to the common people, who were not cared for by the state as they should have been. His ideas have a special interest for us at this time, when the condition of the working classes is brought so prominently before us. "The first and most essential

duty of a government", said Wang, "is to love the people and to procure them the real advantages of life, which are plenty and pleasure. To accomplish this object it would suffice to inspire everyone with the unvarying principles of rectitude, but as all might not observe them the state should explain the manner of following these precepts and enforce obedience by wise and inflexible laws. In order to prevent the oppression of man by man, the state should take possession of all the resources of the empire and become the sole master and employer. The state should take the entire management of commerce, industry, and agriculture into its own hands, with a view of succouring the working classes and prevent their being ground to the dust by the rich." In accordance with these new regulations courts were to be established which should fix the price of provisions and merchandise. For a certain number of years taxes were to be paid only by the rich; the courts to decide who should be exempt. The sum of money collected was to be kept in the state treasury, to be distributed to the aged poor, the unemployed, and to those who should be thought in need. The state was also to become the only proprietor of the soil, and the courts were to assign annually in each district land to the cultivators and to give them seed necessary to sow it. As payment for this the cultivators were to give grain or other produce as soon as the harvest was gathered. In order that all land should be profitably cultivated, the courts were to fix what kind of crop should be grown. In this way was happiness and prosperity to be obtained. A reform like this of course meant the reduction of large fortunes and a more uniform condition of life for the people. Wang set himself against the monopolists and unprincipled men who were ever ready to make money out of the misfortunes of others. "The only people who can suffer by this state of things are the usurers and monopolists, who never fail to profit by famine and all public calamities to enrich themselves and ruin the working classes. But what harm will

it be to put an end at last to the exactions of these enemies of the people? Does not justice require that they should be forced to restitute their ill-gotten gains? The state will be the only creditor and will never take interest. As she will watch over agriculture and fix the current price of provisions, there will always be a supply proportionate to the harvest. In case of famine in any one spot, the great agricultural tribunal of Peking, informed by the provincial tribunals of the various harvests of the empire, will easily restore the equilibrium by causing the superfluity of the fertile provinces to be transported into those which are a prey to want. Thus the necessaries of life will always be sold at a moderate price; there will no longer be any classes in want, and the state, being the only speculator, will realise enormous profits annually, to be applied to works of public utility."

Other reforms beside this nationalization of commerce and agriculture were advocated by Wang An-shih. There was the Militia Enrollment Act, in which it was proposed to divide the whole empire into divisions consisting of ten families, with a head man over each division. Men of higher rank were to be placed over divisions of fifty families and of still higher over divisions of five hundred. Every family with more than one son was bound to give one for the service of the state. In times of peace these would not be required, but when danger threatened, this conscription was to be put into force. Another reform was the imposition of an income tax for the purpose of securing money for the construction of public works. Instead of compulsory labour each family should be taxed according to its income.

Some at least of Wang An-shih's reforms were bound to meet with the approval of a large section of the community, and the advocate of such became very popular with the people he endeavoured to benefit. Had there been no more than the mere advocacy of these schemes on the part of Wang, he might have been the darling of the

nation and had his memory perpetuated as one of the greatest benefactors of the empire. But the Emperor, Shen Tsung, was so taken with the character of the reforms, and so confident of the skill and wisdom of his minister, that he gave orders for them to be carried out. He allowed Wang entire authority in the matter, and the statesman at once proceeded to accomplish his purposes. His schemes were put into execution, but did not meet with the success he anticipated.

Had Wang An-shih been assured of the co-operation of his colleagues in the Cabinet, the results of his work might have been, to some extent, different. But the other officials were all opposed to him. No doubt personal prejudice and dislike counted for much. Wang, as we have already said, was enthusiastic and self-possessed; in the eyes of his colleagues he was conceited and too "cock-sure". He was frugal in his habits, and his garments were not such as befitted his position. More than that they were dirty, and he seems to have had a real Chinese antipathy to cold water, for we are told that he did not wash his face. These personal characteristics were an offence to the other officials, and their dislike of him, coupled with their disapproval of his schemes, led them to violent opposition.

The chief Minister of State at the time when Wang was making his influence felt, was Han Chi, a man of kind and amiable disposition, who on being asked if Wang was a proper man for the Cabinet, replied that he might be of use in the Hanlin Academy, but that he had no experience qualifying him for the higher office. This opinion was confirmed when Wang came forward with his programme of reform, and Han Chi will ever be remembered amongst his countrymen for the memorial he presented to the Emperor, Shen Tsung, protesting against the acceptance of the reformer's proposals. He presented a second on hearing that the Emperor still favoured Wang, in which he accused the reformer of tampering with the text of the classics and explaining them in a manner just

to suit his own opinions and ideas. This second memorial, however, had no effect on the Emperor, and Han Chi, realising his inability to contend with Wang, retired from office. Ou Yang-shiu, another great scholar and minister, who had praised Wang An-shih's youthful writings, opposed with all his energies the new measures, but found that his counsels were of no avail. He implored the Emperor again and again to be released from office, but that monarch would not dispense with the services of a faithful minister until Wang, representing Ou as a dangerous foe to the welfare of the state, persuaded him to accept Ou's resignation.

Perhaps the most noted of Wang An-shih's opponents was the great scholar Ssu Ma-kuang. This minister is one whom China delights to honour, and a few details of his life will not be out of place here. He was born on the borders of Shensi in 1019, two years before the birth of Wang. As a boy he was distinguished by his gravity of manner and his coolness and presence of mind. A story is told of him that on one occasion he saved the life of a companion by the manifestation of this latter quality. The child fell into a large earthenware vessel full of water and was in danger of being drowned when Ssu seized a large stone and with it broke the vessel, thus allowing the water to drain away. As a youth he was very fond of study, and devoted much of his time to the pursuit of knowledge. So ardent was he that he made a kind of round pillow on which to rest his arm whilst studying, which by its movement prevented him from dozing. At the early age of nineteen he graduated as Chin Shih or Doctor, and was soon installed in office. He rose rapidly in his public career, distinguishing himself by his wisdom and force of character. His five rules of conduct, which he submitted to the Emperor, Shen Tsung, are worthy of record. These were : 1. Guard your patrimony ; 2. Value time ; 3. Keep sedition at a distance ; 4. Be cautious over details ; 5. Aim at reality. He finally became Chancellor in the Hanlin College and Minister of State.



It was in this latter capacity that Ssu Ma-kuang came into collision with Wang An-shih. A faithful follower of Confucius, firmly believing in the principles and maxims of the sage, he looked upon Wang as an audacious innovator, who was prepared to overthrow all existing institutions, good and bad, for the sake of his own ends. He threw all his energies into the combat and struggled with his adversary for the victory. The two were equally matched, and the ultimate welfare of the empire was contended for by these antagonists from different standpoints. M. Rémusat says: "Stimulated by contrary principles the adversaries were gifted with equal talents: one employed the resources of his imagination, the activity of his mind, and the firmness of his character, to change and regenerate; the other, to stem this torrent, called to his aid the remembrance of the past, the example of the ancients, and the lessons of history, which he had studied with care." The conservatism of Ssu Ma-kuang, and the daring originality of Wang An-shih, are seen in the following. In the year 1069 several provinces had been visited in succession by terrible calamities, such as earthquakes, pestilence, and drought. According to the usual custom in China the censors invited the Emperor to examine into his own conduct or the administration of his power, in order to find out if these calamities were the result of his neglect of virtue. The Emperor accordingly professed his sorrow by abstaining from his ordinary pleasures in the hope of securing prosperity again to his people. Wang An-shih, very much ahead of his time, objected to this old-fashioned idea saying: "These calamities have settled and unvarying causes; earthquakes, droughts and inundations have no connection with the actions of man. Do you hope to change the ordinary course of things, and that nature should alter her laws for you?" Ssu Ma-kuang, on hearing this, could not but oppose such a radical idea, so utterly opposed to the teaching of old. Cried he: "Monarchs are indeed to be

pitied when they have near their persons men who propound such theories ; they would destroy the fear of heaven, and what other restraint can check their disorders ? Masters of all around, they dare anything with impunity, and would give themselves up to any excess, and those subjects who are really attached to them would no longer be able to excite their better feelings."

Ssu Ma-kuang found, as did the other officials, that it was impossible to triumph over his adversary. Wang seemed to have such an influence over the Emperor, and that monarch was so charmed with the ability and originality of his minister, that in spite of memorials and indictments he allowed him to continue in power. Ssu Ma-kuang, at last wearied with the fight, addressed a final petition to the throne, drawing attention to the evils that he felt sure would be consequent on Wang's measures. With regard to the nationalisation of agriculture he considered it to be most injurious to the country. He pointed out that the people would not make use of the seed supplied by the government in the way suggested, but as they care nothing for the future, and are content if the day's needs are supplied, they would sell most of it or exchange it for goods they considered more necessary. He expressed his opinion also that even if the seed was sown and the harvest reaped, that the people would be unwilling to repay their loan, and this would entail the enforcing of the law by the tax-gatherers, who would resort to extortionate measures and thus create trouble. He also believed that the system would be a very costly one and drain the resources of the empire more than ever. Finally he answered the objections of those who alleged that the system worked well in the province of Shensi. Says he : "I have but one reply to make to this. I am a native of Shensi ; I passed the first part of my life there ; I have been an eye-witness to the miseries of the people, and I can affirm that, of the evils under which they suffer, they attribute two-thirds to this practice,

against which they murmur unceasingly. Let candid inquiry be entered into, and the true state of things will be made manifest." This memorial, however, had no effect on the Emperor, and Ssu Ma-kuang, unwilling to serve the empire any longer in conjunction with a man whose measures he condemned, retired to the city of Lo-yang with the title of Censor.

Possessed of the confidence of the Emperor, Wang smiled at the efforts put forth to accomplish his downfall. He read with interest all the memorials and protests submitted to the throne, but calmly went on his own way, apparently unmoved. A man of less self-confidence might have trembled for his position, but Wang had a boundless trust in his own abilities and wisdom, and would hear no arguments that were in any way against the carrying out of his plans. His stubbornness earned for him the soubriquet of the "Obstinate Minister". There were times when the Emperor, thinking perhaps that his favourite was not quite so infallible as he had supposed, wavered and seemed inclined to listen to the other ministers, but Wang's counsels in the end prevailed. He pleaded for time in order to secure the full development of his schemes. Said he: "Why should you be hasty in this matter? Wait till experience has shown you the result of the measures which we have adopted for the benefit of your realm and the happiness of your subjects. Beginnings are always difficult, and it is only after overcoming many obstacles that a man can hope to reap the fruit of his labour. Be firm and all will go well."

The division of opinion with regard to Wang's measures was not confined to the ministers of the Cabinet, and the political warfare was not merely carried on by the officials. The schemes of the reformer touched the populace, and the great questions involved split into parties all classes of society. The people, that seem generally so indifferent to the proceedings of the government, were aroused, and neglecting the ordinary occupations of life, spent their time

in discussion of the favourite minister's proposals and measures. All sorts of pamphlets and inflammatory writings were scattered broadcast and read by the multitude, and the nation divided itself on the great questions of political economy.

It has been already stated that the Emperor Shen Tsung gave orders for Wang's proposals to be carried out. The reformer, confident in the success of his measures, proceeded at once to put them into execution. He exempted the poor from all taxation. He allotted lands and supplied the farmers with seed and implements. He appointed the courts to superintend the working of his schemes and endeavoured to prove the practical value of his original ideas. But somehow or other his plans were not successful. The prophecies of Ssu Ma-kuang were fulfilled, and before very long the people in many districts were reduced to distress and poverty, even more extreme than they had known before. This of course naturally led Wang's supporters to lose their confidence in him, and the reformer found himself the advocate of a losing cause. His enemies of course made most of their opportunities to estrange the people's hearts from him, and he fell into disfavour with all classes of the community.

It would be interesting, however, to know how far the failure of Wang's economic reforms influenced the officials and literary classes in face of the fact that he instituted reforms also in their special realm. One is inclined to think that other of the great minister's measures had more to do with his downfall. He attempted to remodel literature. He caused his own commentaries on the classics to be adopted as the correct explanation, and he endeavoured to alter the examination system that had been in vogue for centuries. He required from candidates not so much graces of style as a wide acquaintance with practical subjects. In this, history repeats itself, and we have in China at the present day the spectacle described by a writer who, referring to Wang An-shih's reform in the educational

system, says: "Even the pupils at village schools threw away their text-books of rhetoric and began to study primers of history, geography, and political economy." The Emperor Shen Tsung died in 1085, and then Wang An-shih lost the best of his supporters. He was immediately disgraced and banished to Nanking as governor of that city. He retired, however, soon after into private life and died the following year.

His last days were saddened by witnessing the reversal of the whole of his policy. He saw his schemes and plans all discarded, and had the mortification of knowing that all his labour had been in vain. This was brought about to a great extent by his former antagonist, Ssu Ma-kuang, who had struggled so unsuccessfully against him whilst at the height of his power. Ssu Ma-kuang, it will be remembered, retired to Loyang, where he gave himself to the great work of his life the writing of a History of China. Part of it had already been written when he gave up office, and he spent the years of his retirement in completing what constitutes now one of the greatest literary achievements in the Chinese language. On the death of Shen Tsung, Ssu Ma-kuang, at the advice of Cheng Hao, another noted scholar of that period, resolved to go back to the capital and offer his services to the Empress, who acted as Regent during the minority of the young monarch, Che Tsung. It is said that the people in the city were overjoyed at the return of the minister. He was well-beloved by all, and his entrance into the capital was received with great rejoicings. The Empress at once installed him in office, and he applied himself immediately to efface every trace of Wang An-shih's government. He was successful in this, and the disappointed reformer saw his antagonist triumphant. Ssu Ma-kuang, however, did not long survive his fallen adversary. Soon after his arrival at the capital he was seized with a sickness, which proved fatal, and died in the same year as Wang An-shih. For some time after his death Wang's memory was decried, but his followers

soon regained influence in the empire, and whilst the memory of Ssu Ma-kuang was aspersed, a tablet to the memory of Wang An-shih was placed in the Confucian temple. He was represented as the most original thinker and reformer since Mencius. One of his opposers in life, Yang Shih, however, wrote a protest, which resulted finally in the withdrawal from the temple of the tablet to Wang An-shih. Since then the great reformer has had no consideration at the hands of his countrymen, and he has been almost forgotten.



## CHU SHE

SCHOLAR AND PHILOSOPHER.

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THE declining years of the Sung Dynasty produced one of the most brilliant scholars that China has ever known. This was Chu She, a man of great ability and of high character, who by his indefatigable labours in the interests of learning, has left an indelible mark on the life and literature of the people of the nation. His name is a household word throughout the length and breadth of the empire.

In the little town of Yu-chi, beautifully situated in a mountainous district of Fukien, lived an official named Chu Sung, who was an earnest student of the Confucian classics and also a philosopher. He had been magistrate of that district, but his term of office expiring, he had obtained the loan of a friend's house on the other side of the little river and retired there. Here in the year 1130 his son was born, who was destined afterwards to achieve such fame amongst his own countrymen.

Chu Sung and his wife were both persons of nobility of character, and they endeavoured to train up their little son in the way of goodness, and for a considerable time Chu She was educated at home. He was a delicate boy, and great care was needed to preserve his health, but the parents were rewarded for their attention to him, when signs were manifested of his genius and ability. During his early years his father received other appointments and rose rapidly into public prominence, but having incurred the displeasure of the minister Chin Kuei, he retired from office and removed with his family to Kien-ning, in the same province of Fukien. He was not permitted to enjoy long his well-earned leisure, for he died three years later when his son Chu She was only thirteen years of age.

Chu Sung on his deathbed appointed three friends to look after the education of his boy, and exhorted Chu She

to abide by their precepts and advice and in every way to act as if he were their son. The father's wishes were carried out. Chu She studied under the three friends, who manifested a real affection for him, which was returned on the part of the young scholar. It is to be feared that the teaching was not altogether as his father would have wished, for Chu She had to listen at times to what was opposed to Confucian orthodoxy, but he does not seem to have suffered in any way from its effects. After a while he married a daughter of one of the trio, and thus became even more closely connected with his masters. By this time he had developed into a promising scholar, giving evidence of special brilliance and ability, which evidence was more than substantiated when at the age of nineteen he took the degree of Chin Shih or Doctor. Shortly after this he visited the graves of his ancestors at Wu-yuan, in the province of Anhui, the birthplace of his deceased father.

At the age of twenty-one, Chu She received his first public appointment as assistant magistrate at Tung-an, near Amoy. On his way to take up the duties of office, he visited the town of Yen-ping, in order to call on a great scholar and philosopher, Li Tung, who had been a great friend of his father's. This was the beginning of an intimacy that lasted many years and was of great benefit to Chu She. The philosopher exercised a wonderful influence over his young admirer, and was the means of keeping him to the straight path of Confucian teaching, from which at one time he was inclined to stray. Chu She remained at Tung-an for three years, and during that time distinguished himself in the administration of his office. He laboured for the welfare of the people under his charge, fostered learning and did much towards the reformation of evil customs that were prevalent there. It was here that he was brought into close contact with Buddhist teaching, and seemed likely to accept its tenets. Some say that he even became a Buddhist priest, but

perhaps that is too extreme a statement. Anyhow he became tainted with the Buddhist heresy, but his views were changed after his term of office had expired. Returning home from Tung-an he once more visited his old master, Li Tung, who was able to argue him out of the positions that he had taken with regard to the religion of Buddha.

Whilst Chu She was at Tung-an he had not in any way enriched himself, and he was obliged to ask for another office in order to support his mother. Eventually he was appointed to the superintendency of the Nan Yo Temple, in the province of Hunan. This office was a sinecure, and he had abundant leisure for study, a state of affairs that proved very congenial to his tastes. Chu She had all his youth been an earnest student, and his progress in the path of knowledge was not merely owing to the brilliancy of his intellect. He had worked exceedingly hard. Now it became his custom to rise in the morning before daylight and continue his studies very often until midnight, with few intervals for food or rest. He studied diligently at this time the philosophy of his old friend Li Tung, and the Chinese nation is indebted to Chu She for the preservation of the teachings of that notable man. Li Tung himself left no writings, but his pupil preserved and published the written answers that he had received in reply to questions or doubts. He also collected all the notes he found of Li Tung's sayings and wrote an account of his life.

In the year 1163, when the Emperor Shiao Tsung ascended the throne, Chu She was summoned to the court, but the life there was not at all congenial to him. He took advantage of the situation to present a memorial to the Emperor on the evil condition of public affairs in general, but he does not seem to have made it his work to rectify the abuses prevalent in the empire. He was a student and a philosopher and was happiest amongst his books and with literary companions, and he soon returned to Hunan to continue his literary work. This

time he went to live near Heng-shan, the sacred mountain of that province and one of the noted mountains of China. Here he was brought into contact with a celebrated scholar named Chang Chih, and the two on their first meeting commenced a discussion on the teaching of the Chung Yung, one of the classics, which was kept up for three days and three nights. After Chang's death, some thirteen years after, his unpublished manuscripts were given to Chu She, who prepared them for publication, adding his own letters that he had received from the distinguished scholar. Chu She's study of philosophy was not merely a hobby or pastime; it was a very real work for him because of its bearings on human life. He believed that true wisdom made known to the world would win people away from false ideals and from evil living. Philosophy was for every day life; it was the only thing that would make men wise and good. And so in the privacy of his own rooms he wrote and reasoned against error and heresy, and in his public life he taught his principles and endeavoured to rectify and exalt the morals of his people. He was a follower of Confucius, and although speculating more than his great master in the deep questions of the spirit world and human destiny, he was like him free from dogmatism. He considered that the last word on such subjects had yet to be said, and he always urged further reflection and consideration. But for the conduct of life he considered that the plain maxims of the great sage were sufficient, and the more the wisdom and truth of them became manifest, the more would people keep to the path of righteousness.

It was a great occasion in Chu She's life when he first met with one of the most distinguished thinkers of China, the philosopher Lu Chiu-yuan. The interview was brought about by another famous scholar, who thought that by a friendly personal discussion, certain differences of opinion on the part of Lu and Chu might be removed. Accordingly the philosophers met at a place near Shin-

chou, in Kiangsi. There were other distinguished literati present, but the discussion was carried on mainly by Chu She and Lu Chiu-yuan; the subject being the education of the mind of man. Lu was of a reflective turn and considered that the perfection of the individual soul could be brought about by introspection and meditation, whilst Chu maintained that there should be first learning and study and afterwards this use of the reflective faculties. This controversy has become a noted affair in the history of Chinese philosophy.

During these years of literary work, Chu She felt less and less inclined towards active public life, and the death of his mother, and a few years afterwards that of his wife also, left him comparatively free from the trammels of office. But at last he was forced to accept the post of Prefect of Nankang, in the province of Kiangsi. Here again he distinguished himself by his admirable administration; he improved the condition of the people under his charge. Whilst in charge of this office he still gave himself to study and literary labours, and in order to secure privacy built for himself a retreat at the White Deer Grotto, in the Lu Mountains, some seven miles distant. The name of this place was given on account of the tradition that the philosopher employed a white deer to bring his provisions from the market by slinging a basket to its horns. At the present day a temple exists on the spot, and a figure of the deer is to be seen in the hall, whilst close by is pointed out a tree that is supposed to have been planted by Chu She. The temple to-day is a place of pilgrimage for the literati of China.

It was during Chu's occupation of this retreat in 1151 that the celebrated thinker mentioned above, Lu Chiu-yuan, visited him in order to obtain an epitaph for his elder brother. Chu She here, as in other places, had a following of students and disciples who accepted his philosophy, and on the visit of Lu he gathered them together and invited the distinguished guest to lecture to

them. After some coaxing Lu consented and delivered an admirable discourse on one of the sayings of Confucius. "The mind of the superior man is conversant with righteousness, the mind of the mean man is conversant with gain." A change of opinions had occurred in the mind of Lu, and on this occasion he was somewhat more reconciled to the views of Chu She than on his first acquaintance with him.

Mention has been made of the disciples of Chu She. As a teacher of the wisdom of the ancients he always had about him numbers of men who were anxious to profit by his instruction, some of whom became in their turn distinguished scholars and whose names are now inscribed on the roll of fame. Amongst these were Huang Kan, 'Tsai Yuan-ting and 'Tsai Chen. Huang Kan was an earnest student, who won Chu She's admiration and who worked with his master in the publication of his books, searching out references and also errors. Chu She gave him his second daughter to wife. Tsai Yuan-ting was a man almost the same age as Chu She who, hearing of the latter's fame, resolved to be his disciple. Chu She finding, however, that he was a man of learning and genius, refused to call him disciple and made him a friend and fellow-student. The two lived together for a considerable time and enjoyed each other's society, often conversing on the classics till long after midnight ; they also worked together on the explanation of the classics, which has since formed Chu She's real title to Chinese admiration and worship. Tsai Chen was the son of Tsai Yuan-ting, who also became devoted to Chu She. When his father was banished to Hunan for adherence to Chu's doctrines, Tsai Chen went with him and tended him to the day of his death, returning then to his master, Chu She.

From Nankang and his retreat at the White Deer Grotto, Chu She went to the province of Chekiang. Here he won distinction by his beneficent rule and also from the fact that he demolished a hall built to the memory of Chin



Kuei, a minister who had, in the interests of peace or personal safety, advocated a truce with the Kin Tartars who had invaded China. Chu She felt that the man had been a traitor to his country, and accordingly wished his memory to perish.

In 1190 Chu She became Prefect of Chang-chow, in Fukien. This post, like others, he took with great reluctance, feeling much more at home in his own department of study and literature than as a public servant. But carrying out his principles of loyalty to his prince, he followed the path of duty, and whilst engaging in public duties, at the same time strove to make known the classical literature of his country and to enforce its teachings. Whilst at Chang-chow he suffered attacks on his personal character and principles which, although unsuccessful at first, finally resulted in his disgrace and removal from office. He was accused of faults in his moral character, but especially of inculcating corrupt doctrines. His interpretation of the classics was so different from the ordinary accepted explanations that there were many who felt he was striving to overturn and destroy the ancient traditions. Officialdom of course was deeply moved, and there were plenty of his fellow-magistrates ready to rejoice in his downfall. One aged counsellor of the court sought to boycott all independent thinking and suggested that those who were given positions of trust and responsibility should "determine positively the doctrine which they are to follow, and to which they must remain inviolably attached"; and suggested to the throne that it forbid "everyone to take up opinions according to his fancy". Another official proposed that all the learned in the empire be bound to adhere to the doctrines of Confucius, and that they be prohibited from paying any regard to commentators on the sacred writings.

The result of the agitation was that Chu She was stripped of all his honours and titles and dismissed from his position as public official, whilst his fellow-student,

Tsai Yuan-ting, was banished to Hunan. Three years later Chu She received a new appointment, and some of his honours were restored to him, but by this time he was old and broken down by sickness, and he obtained leave to resign. He retired into private life, but although racked with pain and weakened by disease he continued to teach his disciples and work at his manuscripts, resolved to leave his literary productions in as perfect a form as possible. A year later, however, the end came. His disciples manifested much regard and affection for him and often came to see him as he lay on his death-bed, but one proved exceptionally devoted to him. This was Tsai Tsen. On the death of his father in Hunan he returned to Chu She and ministered to him in his last days with the tenderness of a son. One night there arose a fearful storm of wind, and amidst the gale the old scholar and philosopher yielded up his life, dying at the age of seventy. This was in 1200. Forty years afterwards a tablet was placed to his memory in a specially honoured place in the Temple of Confucius.

The literary productions of Chu She were exceedingly voluminous, but were all of the highest excellence. They consisted in biographical sketches of great men, writings on Buddhism and Taoism, poems and verses, a revision of the celebrated history of Ssu Ma-kuang, and other works.

The work by which Chu She's fame will abide, however, is his interpretation of the Chinese classics. He felt that it was a duty laid on him to restore the sacred texts and set forth their true meaning. He spent much time and strength in this achievement and produced what has made his name famous for all time. His interpretations of the books were considerably at variance with those that had been given by the early scholars, and which had been received as authoritative and infallible, and these, as Dr. Giles says, "modified to a certain extent the prevailing standard of political and social morality". The principle upon which he worked was simply one of consistence. He refused to interpret words in a given passage in one sense,

and give the same words another meaning in a different connection. In this way he was able to throw light on many passages that were obscure and bring the meaning of the whole body of writings into a truer light. A later scholar says with regard to one particular book : "Chu She alone was able to pierce through the meaning and appropriate the thought of the prophets who composed it."

The influence of the teaching of Chu She on the Chinese character has been considered, especially by Europeans, to a certain extent harmful. He is accused of materialism and atheism. Says Rev. A. Smith : "The authority of Chu She, the learned expounder of the Chinese classics, has been so overwhelming that to question any of his views has long been regarded as heresy. The effect has been to overlay the teachings of the classics with an interpretation which is not only materialistic, but which so far as we understand it, is totally atheistic." This may be true, but it is also true that Chu She's life was beautiful for its simplicity and rectitude. He considered that true wisdom consisted in being good, and in so doing echoed the words of a Hebrew sage : "To depart from evil, that is understanding."

# KUBLAI KHAN

## THE WORLD'S EMPEROR.

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**D**URING the twelfth century A.D. two powers were contesting for the supremacy in the empire of China ; one of these being the native dynasty of the Sung, the other the Nu-chen Tartars who had come in over the northern frontier. The country at that time was divided ; the north being in possession of the Tartars who had founded a dynasty under the name of the Chin or Golden Dynasty, and the southern portion ruled by the Sung. Constant battles took place, and a severe struggle for the mastery was carried on over a considerable number of years.

Meanwhile another power was rising in the north, which was destined soon to make itself felt, not only in the Chinese empire but in the whole of Asia and some of the countries of Europe. The Mongols, which at a later date overran the great continent, were leaving their ancestral home in the strip of land between the Onon and Kerulon rivers, and were seeking fresh fields and pastures new. Theirs was no peaceful migration, however, for a great chief had arisen who, filled with the lust of conquest, drenched the land in human blood. Genghis Khan, the great chief of the Mongols, led his troops into the Shia kingdom and subdued it, passing on through Northern China until he reached the Pacific Coast. Having conquered this territory he retraced his steps and marched westward, carrying all before him, even into the eastern confines of Europe.

The early years of the thirteenth century saw the establishment of the Mongol power in Asia. Genghis Khan was succeeded by several martial leaders, who carried on the work of conquest, and these in turn were followed by the remarkable man who finally became ruler over a more extensive empire than the world had ever known before and has never since beheld. Kublai Khan, the

famous Mongol, came nearer to being the world's emperor than any other monarch in history.

Kublai was the second son of Tuli, the youngest son of Genghis Khan. He was born in 1216 A.D., just about the time that his grandfather was completing the conquest of North China. At this period, contact with more civilized peoples, had given the Mongols to see that the sword was not the only conquering power, and the savagery of the race was being tempered by education. Kublai had the advantage over his ancestors in this respect that he was brought into touch with more humanising influences, and a Chinese education made him more fit to rule the Asiatic hordes than those who had gone before him. He was blessed with a wise and capable tutor named Yao Chu who, after he had attained to manhood, still continued to be his secretary and adviser. Kublai owed much of his success in later years to the wise counsels of this Chinese mentor.

But although the young prince had risen above the level of a savage Mongol chief, he was still a warrior, and was as much at home on the battle field as the other members of his house. During the last campaign of the great Genghis, although but a boy, he took his place in the ranks, and his youth afterwards was spent amidst warlike surroundings. Arrived at manhood's estate, he was a capable and successful soldier, and his after-career showed him an equally successful general and commander.

When Kublai was thirty years of age his elder brother Mangu was proclaimed Chief Khan of the Mongols. By this time a great part of the continent of Asia had been conquered, but there still remained the territory ruled over by the Sung Dynasty of China, and Mangu set about the conquest of this desirable land. Whilst engaged in the overthrow of the Chins in Northern China, the Mongols had made an alliance with the Southern Sungs, but now that the provinces were in their possession, the compact was broken and Mangu determined to carry his

arms to the farthest limits of the Sung empire. In order to accomplish his designs he appointed Kublai commander-in-chief of the armies and gave him entire charge of the operations. Kublai in his campaigns was ably assisted by his general, Uriangkadai, and was also helped by the wise advice of his adviser and former tutor, Yao Chu.

Kublai received the charge in 1251, when he was thirty-five. He showed his wisdom by first preparing a suitable base of operations. This was done by restoring the southern part of the province of Honan, which had been devastated, and made into a wilderness. By Kublai's efforts the land became prosperous, his methods commended themselves to the people, and in this way he attached to himself a good many of the inhabitants of the district.

Kublai's work in this particular is a type of his later achievements, and it was in this way that he won the confidence of the Chinese, who have ever considered him the best of the Mongol rulers of their land.

To conquer the Sung territory, Kublai conducted his operations in a manner quite different from what the enemy expected. Instead of marching straightforward towards the nearest frontier, he took his troops in a circuitous direction to the borders of the modern province of Yunnan, at that time an independent state. Attacking this state, he made himself master of the capital, and in this way put the Sung to a disadvantage, who were now betwixt two fires, beset on their northern and southern borders by the Mongol armies. This circumvention on the part of Kublai was performed very quickly, and it brings into prominence one of the striking features of his generalship, the rapidity with which he moved his troops over vast areas. Conducted as his campaigns were in a land of few roads, with high mountains and broad rivers, it speaks well for the ability of the Mongol as a military leader.

Yunnan, being subdued, Kublai returned to the north, leaving his general, Uriangkadai, in charge of the army to attack the Sung from that position. This



warrior not only obeyed his commander, but made war on his own initiative against the neighbouring tribes, carrying his arms into Burmah, where he compelled the king to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mongol rule. This general's zeal brought disaster for a time to Kublai. He had enemies at the Mongol court at Karakoram, and these succeeded in persuading Mangu Khan that his younger brother was aiming at the supreme power, and that his campaigns were simply the beginnings of a rebellion. Mangu accordingly deprived Kublai of all commands and ordered him to appear at the capital. Resenting this treatment, Kublai naturally turned his thoughts to the action of which he had been accused, and half resolved to try and depose his brother, but the wise counsels of his adviser, Yao Chu, prevented him from taking this step. His mentor finally persuaded him to obey the commands of Mangu and appear with his family at Karakoram. This Kublai did, and it proved for him and for all the best thing. On his arrival Mangu repented of his unwise action; a reconciliation took place, and Kublai was reinstated in his offices.

Mangu Khan was so determined to accomplish the overthrow of the Sung in China that he decided to go to the front in person, and he and Kublai took joint command of the army, leaving Arikbuka, their brother, in power at the capital. This decision was not made a moment too soon, for news had come that Uriangkadai down in Yunnan was in straits, being beset by the Sung general with his troops. Once more the Mongols by their rapid movements carried consternation into the Sung camps. The campaign was begun in the winter, and ere the Chinese were aware, Mangu and Kublai had crossed the Yellow River on the ice. Uriangkadai, being relieved, was ordered to march northwards through Ssuchuan to meet the Khan's army. For two years a bitter struggle took place between the Mongols and the Chinese, which was finally brought to a close by the retreat of the Khan's armies, leaving the

Sungs undefeated. Two years after, in 1259, another attempt was made by Mangu to crush the Chinese, but this campaign also ended disastrously. The Mongol camp was attacked with dysentery; many of the troops died, and the rest retreated in disorder. Mangu himself fell ill from the same disease and in a few days succumbed, leaving his disorganised army to effect their return as best they could.

Whilst the Khan was breathing his last, Kublai was engaged with the enemy in another part of the empire. He reached the banks of the Yang-tzu river and, crossing, laid siege to Wuchang. He was not able, however, to take the city, and the Sung Emperor making proposals of peace, Kublai was glad to accept them. He withdrew, leaving the fortress intact, but with the acknowledgment on the part of the Sung ruler of the supremacy of the Mongols. On the death of Mangu disputes arose as to the chieftainship of the Mongols. Kublai was the rightful heir, but Arikbuka, being already in possession of the capital, determined to retain his power and supplant his brother. Kublai at once marched northwards, and reaching Cambaluc, a city almost on the site of the modern Peking, called a council and proclaimed himself Khan of the Mongols. As no Great Khan could be proclaimed in any other place than the capital of Karakoram, the Mongols north of the Chinese frontier refused to acknowledge Kublai, and Arikbuka, proclaiming himself Khan in this city, received the allegiance of his people. This was in 1260.

In the following year, 1261, Kublai marched on Karakoram. Conscious of his right to the throne, he determined to punish his younger brother for usurping his power. The task was not a difficult one, for after a single battle, Arikbuka acknowledged himself defeated and threw himself on the mercy of the conqueror. Kublai acted generously, and instead of punishing Arikbuka, forgave him and placed him in a position of authority over his subjects. And now Kublai was real Khan of the Mongols, whose

territory at this time stretched over a vast area. But like Alexander, he sought for further fields of conquest and renown. In Western Asia the countries under Mongol rule were governed by members of Kublai's house; the original territory of the Mongols was now under Arikbuka, and Kublai set his face towards the subjugation of the still unconquered Chinese empire. He returned to Cambaluc in 1264 and made this city his capital, establishing his court and surrounding himself with all the regal splendour of a mighty prince.

Kublai had no doubt determined to make war once more against the Sung Emperor of China, but he was given an excuse for so doing, which clears him from the blame of having broken a compact. During his absence in the north the Chinese had on more than one occasion commenced hostilities, and had finally made peace impossible by killing the Mongol envoys. Kublai proclaimed war and at once commenced operations, but at a critical moment he was hindered by the development of events in Corea. The king of this country having refused further allegiance to the Mongol rule, Kublai had to turn his attention to this question. The difficulty, however, was not of long standing. Half by flattery and half by menace Kublai won his point; the Coreans were satisfied, and peaceable relations established.

Kublai, as a wise soldier, profited by his mistakes. In his first campaigns in China he had been unsuccessful, and had found out the impossibility of conquering that people by the methods used. He determined on another plan of action. Instead of marching southward to the Yangtzu as before, he ordered his soldiers to the banks of the River Han, where they laid siege to the city of Shiang-yang, in the province of Hupeh.

Since the proclamation of war against the Chinese, there had been serious delays, and years had passed before Kublai could with any confidence commence his campaign. It was not till the year 1268 that Shiang-yang

was invested and the war really commenced. Sixty thousand of Kublai's best troops were engaged in this siege. In order to ensure success, the city of Fancheng, on the opposite side of the river, was also invested, bridges were built and a complete blockade was made with junks that prevented any help coming up the river. But the city of Shiang-yang was held by a strong garrison and commanded by a capable soldier, and for three years the Mongol army strove in vain to reduce it. All they could do, was to prevent stores being carried into the city, and as it had been well victualled before the commencement of the siege, the inhabitants were not yet short of food. In 1270 Kublai determined to make another and greater attempt to reduce this fortress. This time he was successful, but not till after a severe struggle, during which heroic deeds were performed by Chinese commanders that deserve permanent record in the history of mankind. Fancheng was the first to fall, and this town being reduced, the weakest side of Shiang-yang was exposed to the Mongol catapults and other engines of destruction, and the governor surrendered, accepting the terms offered by Kublai. The following is from the Emperor's letter to the commander in Shiang-yang: "The generous defence you have made during five years covers you with glory. It is the duty of every faithful subject to serve his prince at the expense of his life, but in the straits to which you are reduced, your strength exhausted, deprived of succour and without hope of receiving any; would it be reasonable to sacrifice the lives of so many brave men out of sheer obstinacy? Submit in good faith to us and no harm shall come to you. We promise you still more, and that is to provide each and all of you with honourable employment. You shall have no grounds of discontent, for that we pledge you our Imperial word."

The city of Shiang-yang having surrendered to Kublai, it was comparatively easy for him to continue the campaign with success. This had been the last strong

fortress of the Sung in the north-west, and when that was lost the other towns in the vicinity were soon taken. At this juncture also Kublai secured the services of a noted Mongol general, Bayan, who had greatly distinguished himself in Persia. Bayan was a military genius, and the success that had attended him in Western Asia had brought him into prominence. To him was entrusted the command of the army, and he proved as capable of overthrowing the Chinese as he had the Persians. The governor of Shiang-yang, who had accepted Kublai's proposals, had also been given a position of trust, and he having in the siege of that town been practically deserted by his emperor and left to his fate, spent his remaining days in loyal service to his conqueror.

The Mongol army followed the course of the Han River down to the Yang-tzu and there invested the towns of Hanyang and Wuchang. After some fighting these towns were taken, and the conquerors proceeded down the Yang-tzu, carrying all before them until they came to the Sung capital of Hangchow. This was also taken after a struggle, and the young Chinese Emperor and his mother captured and sent to Cambaluc. Although the Chinese empire was practically conquered, the Chinese still resisted. The Emperor's brother fled to Foochow and set up the Sung capital there, but the Mongols advanced, taking possession of Kiangsi and Fukien, and the Emperor had once more to flee, taking up a position in Kuangtung province. Unfortunately he died, but still the Chinese held out. Another of the royal family took the Imperial yellow and established himself on the south coast, but the Mongols blockaded his fortress. Food became scarce, the defenders were reduced to straits, and finally the place was taken. During the last battle one of the Sung ministers realising that all was lost, took the young Emperor in his arms and sprang with him from his junk into the sea, where they were drowned. Thus ended the Sung dynasty of China in 1279.



The conquest of China by Kublai Khan was the completion of the work begun by his grandfather, Genghis. Kublai's success was not, however, entirely due to the sword, and his supremacy was acknowledged sooner than might have been the case with those who had gone before him. His Chinese education, his personality, his humane methods, all contributed to the success of his arms, and many were willing to submit to him because they recognised in him a better ruler than China had seen for some considerable time. The empire had been for many years torn with strife and war whilst the struggle between the Chin Tartars and their own rulers had been taking place, and the Mongol rule seemed to promise a future of peace and prosperity. And so it came to pass that Kublai, the Great Khan of the Mongols, became Emperor of China and the mightiest prince in Asia.

Whilst Kublai's generalissimo, Bayan, was subduing the peoples of the south, the Khan himself in his capital at Cambaluc was gathering round him all the splendour and glory of a magnificent court. Anticipating the success of all his armies, in 1271 he called himself the founder of a new Chinese dynasty, giving it the name of the Yuan or Original.

Kublai's court at Cambaluc must have been one of the finest and most magnificent in the world. He insisted upon the strictest ceremonial in all matters and required those who attended to dress themselves in the most gorgeous dresses and costumes. His banquets were sumptuous, and all the great state occasions were marvels of magnificence. Strangers were welcomed from all countries and their wealth and gifts contributed towards the splendour of the Great Khan's following. Cambaluc was the scene of regal pageantry, such as only is associated with the pomp and glory of Eastern monarchs. The city itself was built on a grand scale, in keeping with the magnificence of its great master. We are indebted to the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, for a detailed description of this fine



capital, and we can gather from his writings some idea of the grandeur it displayed. Not only was Cambaluc a city of palaces and luxurious habitations, but it was also a strong fortress ; the foundations of some of its walls standing to the present day. Kublai being extremely fond of hunting, spent much of his time in the district north-east of Cambaluc, where he also had a splendid palace, the building and environs of which have been immortalized by Coleridge. There is something truly oriental in the conception where he sings:

“ In Xanadu did Kubla Khan  
 A stately pleasure dome decree,  
 Where Alph the sacred river ran  
 Through caverns measureless to man  
 Down to a sunless sea ;  
 So twice five miles of fertile ground  
 With walls and towers were girdled round,  
 And there were gardens bright with sinuous rills,  
 Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree,  
 And here were forests ancient as the hills,  
 Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.”

Kublai, the monarch of half the world, was not content with anything that lacked the splendour and glory of his exalted position.

Of the Khan himself, Polo tells us that he was “ a comely handsome man, of middle stature, of a very fresh complexion, black and bright eyes, well-fashioned nose, and all the lineaments of his body consisting of due proportion ”. Chinese artists have depicted him as fat and ungainly, but this may have been the result of prejudice and dislike to a man not of their own nationality.

It has been already stated that Kublai insisted on a strict court etiquette. He required all proper obeisance and deference and demanded the performance of the “ kotow ” or nine prostrations from all his inferiors. He ordered the priests and ministrants in temples to perform services and make prayers on his behalf, and he sent images of himself to many of the towns in the empire to be duly revered by the inhabitants.

Although a warrior, after his accession to the throne he does not seem to have accompanied his troops in person on more than one occasion. His martial spirit was tempered by his education and, although possessing all the fire and energy of the earlier Mongol leaders, he was more humane in his treatment of the vanquished. His campaigns were remarkable for the absence of ferocity and bloodthirstiness on the part of the soldiers; few massacres of defenceless people being recorded; certainly a new feature in Mongol warfare.

On his occupation of the throne of the Chinese empire, Kublai laid down certain lines of policy, and he determined to follow them, convinced that they were for the welfare of the people. In this he was ably assisted by his adviser, Yao Chu, who had throughout the Khan's youth moulded and guided his life; Kublai having received a Chinese education, possessed a love of literature and a reverence for all who sought after knowledge. One of his earliest measures was to liberate all literary men who were found amongst his prisoners of war. This act secured for him the respect and admiration of the Chinese, and was one of the many wise strokes of policy that made the conquest of the country easier than it might have been.

As only a few years had elapsed between the rise of the savage Mongol power and its supremacy over a large area, at the time of Kublai the Mongols did not possess any means of communication of thought other than vocal; they had no writing and of course no literature. They depended upon the Chinese language for correspondence on paper. Kublai, desiring the mental development of his countrymen, appointed a Buddhist priest, named Bashpa, to construct an alphabet for the use of the Mongols. This was done; and Kublai issued an edict commanding that in future all official documents were to be written in these characters. The Mongol writing, however, was soon discarded, many of the intellectual officials and gentry studying Chinese literature and becoming learned in the

wisdom of that nation. In process of time important contributions to Chinese literature were made by the Mongols ; one branch especially, that of the drama, remaining unsurpassed through all succeeding years.

Other measures of the Great Khan, in favour of literary study, were the establishment of schools throughout the empire and the granting of privileges to literary men, such as exemption from certain taxes and impositions. Kublai, conscious of his limitations, readily received scholars from all countries and was willing to profit by their advice and instruction.

It was this eagerness for knowledge and a desire to benefit his people that made Kublai throw open the doors of his great empire to all who wished to enter. This has not been the policy of later emperors or dynasties in China, and we are apt to think that the exclusiveness of that country has been its main feature ever since its earliest days. A study of the Mongol period will show that China, under Kublai Khan, was as free of access to foreigners as any other territory in his dominions and was more open to outside influence than some other kingdoms of Asia at that time. It was during the reign of Kublai that the celebrated Venetian travellers, Nicolo Polo and Maffei Polo, made their way through the Tartar regions to the city of the Great Khan. They were well received by him and stayed in the country a considerable time, returning to Venice some twenty years after their departure from that town. Two years later they started again for the East ; this time taking with them Marco, the son of Nicolo Polo. Marco was a young man of talent and energy, and finding favour with Kublai, was appointed in 1277 to the post of second-class commissioner attached to the Imperial Council. He lived many years in the empire and filled several important positions. We are indebted to him for much of our detailed knowledge of the Khan and his dominions.

Kublai welcomed any to his court who were able to impart information, or introduce new knowledge that would

be beneficial to the empire. Arabian astrologers and astronomers found a home there and added to the acquirements of the Chinese in the latter science by constituting a more perfect system than that with which they were acquainted. Kublai ordered great astronomical instruments to be made which, if not perfect from the modern standpoint of scientific discovery, were in reality works of art. Roman Catholic missionaries also found their way to the city of the Great Khan and were received with the respect due to men of learning. It was during the reign of Kublai and his successors that Roman Catholic missions were established in the Chinese empire and tabulated successes perhaps greater than they have recorded in later times. It is interesting in this connection to notice Kublai's attitude towards religion. This was one of toleration, an attitude that does not seem to have been taken by many Asiatic rulers, judging by the records of history. This may have been a matter of policy on the Khan's part; he being wise enough to know that religion is a thing dear to men's hearts, and that a proper respect for the beliefs and creeds of men will do much to break down all other barriers that may interpose between them. There is no doubt that Kublai himself had strong leanings towards Buddhism, but this did not make him intolerant of the other religions with which he was acquainted.

At the time of Kublai's accession Buddhism was flourishing vigorously in Northern Asia. It had established its headquarters in Thibet, and priests from that country were engaged in the propagation of its doctrines. A young Thibetan priest at the Khan's court had succeeded in gaining the monarch's ear, and he persuaded Kublai to make friends of the priestly order, as considerable power lay in their hands. Kublai created him pontiff of the Buddhist church, under the title of the Pakba Lama, at the same time investing him with temporal power. He divided the territory governed into provinces and over each province set a Lama, who should be subject to the Su-

preme Lama, appointed by himself. It was in this way that the foundation of the power of the Thibetan Lamas was laid, and the suzerainty of the Chinese emperors dates from this time.

Whilst Kublai listened to Mahommedans and Jews, he seems to have taken more than unusual interest in Christianity. We are told that on the Christian festivals he had the followers of Christ in his presence, and that he kissed the books containing the Gospels; these having been first perfumed by incense. When the brothers Polo made their appearance at the court, he asked them much about the Pope, and when they returned to Europe, they were made his ambassadors to that dignity, requesting him to send one hundred men of wisdom and learning to teach the Mongols the doctrines of Christianity. He also asked them to bring on their return some of the oil from the lamps burning before the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

It was thought by a good many that Kublai had been baptised into the Christian church, but there is no evidence to that effect, and we must be content to think of him as manifesting a deep interest in Christianity. Even if he were baptised, it would simply mean that he had added one more to the many ceremonies of the different religions he observed.

Kublai's attitude towards religion, his policy of open doors in the empire, his willingness to learn from outsiders, all seem to have been prompted by a real desire for the benefit of his people. Having Chinese sympathies, due to his Chinese education, he identified himself with the people of the nation he had conquered and won to himself. By adopting their institutions and looking favourably on their prejudices, he gained their hearts, and to-day, although Chinese historians have no good word for the Mongol rulers in general, yet the name of Kublai is held in respect and esteem.

The Khan showed a deep interest in his subjects in every way. He endeavoured to secure for them justice in



the law courts and to make their lives more prosperous and happy. Polo tells us that he used to send to the different provinces of the empire to enquire about the state of the crops, and that if any district had suffered from tempest or flood, he would remit the tribute for the time being and also send grain and provisions from his royal granaries. If any of their cattle suffered, he would help in a similar generous manner. He encouraged agriculture and made many facilities for commerce. He established a swift postal system, relays of horses being kept at different stations, and ferry boats left in readiness at particular river crossings. By means of this system much perishable produce was also carried long distances and sold to the benefit of the owners.

One of Kublai's great works was the re-construction of the Grand Canal, a waterway stretching between the towns of Tientsin in Chilli and Hangchow in Chehkiang, a distance of one thousand miles. This canal, originally dug by the Emperor Yang Ti, of the Sui dynasty, had fallen into disuse and was almost blocked up. Kublai restored its usefulness and it, along with other similar public works of his, greatly contributed to the prosperity of the empire.

The completion of the conquest of China was not the goal of Kublai's hopes. We are told by Marco Polo that the Khan delighted in wars and conquests, and it was this desire for empire that made him send his armies further afield. Even whilst the struggle with the Sung was taking place, Kublai was engaged in other quarters in endeavouring to establish the Mongol supremacy. It was during these years that he sought to subdue the neighbouring country of Japan. Many of the smaller kingdoms of Asia were tributary to him and he could not brook the independence of the island kingdom so near to his shores. In 1266 Kublai sent two ambassadors by way of Corea to Japan, with a letter complaining that the Japanese had not recognised his supreme authority. The Coreans, how-



ever, succeeded in frightening the envoys to such an extent that, feeling the hopelessness of their task, the messengers of the Khan returned without having accomplished their mission. Kublai, being persuaded in his own mind that the Japanese would not submit to him, determined to use force, and asked the King of Corea for his help. This was accordingly given, and in 1274 a fleet of three hundred junks, carrying fifteen thousand men, sailed towards the East. But however successful the Mongol navy had been on the Great River, they were no match for the Japanese, and they suffered a crushing defeat off the island of Tsushima, in the same waters that have so recently witnessed the annihilation of the fleet of Holy Russia. Kublai, nothing daunted, determined to secure the downfall of the islanders, and in 1280 equipped a large fleet for the purpose. The ships were gathered together in the harbours of Chehkiang and Fukien, whence they sailed with an army of 100,000 men, one-third of whom were Mongols. The story of this expedition reminds one forcibly of the fortunes of the Great Armada sent to conquer another island country that fought for its independence. The Mongol armament was doomed to misfortune and failure from the first. Kublai had appointed both a Chinese and a Mongol generalissimo, and these did not work well together. Illness reduced the official staff, accidents occurred which resulted in the loss of life; there was a lack of harmony in the camp and fleet. To add to their misfortunes the elements were against them, and instead of being able to encounter the Japanese, the Mongol fleet, shattered and broken, sought refuge amongst the islets of North Japan. Here an attempt was made to refit and re-equip the fleet, but the Japanese assailed them so fiercely that at last they were obliged to surrender. Only a stray junk or two escaped to tell the tale of the defeat of the great Mongol navy. About thirty thousand troops were slaughtered, and nearly seventy thousand left prisoners in the hands of the conquerors.

Kublai on hearing the news of the defeat, determined to make another attempt, but it was frustrated by the mutiny of the Chinese and Mongol sailors, who had heard and seen too much of the prowess of the little islanders. Kublai's ministers also protested against any further warfare, and finally the Khan abandoned his designs, leaving the Japanese unconquered by the Mongol arms. It would appear from the above that the Mongols were not successful on the sea, and indeed that was the case. Accustomed as they were to fighting on land, and winning their greatest victories by the use of cavalry, it is not surprising that they were inefficient on the water. Kublai at different times sent expeditions against various islands of the sea, but they were nearly all unsuccessful. One notable example is his attempt to subdue Java. A large armament was fitted up on the Fukien coast, which proceeded to this island, but finally returned defeated, having lost a considerable number of men.

But whilst Kublai's naval expeditions met with nothing but disaster, his land campaigns were mostly satisfactory, as witness the conquest of China and of other surrounding kingdoms. We have referred to the first subjugation of Burmah by Uriangkadai, Kublai's famous general of his earlier years. Submission on the part of the Burmans, however, was only short-lived, and they soon became independent and hostile. Kublai declared war against them and sent an army under the Mongol general, Nasiuddin. On the opening of the campaign the Mongols were placed at a disadvantage, having only 12,000 men against 80,000 of the Burmans. The latter also were accompanied by large numbers of elephants, the appearance of which caused terror in the Mongol camp. At first victory seemed in favour of the Burmans, but a volley of Mongol archery caused a stampede amongst the elephants, and the infuriated animals rushed backward through the Burmese ranks, scattering death and confusion all around. The Mongols, profiting by this unforeseen occur-

rence, charged home and put the enemy to flight. This success was not immediately followed up by Kublai's army, and for some time after, little result was to be seen of the conquest, but after a lapse of six years the Mongol army invaded the Burman territory; the king was a fugitive, and the country submitted to the Khan.

The Khan was not successful in his expeditions for the subjugation of Tonquin and Annam. Twice he sent armies under his son, Togan, to conquer this territory, but the tropical heat and swamps proved too much for the Mongol soldiers, and after several disasters the troops returned to China defeated and broken.

It is not in mortals to command unqualified and unlimited success, and even Kublai Khan had to recognise this. Monarch as he was over a vast area, his reverses put limits to his almost boundless dominions, and he never became, what at that time might have been possible, the sole emperor of the known world. As it was, his empire was the largest the world had ever seen, and its bounds have not been exceeded even in our own day. It may be said by those who are jealous for the fame of the great British empire that the Khan's authority was extremely weak in some quarters; Persia and other countries being almost independent, but even with regard to these territories, the Grand Khan was acknowledged supreme ruler, and could have vindicated his authority if necessity arose. Kublai's dominions extended from the Pacific to the Dnieper; nearly the whole of Asia being subject to his power. Never before nor since has it been the lot of one man to rule over such a world-wide empire.

Kublai's occupation of the throne as Emperor of China, was greatly beneficial to that country. His measures made his reign acceptable to the Chinese, but it cannot be said that it was popular. His subjects couldn't forget that he was a Mongol, and of alien blood. Moreover, it was impossible for him, as for any one man, to correct all the abuses connected with the government of such a country.

He certainly did much towards securing the permanent welfare of the people, but of course could not remove every cause of discontent. His policy of adopting and using existing Chinese institutions had its weakness, especially in one direction. On China coming under the Mongols, Kublai had continued the system of farming the taxes, but this had been done without any improvement in the manner of working; the result being extortion and oppression of many of the people as of old. Occasionally glaring cases of injustice were brought to light and the Khan meted out summary punishment, but the abuses were not rectified, and the people still suffered.

Not only did Kublai fail to remedy all existing evils, but he created some by his lust of conquest. His expeditions cost great sums of money, and the Chinese were not always willing to provide for such great armaments. Public opinion was stirred on more than one occasion, and Kublai had to give way before the representations of his ministers. But he still needed the money, and resorted to expedients that resulted in the impoverishment of the empire. He issued a paper currency, which was used throughout the empire, and by this means gained enormous treasure. Marco Polo tells us of the many merchants who brought all kinds of goods into China, taking in return the paper money of the Khan which they were careful to again change into merchandise before leaving the country. During Kublai's reign, the ill effects of this currency did not show themselves so clearly, but in succeeding reigns the people found that they were being impoverished and had nothing substantial to show for the money they had paid away. It was this and other similar faulty measures of government that weakened the power of the Mongols in China, and finally resulted in their expulsion seventy years later.

The declining years of Kublai were troublous ones for himself and for the empire, owing to the hostility of his cousin, Kaidu, who raised the standard of rebellion.

Kaidu, who held a post under the Khan in Mongolia, was jealous of his monarch's power, and was also discontented because of numbers of Chinese in official employment. His hatred and jealousy led him to take up arms against Kublai, but he would not have been able to accomplish much had he not secured the sympathy and help of a famous Mongol general, Nayan, who in turn was jealous of the mighty Bayan, the conqueror of the South. Nayan, at the head of 40,000 troops, was unfortunate enough to encounter Kublai's army before all his preparations were complete and before Kaidu could join him. The result was that Nayan's army was cut to pieces and he himself captured and slain. On this occasion Kublai was present at the front, and commanded his forces from a tower that was supported on the backs of four elephants chained together. It was his military strategy and energy that had won the battle, for by a series of forced marches he had come upon Nayan unexpectedly and struck the first blow.

Kaidu continued the rebellion, which lasted for a considerable time, and it seemed as though Kublai was either unable or unwilling to suppress him. His great general, however, sought to bring about the downfall of the rebel, but after one successful engagement Kublai, for some reason or other, dismissed him from his military posts and summoned him to Peking to take office as a Minister of State. This was in 1293, and in the following year Kublai died at the age of seventy-eight, having reigned over half the world for thirty-five years.

The reign of the Great Khan saw the climax of the Mongol power in China. Kublai himself was honoured and respected by his millions of subjects, but did not succeed in making the Mongol rule really popular, and when after his death weaker and more selfish emperors occupied the Dragon Throne, the Chinese once more asserted themselves, and before another century had passed the Mongol power had ceased to exist.

# WEN TIEN SHIANG AND LU SHIU FU.

## THE PATRIOTIC MINISTERS.

**F**ACING each other in the Temple of Confucius are two tablets to the memory of the two heroes of the Sung dynasty—Wen Tien Shiang and Lu Shiu Fu—who so signally proved their loyalty to that ill-fated house during the Mongol conquest of China. The story of their disinterested devotion is worth telling, and there is no brighter page in Chinese history than that which records the patriotic achievements of these two noble sons of Han.

In the early years of the thirteenth century the great Mongol conqueror Genghis Khan subdued North China and concluded a peace with the Chin Tartars, who at that time occupied the territory which they themselves had wrested from the Chinese. On the death of Genghis Khan, his son Ogotai, destroyed the Chin dynasty and annexed the territory, and in this way the Mongol power first made itself felt in the Chinese empire. During the last stages of the conflict between the Mongols and the Chin Tartars the Sung Emperor, Li Tsung, entered into an alliance with the Mongol chief, fondly hoping that the destruction of the Chins would result in the restoration of his northern dominions and that once more the whole of China would be under the rule of the native dynasty of the Sung. But he was doomed to disappointment. The Mongols were not the people to conquer territory and then relax their hold of it, and when the Sung proceeded to occupy their old capital in Honan, after the extermination of the Chins, the Mongols at once ordered them to leave the province. Upon the Chinese refusing to do so, war was declared, and thus began the conquest on the part of the Mongols, which eventually resulted in the whole of China being subject to their rule. The subjugation of this empire was entered upon in



earnest by Mangu Khan and his brother Kublai who, as we have already seen, were singularly successful in their expeditions in the West. In the year 1259 Mangu Khan died, and in the following year Kublai advanced on Wuchang. He was unsuccessful, however, in his attempts to take this city, and finally retreated northwards, after having made a compact with the Sung Emperor. Li Tsung, by this agreement, declared himself a Mongol vassal, paid tribute, and forbade his officers to wage war against the conquerors.

Kublai went northwards in order to establish his position as Khan, which was at that time being disputed. During his settlement of the trouble with his brother Arikbuka some of his envoys were murdered by the Sung, and this act giving him an excuse for the breaking of the compact with the Chinese, Kublai determined to carry on the struggle to the bitter end and not cease until the whole of China was under his rule. He accordingly declared war against the Sung.

The court of the Sung was established at the beautiful city of Hangchow, the Quinsay of Marco Polo. Although far away from the scene of Kublai's conquests, the Emperor Li Tsung, being only a weakling, had fears for the security of his position, and was inclined to listen to the advice of some of his ministers, who advocated abandoning the capital. It was at this time that Wen Tien Shiang came into prominence by opposing the advice of one of these minions—Tung Sung Chen—and by urging his execution.

The sentence was not carried out, however, but the memorial revealed the presence of a man who, although young in years, was possessed of unflinching courage, and who was prepared to sacrifice his all for the welfare of his prince, a sacrifice that in after years he was called upon to make.

Wen Tien Shiang was born in 1236 near the town of Chi Shui, in the province of Kiangsi. In the district

government school of his native place were the portraits of Ou Yang Shiu and two other celebrities, each of whom had been characterised by the epithet "Loyal." Wen often found himself looking at these portraits, and the thought of the loyalty of the men represented, stirred his heart and made him determine to follow in their footsteps. Said he: "I shall not be a man of any worth if I am not revered after death among these men," thus giving expression in youth to the principle by which his after life was ruled. At the age of eighteen he went up to the capital for the examination and was successful in obtaining the degree of Chin Shih or Doctor. When the results of the examination were made known to the Emperor, Wen stood seventh on the list, but the monarch happening to look over the papers before the names of the successful competitors were made public, was struck by the character of his essay, and sending for the grand examiner the noted Wang Ying Lin, author of the Three Character Classic, asked him to reconsider the order of merit. "This essay," said the Emperor, "shows us the moral code of the ancients as in a mirror; it betokens of loyalty enduring as iron and stone." The grand examiner agreed with the Emperor's criticism, and when the list was published the name of Wen Tien Shiang stood first. Shortly after this Wen's father died, and he had to remain in seclusion until the appointed time of mourning was ended, after which he was sent to a subordinate post at Ninghai, in the province of Chekiang. From this step on the ladder of fame he rapidly rose and soon became secretary of the Board of Punishments, holding a position of considerable distinction.

It was at this time that Wen, being disgusted with the craven policy of some of the Emperor's ministers, denounced Tung Sung Chen and recommended his execution, but the latter was too much in the favour of the Emperor to suffer at this juncture. Not long after the Emperor died, and he was succeeded by a still weaker ruler

—Tu Tsung—who became a mere tool in the hands of another favourite—Chia Ssu Tao. This minister also advocated flight and surrender on the part of the royal house, and Wen attacked him with all his energies, denouncing him as a traitor to his prince. The courageous secretary was removed from the capital and given a post in his native province of Kiangsi, but he continued to oppose the policy of the faint-hearted advisers of the throne. From Kiangsi he was transferred to Hunan, but a year later returned to Kiangsi as prefect of Kanchou.

Meanwhile the armies of Kublai Khan were conquering all before them and drawing nearer to the capital where the Sung court held its sway. The cities of Shiang Yang and Fancheng on the River Han were taken, and the Mongol troops sailing down the river soon had Wuchang and Hanyang in their power. Down the Yangtze they came, and a great terror seemed to have seized on the Chinese. The Mongol leader Bayan was everywhere successful, and in a short time the victorious armies had come into close proximity with the capital. The minister Chia Ssu Tao was ordered to see to the defence of the city, and he succeeded in gathering an army of 130,000 men, many of whom, however, were undisciplined and untrained fighters, but all his efforts were characterised by the spirit of a weak and cowardly officialism. He does not seem to have realised the gravity of his position, for when the Mongols approached, he with a show of authority ordered them to retreat to the other bank of the Yangtze and let the great river be the boundary line between the two contending powers. As may be expected Bayan would not listen to such nonsense, and made his preparations for the siege of Hangchow. The fall of Chia Ssu Tao was the next event, and the unfortunate minister's place was supplied by a competent leader, Chang Shih Chieh, who proved himself like Wen and Lu, a loyal supporter of the tottering dynasty. Chang at once made a vigorous attack on the

Mongols, but was repulsed with heavy loss, and he fell back to concentrate his strength on the defence of the capital. The next Sung Emperor, Kung Ti, on his accession in 1275, issued edicts calling upon all the loyal Chinese to contribute money and arms to the defence of their country. This proclamation reached Wen Tien Shiang in Kauchou, and he at once exerted himself to raise an army in Kiangsi. He was able to gather a force of some ten thousand men, partly Chinese, partly aborigines, and these he sent off to Hangchow to aid in the operations there. In this way Wen was able to show the genuineness of his devotion to the Sung dynasty, for the collecting of these forces used up all his private resources, and besides being worked almost to death, he was left in absolute poverty. His loyalty to his prince found expression in the words uttered to his friends: "Who joys with another's joy, mourns with his sorrow, and who lives by another, also dies for him."

Soon after this, Wen was sent to Soochow as governor, and whilst in this town submitted to the Emperor a plan for dividing the provinces which remained to the Chinese into military circuits, but the plan was considered impracticable. Rejected as his advice was, he was still able to contribute to the safety of his prince and the royal house, and when the Mongols invested Chang Chow, in Kiangsu, he forthwith sent four detachments of troops to drive them away. Unfortunately the Chinese were not successful, and three of the companies sent were destroyed; the fourth taking sides with the Mongols and sharing in their victory when Chang Chow fell into their hands. The position of the court was now desperate, and Wen was ordered to abandon Soochow and march at once to the defence of the capital. The Emperor, fully assured of the devotion of Wen, gave him a position as assistant minister, and later on he was entrusted with an important commission to treat with Bayan, the Mongol leader. During the negotiations Wen assumed such a proud bear-

ing, and used such menacing language, that Bayan promptly took him prisoner and sent him off to Cambaluc, Kublai's seat of authority. On reaching the town of Chinkiang, on the banks of the Yangtze, Wen managed to effect his escape, and found a hiding place in a city on the other side of the river. Here he was at first taken for a traitor and narrowly escaped death, but he managed to satisfy the people amongst whom he had taken refuge, and after some thrilling adventures he at last reached the city of Wenchow in safety.

Alarmed at the fall of Chang Chow, the Sung Emperor was constrained to sue for peace, but the Mongols were not inclined to any compromise, having set their minds on the complete subjugation of the country, and so eventually the capital was surrendered. The Empress-Regent submitted to the Mongols, and she and the young Emperor were sent to Cambaluc. A brother of the Emperor escaped to Foochow, in the province of Fukien, and there, supported by Chang Shih Chieh and others, set up the capital of the tottering dynasty. The position of the Chinese, however, grew daily more desperate, for the Mongols advanced with rapidity and soon overran the province. It was impossible to hold Foochow, and so the Sung Emperor and his devoted followers fled southwards into Kuang Tung.

During this time of disaster and defeat another loyal servant of the royal house was endeavouring to sustain the fallen fortunes of his prince. This was Lu Shiu Fu, a noted scholar and minister and a friend of Wen Tien Shiang. Born the same year as Wen, in the province of Kiangsu, he was educated at the city of Chinkiang. He soon distinguished himself by his ability in the examinations, and at the age of twenty-four gained the degree of Chin Shih. He became confidential secretary to a noted official and was brought into touch with many phases of public life, and in the year 1275, the year of the accession of the ill-fated Kung Ti, obtained a

responsible post under that monarch. His promotion was very rapid, for in the same year he rose to the position of a Minister of State, but soon after, coming into collision with the Chief Minister, he was disgraced and sent to the city of Chao Chou, in Kuang Tung. Chang Shih Chieh, however, interfered on his behalf, and he was restored to office, taking a position at Foochow under the new Emperor, Tuan Tsung, for by this time Hangchow had capitulated to the Mongols.

Lu Shiu Fu from this time identified himself with the failing cause of the Sung Emperors and served his masters with unwavering loyalty and devotion. To the end he always treated his prince with the respect due to an Emperor possessing undisputed power and addressed him as though still monarch of all the empire. He was not permitted to give his services very long in Foochow, for the Mongols quickly approached and the court had to seek safety in flight. The Emperor fled by sea to Tung An, in Kuang Tung, but in so doing lost his life. Encountering a violent storm, the ship was wrecked and the Emperor barely escaped drowning. He managed to reach land, but died from the effects of the exposure to the elements. At this disaster the majority of the Sung officials thought it useless to continue the struggle and proposed to disperse, leaving the Mongols masters of the situation, but Lu Shiu Fu opposed their decision and advocated holding out to the last in the hope of a turn in the tide of their fortunes. Lu's advice was listened to, and the ministers declared the younger brother of Tuan Tsung Emperor, under the title of Ti Ping. To make their position more secure, the little band removed from the island of Kangchou, where the late monarch had died, to the island of Yaishan, and there prepared to resist the advances of the ever victorious Mongols. Here they remained for some months, and Lu buoyed up the spirits of the wavering and despondent as best he could. He also undertook to teach the young Emperor the Ta Shioh



or Great Learning, one of the Chinese Classics, in the hope perhaps that at some future date a brighter future would be before him. But it was not to be. The Mongols pressed the fugitives close. They blockaded the harbour, and in a short time the Chinese were reduced to great straits for want of food and water. Attempts were made on their part to break through the blockade, but with little success. Chang Shih Chieh, with a few ships, managed to escape, but the vessel on which the Emperor had taken refuge was not so fortunate. Lu, seeing that all was lost, forced his wife and children to throw themselves into the sea and then sprang on board the Emperor's vessel. He seized the young ruler, and placing him on his back, jumped with him into the water. Thus died the last of the Sung and also Lu Shiu Fu, loyal supporter of the ill-fated dynasty. An inscription was afterwards cut on a rock at Yaishan, stating that there the Mongol general had exterminated the Sung, but this was not allowed to remain, for an indignant censor some time after erased the inscription and wrote instead: "Here died Lu Shiu Fu, a Minister of State under the Sung dynasty."

After the fall of Hangchow, when the Sung court was at Foochow, Wen Tien Shiang was sent once more to his native province of Kiangsi; this time purposely to levy forces. He was not able to stay long in that province on account of the Mongol advance, and fell back upon Fukien, where he had his camp. Although the fortunes of the Sung were declining so rapidly, Wen was full of hope and did not allow himself to despair. He had spirit enough to behead an official who, having surrendered to the conquerors, came to advise him to do the same. But his buoyancy was not sufficient to cope with Mongol armies, and although fortunate enough to secure one or two slight victories over the invaders, he was eventually overcome and his army utterly routed at Shing Kuo Shien, in Kiangsi. His wife and children were captured and sent to Cambaluc, but one of the sons

died on the way. Wen himself was saved by a friend assuming his name. He managed to get clear of the victorious army and made his way southwards to Kuang Tung, where he received honours from the young Sung Emperor, who with his court was endeavouring to uphold the power of his now stricken house. He was made Shao Pao or Junior Guardian of the Emperor, and was given the title Shin Kuo Kung or Patriotic Duke. Raising another force of soldiers, he went to Chao Yang, but his army being again defeated, he was captured at Wu Po Ling and taken before the Mongol general, who treated him with courtesy, although he refused to tender his submission. When the conquerors were blockading the harbour at Yaishan he was taken to the scene of action and bidden to write to Chang Shih Chieh advising him to surrender, but the courageous man refused to do so. After the destruction of the Sung, he was sent to Cambaluc to learn his fate at the lips of Kublai Khan. As he passed his native place on the way through Kiangsi, he was overcome with grief, and for eight days he was unable to eat anything. Arriving at Cambaluc he was brought before Kublai and his ministers, and every effort was made to induce him to acknowledge the authority of the Mongol conqueror, but without success. He was kept in prison for three years, but during this time was treated with consideration and respect. At the end of this period rumours being circulated to the effect that Wen was concerned in a conspiracy against the Mongols, Kublai sent for him and offered him a post as Minister of State if he would consent to serve. Wen, still loyal to the now extinct house of the Sung, refused the offer, and Kublai, at the urgent request of his officials, sentenced him to death. To give Wen another opportunity he once more called him to his presence and said: "What do you want?" Wen replied: "By the grace of the Sung Emperors, I was their minister, and I cannot serve a second dynasty: I only ask to die." We are told

that Kublai relented and wished to revoke the sentence, but for some reason or other did not do so. When the executioner arrived Wen remained perfectly calm and merely said : " My work is finished." He made obeisance twice towards the south, as though his own sovereign was still reigning in his capital, and then was beheaded. This took place in the year 1282. Thus perished Wen Tien Shiang, one of the noblest characters to be found in Chinese history. His clothes were searched for papers, but all that was found was a slip on which he had written : " Confucius says: Perfect private virtue ; Mencius says: Acquire public virtue. But private virtue is attained by carrying public virtue to its completion. If this is learned from the reading of the sages' books, there will scarcely be shame either in life or after death." His body was carried to his native place and laid beside that of his mother.

Wen Tien Shiang was a scholar and poet, and he produced some works of considerable merit that to a certain extent contribute to his fame. But he is remembered by grateful Chinese as the faithful upholder of the native dynasty in a time of disaster, and he with his friend Lu Shiu Fu have a permanent place in the memory of the people of that nation. Wen's most noted poem serves to show how he was dominated by the principle of loyalty to his prince and how that life had no charm for him under the rule of a conqueror. " My dungeon," says he, " is lighted by the will-o'-the-wisp alone ; no breath of spring cheers the murky solitude in which I dwell. The ox and the barb herd together in one stall, the rooster and the phoenix feed together from one dish. Exposed to mist and dew, I had many times thought to die ; and yet, through the seasons of two revolving years, disease hovered round me in vain. The dark unhealthy soil to me became paradise itself. For there was that within me which misfortune could not steal away. And so I remained firm, gazing at the white clouds floating over my head and bearing in my heart a sorrow boundless as a sky."

# HUNG WU

OR

## THE BEGGAR KING.

THE rule of the Mongol conquerors never became popular in China. Kublai Khan, as we have seen, accomplished great things, but after his death there were no worthy successors, and the dynasty so brilliantly inaugurated was doomed to early extinction. Thirty years after the decease of the great Khan the empire was in a state of anarchy, rulers occupied the throne who were powerless to carry out their decrees, and the Chinese were only too ready to seek to re-establish a national dynasty.

During the reign of Shun Ti, the last of the Mongol Emperors, the first real rebellion on the part of the Chinese took place in the neighbourhood of Canton. The Mongol authority had been weakened to such an extent that it was impossible to suppress this rising, and the Chinese gaining courage, threw off the yoke in many parts of the empire and joined in the general revolt. Efforts were made on the part of the Mongols to re-establish their old position, but one by one their champions were defeated or put aside, and the advent of an energetic and capable leader of the Chinese finally resulted in the complete overthrow of the Tartar dynasty.

The leader to whom we have referred was Chu Yuan Chang, a man possessed of such ability and force of character as to enable him at that time to work out the salvation of his countrymen and to carry him from his humble village surroundings to the dizzy height of the throne of the Chinese empire.

Chu Yuan Chang was a native of Chung Li, in the province of Anhui. Of poor parentage, his earlier years were spent in tending cattle. At the age of seventeen

he was left an orphan ; his parents succumbing to the terrible famine that at that time was causing distress and death over a wide area.

His older brother died at the same time, and Chu having no money to spend on coffins for the bodies, buried the three in straw. Soon after this he went to the Huang Chioh monastery, near Fung Yang, and entered the Buddhist priesthood, taking this step on account of a dream he had in which his dead parents expressed a wish to that effect. Unfortunately, however, he was not permitted to remain long in the monastery, for food became so scarce that all the novices were dismissed. For the next three years Chu lived a wandering life, but after that time, was able once more to enrol himself amongst the priests at the monastery from which he had been dismissed.

During Chu's retirement amongst the priests, the empire was the scene of disorder and strife consequent on the misrule of the last of the Mongols. In the province of Anhui a noted rebel leader, Kuo Tzu Shing, was fanning the flame of revolution and devastating the country. Amidst his depredations he, with a large force, attacked the Huang Chioh monastery, set it on fire, and put the priests to flight. Amongst the fugitives was Chu, but he being possessed of military qualities, returned to the scene of destruction and offered his services to the rebel chief. He nearly lost his life in doing this, being taken for a spy, but he succeeded in obtaining an interview with Kuo, who was favourably impressed with the bearing of the quondam priest, and he was eventually enrolled as a soldier under his banner. Chu had a fine physique, a manly bearing, and possessed considerable ability, and before very long he had gained an officer's rank and was popular with the men of Kuo's army. The leader himself recognised in Chu a military genius and became much attached to him, giving him his own adopted daughter to wife. In 1355 Kuo Tzu Shing

died, and Chu Yuan Chang, who had become more and more popular, was at the head of a band of men determined to break the Mongol yoke. In this position he was distinguished by his humanity and consideration for the welfare of both soldiers and people. Whilst other rebel bands plundered and destroyed, Chu's soldiers abstained from such acts of violence, and thus gained the confidence and good wishes of the people, who soon saw in their chief a saviour of their country. Chu's standard became popular, thousands gathered unto him, and with this large army he crossed the Yangtze river, and after a short siege, captured the town of Nanking. Here he took the title of Duke of Wu and issued a proclamation declaring that his action as leader of the rebellion was for the sole object of restoring the national dynasty. Said he: "It is the birthright of the Chinese to govern foreign peoples, and not of these latter to rule in China. It used to be said that the Yuan or Mongols, who came from the regions of the north, conquered our empire not so much by their courage and skill, as by the aid of heaven. And now it is sufficiently plain that heaven itself wishes to deprive them of that empire as some punishment for their crimes and for not having acted according to the teaching of their forefathers. The time has now come to drive these foreigners out of China."

Whilst at Nanking, Chu, although taking a title, does not seem to have aspired to the position of supreme ruler; all his thought being given to the expulsion of the decadent conquerors of a hundred years before. Making the city his base of operations, he was able, after a time, to drive out the Mongols from the adjacent provinces. This was not a hard task, as the success of Chu had inspired the Chinese in many quarters, and rebellion was rife. Moreover the Mongols were placed at a disadvantage owing to the neglectfulness of the Emperor, who instead of directing affairs was revelling in luxury and dissipation whilst the Mongol generals were at variance



one with another and of course not able to take any united action. To add to the trouble, one of the Mongol generals also rebelled against his ruler, and thus deprived the Emperor of an army that might have contributed somewhat to the success of his arms.

In 1366, ten years after the capture of Nanking, Chu despatched an army southwards to the province of Kuang Tung. The Mongol garrisons in that district were all destroyed, and it was not long before South China was in the hands of its rightful people. The recovery of this territory was due also, in a certain measure, to the acts of a noted pirate, Fang Kuo Cheng, with whom Chu had made an alliance.

Whilst the Chinese were successful in the south, Chu had despatched two large armies towards the north; the main body being under the command of Shuta, Chu's most famous general. Careful preparations had been made for years before to ensure the success of this campaign, and the Chinese were rewarded with a satisfactory issue. By 1367 the country as far north as the Yellow River had been conquered, and the important city of Kai Fung taken. In the autumn of that year the rebel armies crossed the river and marched on Peking. There was little resistance from the Mongols; enervated by years of luxury they had lost the power of their forefathers and were not able to withstand the onslaughts of the Chinese. The Emperor Shun Ti fearing for his life, fled to Mongolia, where three years afterwards he died. Shuta, having appeared before Peking, soon took the capital by storm, and with the fall of this city and the flight of the Emperor ended the Mongol dynasty, which had ruled China for a century.

Chu Yuan Chang, hearing of the success of his general Shuta, hastened to Peking, and there the soldiers insisted on his taking the imperial yellow and occupying the vacant throne as Emperor of the Chinese nation he had saved from a foreign yoke. We are led to believe that

Chu took upon himself this position against his will, that he never really intended to do more than expel the Mongols and restore the fortunes of the conquered house of the Sung. Whether this be so or not the fact remains that Chu Yuan Chang, the tender of cattle, the ex-priest, a son of the people, ascended the throne of China, and for thirty years governed the empire as very few of that nation's rulers have done, leaving behind him, at his death, a name perpetually enshrined in the hearts of the Chinese people.

Chu, on his ascension, assumed the name or style of Hung Wu, and it is this name that stands out so conspicuously amongst the many that designate the rulers of China. He gave the name of "Ming" or Bright to the dynasty he founded, a dynasty that lasted for nearly three hundred years, the restoration of which is even now a watchword of the secret societies that are to be found all over the Chinese empire. A pretty story is told of the origin of the term chosen by Chu as a dynastic title. It is in connection with his betrothal to Ma Hou, the daughter of Kuo Tzu Shing, under whom he served in the early years of the revolution. During the betrothal, whilst the couple were kneeling before the ancestral shrine, the various fan-bearers, each with fans inscribed with characters representing the sun and the moon, got out of their positions and became mixed together. This brought the two characters for sun and moon in close proximity, and as seen by the people at the betrothal, the combination of the characters formed the symbol for "bright," and the character was afterwards adopted as having an auspicious significance.

After the capture of Peking, Chu, or as we must now call him Hung Wu, rewarded his officers with titles and sums of money, thus recognising their work in the re-establishment of a national government. In the first year of his reign he erected at Peking a temple in honour of the generals who had fallen on the field, and in the

building were left niches and vacant places for the statues of those still alive. But whilst in this manner upholding military glory, Hung Wu was careful to adopt the form of government that had obtained in the empire in centuries gone by. The former dynasties did not owe their continuance to military power, and Hung Wu, although essentially a soldier, laid down the lines of his government on the old scholastic basis. This of course met with the approval of the Chinese, who had never willingly submitted to the military rule of their conquerors—the Mongols.

Hung Wu, although proclaimed Emperor at Peking, refused to make that city his capital, and transferred his government to Nanking, where he had so long directed operations against the now conquered invaders. Peking, during his life time, was never anything more than a second rate city, and he took no steps towards its embellishment. Nanking was for him more central, besides being possessed of associations of imperial dignity and influence.

The death of the Mongol Emperor in 1370 did not end the struggle that had been taking place so long between his forces and those of Hung Wu. In fact the entire reign of the new Ming Emperor was taken up with warfare. It was not his lot to sit peaceably on his newly acquired throne; even after his accession, there remained much to be accomplished before the country could be pacified. Hung Wu himself, after his occupation of the throne, did not take much part in the campaigns, but devoted his attention to the welfare of his people whilst his generals Shuta and Fuyuta fought for the security of his borders. Shuta, the most famous of these generals, was occupied for nearly twenty years in continuous warfare with the Mongol troops. The scene of his campaigns was in the northwest, in the provinces of Shensi and Kansuh, where for a considerable time he was engaged with the forces of the Mongol governor of the first named province. Shuta finally succeeded in capturing this troublesome enemy and sent him to Nanking, where the

Emperor, instead of ordering his execution, granted him his life and a small pension. Shuta's work was not done, however, and he soon had to tax all the resources of his military genius in a final attempt to subdue the Mongols in Kansuh. During this last effort some of the members of the Mongol royal family were captured, amongst whom was the grandson of the unfortunate Emperor Shun 'Ti. He was sent to Nanking and the ministers of Hung Wu advised his execution, but the generous ruler conferred on him a minor title of nobility instead. This kindly act and the pardon of Shuta's enemy serve to show the humanity of Hung Wu, a characteristic that had distinguished him throughout the rebellion and which was manifested during his reign. In a speech made in answer to the ministers who sought to advise him, he says: "We read in the Shih Ching that after the destruction of the Chang family, there remained more than ten thousand of their descendants, who submitted themselves to the Chou, because it was the will of heaven. Cannot men respect its decrees? . . . And with regard to Maitilipala (Shun 'Ti's grandson), although former ages supply examples of similar sacrifice, did Wu Wang, I ask you, when exterminating the Chang family, resort to this barbarous policy. The Yuan princes were the masters of this empire for nearly one hundred years, and my forefathers were their subjects, and even although it were the constant practice to treat in this fashion the princes of a dynasty which has ceased to reign, yet could I not induce myself to adopt it."

Hung Wu was, as we have said, merciful and kind. The manifestation of such qualities is not often associated with Asiatic rulers, but there is no doubt the remembrance of his former poverty and sufferings made Hung Wu pitiful and produced in him a kindness of heart that has been strangely wanting even in enlightened rulers of our own realms. Another instance of his humanity is seen in the following: In the south

of China certain Mongol colonies had been established, but the climate proved uncongenial to these people of the northern plains. Hung Wu's ministers, anxious to be rid of all the hated race, advised their extermination, but the Emperor did not listen, and showed his humanity by sending all the inhabitants of the colonies back to their own country at his own expense.

The accession of Hung Wu and the restoration of a national dynasty proved of great benefit to the people of China. Their material condition was much improved, and they soon experienced a prosperity and security to which they had been strangers for many years. Hung Wu, being a son of the people and knowing their wants, did all in his power to promote their welfare. In this he followed the teaching of the great master Mencius, who so strenuously held that a monarch's title to the throne he occupied, was his beneficent treatment of his subjects. During Hung Wu's reign many measures were adopted that contributed to the well-being of the populace, and in all these measures were to be seen the personal interest of the once poor village lad. One of these beneficial reforms was the simplification of the transit of salt from provinces where it was plentiful to places where the commodity was scarce. During times of famine the whole royal treasury was used up in giving relief, Hung Wu never forgetting the awful dearth which cost him his parents' lives. His thought for the soldiers of the garrisons in the northwest is also shown in the despatch of fur garments to that region for their use.

Again in his treatment of the aged and infirm, Hung Wu seems to have been influenced by the remembrance of his former days of poverty and suffering. He cut down the court expenses that he might use the money saved in the succouring and helping of the sick and aged ; his last instructions to officials taking up new positions were given on their behalf. "Take particular care of the aged and orphans," he said ; no doubt thinking all

the time of his former distress when his parents had succumbed to the famine and he unable to provide them with decent burial.

The cutting down of the court expenses does not imply that Hung Wu made a lavish display of his royalty. In this he was very different from the Mongol rulers, who did everything on a magnificent scale. We have seen how the court of Kublai Khan was renowned throughout the world for its splendour, but this sort of thing was changed when the Ming Dynasty was inaugurated. Hung Wu's court was sustained on frugal lines, and no unnecessary expenditure was permitted. He reduced the size of the harems maintained by the officials and exercised a strict economy in all state ceremonial. It has already been stated that he did nothing towards the embellishment of the Mongol capital; on the contrary, he contributed to its impoverishment. One of the former Mongol Emperors had built in the palace grounds a tower of porcelain with an ingenious contrivance for recording the time; the whole costing a great sum of money. When Hung Wu saw this tower he exclaimed, "How is it possible for men to neglect the most important affairs of life for the sole object of devoting their attention to useless buildings. If the Mongols, in place of amusing themselves, with these trifles, had applied their energies to the task of contenting the people, would they not have preserved the sceptre in their family?" With these remarks he ordered the tower to be razed to the ground.

Not only did Hung Wu win the people by his kindness and humanity, but he secured their respect by his patronisation of literature and his endeavours to foster learning throughout the empire. One of his first public acts was a measure that should secure gratuitous education for the masses of the people. He restored many schools that had fallen into disuse, and he himself appointed masters and teachers to ensure a thoroughness in the carrying out of his schemes.



During the T'ang Dynasty in 735 A.D. the famous Imperial College, the Hanlin Academy, had been established. Admittance to this place of culture was the highest honour obtainable by scholars, and for a considerable time was the goal of all scholarly effort. During later dynasties, however, its fortunes had decreased, and at times it was very much neglected. Hung Wu re-established this place of learning. He rebuilt the walls, refurnished the rooms, and showed his interest in the work by personally attending and superintending the operations. He also established a similar college at Nanking, but this did not survive the invasion of the Manchus. The Hanlin Academy continued in high repute until 1900, when during the siege of the Legations it was set on fire and destroyed.

Another great work of Hung Wu in the department of literature was the codification of the laws of the empire. During the Mongol dynasty there had been much laxity in the administration of these laws, and the Emperor's work in this matter proved of immense benefit to the people. Some of the severe penalties attached to these laws he is said to have abolished, once more manifesting his mercifulness and humanity.

The History of the Mongol Dynasty is a work that owes its inception to Hung Wu. In 1369 he appointed a commission of eighteen scholars to undertake the task of recording the history of the previous ruling house; the chief of the commission being Sung Lien, a scholar who had risen from an obscure position to be president of the Hanlin Academy. This work is of great merit from a literary point of view.

Thus in various ways did Hung Wu foster the spirit of learning in the empire, and has thus earned for himself the eternal gratitude of all Chinese scholars, to whom letters are and always have been more than military prowess.

Hung Wu in his endeavours to benefit the people not only codified the laws, but he himself devoted much time

and energy to promoting the administration of justice in the law-courts. This was not an easy task as any one may suppose; despite his efforts he was hindered and opposed by officials who were not possessed of his noble traits of character. He strove, as most really great rulers have done, to secure for his subjects those rights and privileges that alone bring contentment and peace to the people of any nation. Hung Wu's religious views were naturally coloured by his early training as a Buddhist priest, and he seems to have followed the precepts and teaching of Buddhism all his life. He does not seem to have been intolerant with regard to other sects and religions except the Taoist, and this system he vigorously opposed.

During the years that Hung Wu was working for the people, his generals were engaged in subduing the Mongols and pacifying the empire. As has been stated this was no easy task, and no sooner was one district conquered than another was aroused to action. The northern borders had no sooner been pacified than troops had to be despatched to Ssuchuan and Yunnan, where some of the Mongol officers still held their positions. One of these, careless of the influence of Hung Wu, assumed a royal style and proclaimed himself as the King of Shia. He was not long permitted to enjoy his power, for Hung Wu's second general, Fuyuta, was soon upon his territory and defeated his forces. The King of Shia, laden with chains, begged for his life at the Chinese camp. This campaign having scarcely ended, attention was again drawn to the north-west, where Kuku Timour, the former governor of Ningshia, had risen in the hope of recovering something of the lost empire. For a time he was successful, and the noted Shuta, Hung Wu's trusted commander-in-chief, was repulsed, and what was worse was driven into a very dangerous position, from which he could not extricate himself. He was saved by the advent of Fuyuta from Ssuchuan, and the combined forces inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mongols. Even then peace was

far off, and Hung Wu tried a stroke of policy. He sent back to Mongolia the grandson of Shun Ti, of whom mention has already been made, in the hope that he would succeed to the Mongol chieftainship and show himself friendly in return for kindness received. Maitilipala seems to have remembered his obligations, but the Mongols refused to acknowledge his authority. It was not until Kuku Timour died that the Mongols settled down, and raids and guerilla warfare ceased.

The pacification of the north being accomplished attention was turned to the province of Yunnan, where Mongol influence and authority was still felt. The conquest of this territory is the last chapter in the history of Hung Wu's military success. It was accomplished without the aid of Shuta, who had died after his work in the north was finished. This noted general was mourned by Hung Wu, who spoke of him thus: "My orders received, he forthwith departed: his task accomplished, he returned without pride and without boasting. A man of strict integrity, without the slightest stain, as pure and clear as the sun and moon, there is none like my first general Shuta." The other trusted warrior, Fuyuta, carried Hung Wu's arms into Yunnan. The prince of the state offered a stubborn resistance, but it was of no avail, and the place was soon conquered. Shortly after, however, the inhabitants rebelled, and this resulted in a final peace consequent on the massacre of thousands who fell into Chinese hands. When this province was subdued Hung Wu was master of the great Chinese empire, stretching from the borders of Burmah to the Great Wall, and from Thibet to the eastern sea.

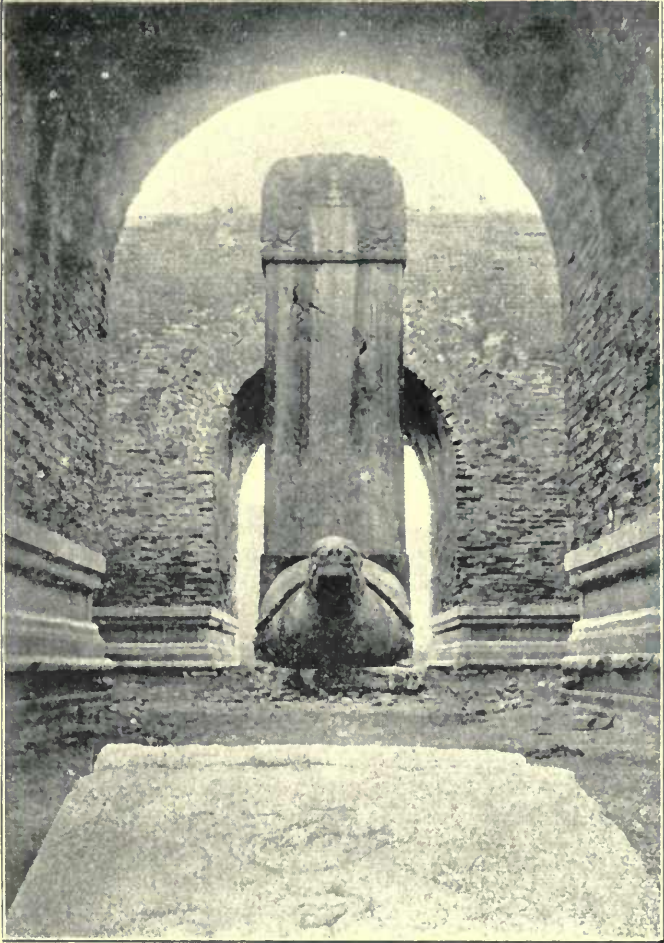
Hung Wu, during his reign, was able to bring about amicable relations with the country of Corea. The king sent a formal embassy to Nanking to congratulate Hung Wu on his accession to the throne of China, and when he died, his son asked and received investiture in his authority with the royal robes at the hands of the Ming Emperor.

The last ten years of Hung Wu's life were peaceful ; only one incident occurring to mar the tranquillity of his closing days. This was the mutiny of some of his troops under a dissatisfied general. The mutiny was soon quelled, but on this occasion with a severity unlike the dealings of the Emperor. He restored peace by the execution of several thousands of the mutineers.

In the year 1398 Hung Wu fell ill and never again recovered. Realising that his life was short, his eldest son being dead, he appointed his eldest grandson to succeed him on the throne, believing that this would make for the peace of the empire. Feeling that there might be dissatisfaction with this decision on the part of his other sons, he ordered them to remain at their posts and not come to the capital at his death. He died in the following year, 1399, at the age of seventy-one, having ruled the empire for more than thirty years. He was buried at Nanking, and his stately tomb forms one of the sights of that city, visited yearly by people of all nations.

The appointment of Hung Wu's grandson to the throne was not received with favour by the other relatives, and his position was contested by force of arms. With this, however, we have nothing to do here ; Hung Wu himself being the subject of our sketch. The Ming Dynasty was firmly established and continued its rule until the invasion of the Manchu Tartars nearly three hundred years after. One of these Manchu Emperors, himself of great fame, said of Hung Wu in his History of the Ming Dynasty that he possessed most of the virtues and few of the vices of mankind. He was brave, patient under suffering, far-seeing, studious of his people's welfare, and generous and forbearing towards his enemies.

The Ming Dynasty counted amongst its rulers men of ability and worth, and it has a place in the hearts of the Chinese people second only to that of the Han, but of all its Emperors there are none whose memory is held in such esteem as Hung Wu the Beggar King.



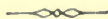
STELE AT MING TOMBS, NANKING.





## WU SAN-KUEI

### THE PEOPLE'S GENERAL.



THE Manchu conquerors of China were, in the seventeenth century, an insignificant tribe of Tartars, living north of the Liaotung Peninsula. They were destined to become famous through the advent of one of their number, who proved himself to be a man of exceptional courage and physical strength, and who by his influence and might succeeded in forming the scattered and often opposing clans into a formidable army. In the early years of the seventeenth century this army overran the Liaotung Peninsula and, gathering courage by repeated success, finally marched towards the great empire of China and, conquering all before it, almost reached the Great Wall before the Chinese had fully awakened to their danger. As has often been the case, in the history of empires, the Chinese themselves at first despised their opponents, considering them little more than half-civilized nomads, but when serious attempts were made to check the progress of the Manchus, the Chinese found themselves fighting against well-equipped warriors, accustomed to conquer.

The Manchus received their first check at the fortress of Ningyuan, which was held by a capable general named Chung Huan. Repeated attempts were made to subdue this stronghold, but all were equally futile, and at last the Manchu leader determined to leave this place in his rear, unconquered, and march on to Peking. This time he was not successful in taking the Chinese capital and was obliged to retreat once more into Manchuria, but not without having secured the downfall of the defender of Ningyuan by intrigue. Chung Huan was suspected by his Emperor, recalled from the fortress and thrown into prison, from whence he never emerged. The successor

of Chung Huan was a native of Liaotung, a man of exceptional ability, of splendid courage, and one who was popular with his soldiers, a man who in after years upheld the best traditions of the Chinese empire, and whose name to-day is a household word in every corner of the land. Wu San-kuei, proved himself worthy in the first instance to follow Chung Huan, and so long as he remained in the fortress of Ningyuan, the Manchus were unable to accomplish their designs. Other strongholds fell into their hands, but with Ningyuan unconquered, and commanded by Wu, they were not in a position to inflict a blow at the capital of China.

Meanwhile the power of the Ming rulers was declining. The dynasty that had been so brilliantly inaugurated by Hung Wu, was in its dotage and, after a life of two hundred and fifty years, seemed on the verge of destruction.

In many provinces of the empire the people were disaffected, and several formidable risings engaged the attention of the government. One by one these were suppressed, but no sooner was one district pacified, than another rose, and the spirit of discontent was rife. It was at this time that the great insurrection under Li Tzu-cheng assumed threatening proportions, and soon accomplished the downfall of the dynasty, leaving the Manchus a vacant throne on which to establish their own monarch.

The rebellion under the noted Li had begun in 1640 in the province of Shensi. This robber chief, with an army of insurgents, marched on Kai Fung and, after a long siege, succeeded in taking the city by calling in the aid of the waters of the Yellow River and causing an awful loss of life amongst the besieged and also his own soldiers. Here he assumed royal insignia and proceeded to march on Peking. By the time he had reached the capital, his army was a large one, and he was successful in taking the city, entering in to find that the last of the Ming Emperors who ruled there had committed suicide in despair.

When the unfortunate Ming Emperor had realised the extent of his danger, he had sent to the fortress of Ning-yuan, commanding Wu San-kuei to march at once to his help and save the Imperial city from destruction. Wu, leaving a small garrison in the stronghold, at once complied with the Emperor's orders and marched towards the capital. No doubt other motives, besides concern for the dynasty, influenced Wu and made him proceed quickly on his errand of succour. Before leaving Peking for Ning-yuan, a friend of his had presented him with a beautiful slave girl, whose charms had won the heart of the general. Hearing that Peking was besieged, he was naturally anxious to save her from outrage and massacre, and accordingly obeyed the Emperor's orders with alacrity. Whilst on his way to the capital the news came that he was too late; the city had been taken and the Emperor Tsung Chen had ended his life. Just about the same time Wu received a letter from his father, who held a public position in Peking, intreating him to submit to the rebel leader and tender to him his allegiance, pointing out the evil consequences to his family if this was not done. Wu San-kuei, loyal to the Ming Dynasty, was not inclined to accede to his father's wishes; it was not in him to offer his services to a successful bandit. At the same time he was uncertain what to do, for the royal house seemed to have fallen for ever; there was no worthy successors to restore the fortunes of the once famous dynasty. His uncertainty, however, was not of long duration. In the midst of his wavering he received the news that his favourite slave girl had been given to one of the rebel officers as part of the spoil of the conquered city. This news decided Wu, and thus once more in the history of nations the outcome of great events rested upon a woman. Mad with rage the great general swore enmity against the rebel leader Li, and turned his attention to the task of humiliating him, and if possible destroying him.

During Wu's absence from the fortress of Ningyuan, the Manchus who were only waiting for an opportunity, attacked and captured the place, thus reducing the last of the strongholds between them and the capital. This placed Wu at a disadvantage, for having already refused allegiance to the rebel in Peking and now unable to return to Ningyuan, he was left stranded with the dying fortunes of the Mings in his hands. In this dilemma he soon made his decision. Anxious above all things to rid Peking of the insurgents, and no doubt with the hope of restoring the royal house, he wrote a letter to the Manchu prince asking his aid in the attempt to destroy the rebels. The Manchus realising their opportunity, acceded to Wu's wishes, and accordingly marched southwards.

Li Tzu-cheng, hearing of the alliance, at once determined to attack Wu, and forthwith marched to meet him with a large force. Hoping, however, that his antagonist would be won over by threats or promises, Li took with him the father of Wu, who up to this time had been spared by the rebel chief. When the armies were drawn up opposite each other in order of battle, Li caused the father of Wu to be led out in sight of the troops, and sent a message to the general to the effect that if he did not submit, his father would be executed before his eyes. Of this part of the story there are conflicting accounts. Some tell us that the old man entreated his son to lay down his arms, but that Wu's personal grievance against Li caused him to turn a deaf ear to the cries of his father, forgetting his duty as a son in his desire for revenge. Others tell us that Wu San-kuei besought his father not to blame him for holding out against an usurper, and that the father with true nobility of character encouraged his son in his decision, choosing rather to die than see such a deflection from the path of duty. Whichever may be the true account, certain it is that Wu San-kuei refused to submit to the rebel Li, and the father of the noted general was executed before his eyes in presence of

the contending armies. Needless to say this act of violence filled Wu with bitter hatred for the rebel leader ; it was now war to the knife. Li was anxious to engage Wu's troops at once, but the general adopted Fabian tactics, delaying his opponent until the arrival of the Manchus who were then at hand. The battle, however, began, and at the first, owing to the superior numbers of the rebel army, it seemed as though Wu would lose the day, but when his defeat seemed inevitable, a contingent of the Manchu cavalry came upon the scene and made such a furious onslaught that the rebels were quickly routed. Wu's army pursued the flying insurgents, and for several miles slaughtered them by thousands. About thirty thousand of Li's men fell in that awful fight. Li Tzu-cheng, seeing that all was lost, fled with a band of soldiers to Peking, and feeling that he could not hold the city, set fire to the Imperial Palace, ordered the execution of all the members of Wu's family and, with a considerable amount of plunder, fled towards the west, gathering as he went the garrisons of the conquered towns he had left on his march to Peking. Wu San-kuei, filled with a great hatred, relentlessly pursued the flying robber chief. From city to city, from province to province, Wu held on his course, determined to destroy his enemy. Li Tzu-cheng, gathering courage at the sight of his adherents, determined to make a stand against Wu, and another great battle was fought, but at the end of the day the issue seemed uncertain ; neither army able to claim victory. Li, however, had lost forty thousand men, and doubting his ability to continue the struggle, retreated during the night. After this, disaster after disaster overtook him, and by the time he had reached the province of Shensi his army had dwindled down to a handful of followers. He was compelled to take to the hills, where he held out with a few of his band, but being driven by hunger into the plains was surprised and shot. When Wu San-kuei arrived in



Shensi he had the satisfaction of seeing his enemy no longer able to give further trouble. Thus ended the career of a man who, possessing few good qualities, a mere bloodthirsty robber, came very near establishing himself on the throne of the empire of China.

After the overthrow of Li Tzu-cheng, Wu San-kuei returned to Peking, only to find that the Manchus had established themselves in power and were proclaiming a new dynasty. This was more than Wu had bargained for, but it was now beyond his power to alter the course of events. He had invited the aid of the Manchus to drive away the usurper Li, but probably had not counted on their seizing the vacant throne. The Manchus endeavoured to propitiate Wu and tried to engage his services. They gave him a title and other honours, and in many ways showed their appreciation of his military prowess and his suppression of the rebellion. Wu, realising that no capable ruler could be found belonging to the late royal house, became reconciled to the new Manchu rule and threw in his lot with the Tartar dynasty. The action of Wu has been much criticised and, viewed in some aspects, it is hard to reconcile with his professed loyalty to the Ming Dynasty, but, however that may be, his countrymen of the present age hold his name in affection and esteem as one who was true to the ill-fated house.

And now commenced the Manchu conquest of China. Attempts were made at Nanking to re-establish the rule of the Mings, but the representative of that race, Fu Wang, did not possess the qualities necessary for the occasion. Instead of realising his responsibility, and endeavouring to restore the fortunes of his house, he made his position the means of gratifying his own desires for pleasure. At this juncture Wu San-kuei showed signs of dissatisfaction with the Manchu rule, and Fu Wang tried to secure his services, but Wu, realising that Fu Wang was too weak to succeed in his projects, refused. Had he been a



capable leader, not only Wu San-kuei, but most of the Chinese officials, would have rallied under his banner. The Manchus tried at first to obtain the ascendancy by pacific means, but as these failed, they determined to establish their rule by the sword. Nanking was soon taken. Fu Wang committed suicide, and the southern provinces sooner or later submitted to the conquerors. Other scions of the Ming family attempted in various places to make a stand and restore the dynasty, but they were all doomed to failure, and before long the entire empire was under the sway of the Tartars.

During the Manchu campaign Wu San-kuei was engaged in pacifying the Western provinces. In this he was successful, and extended his authority into the province of Yunnan. Here far away from the seat of government, he seems to have exercised a power that soon caused considerable alarm at the Manchu court. The conquerors of China, not ungrateful to him for his great services, had conferred upon him the title of prince and had made him Viceroy of Yunnan and the adjacent territory. Wu exercised a great influence over his subjects, and they speedily settled down to follow their ordinary pursuits and vocations in peace. Trade increased and a considerable revenue was the result. He refused to have Manchu soldiers in his garrisons; all his troops being Chinese. It may be that he had designs and schemes of his own against the rulers he had elected to serve; anyhow he became practically independent of Manchu authority. For a long time he was in the position of an official apparently loyal to the throne, but under the suspicion of the government. As his popularity and influence increased the conquerors of the empire began to be afraid for their own security, but took no steps to deprive him of any of his power, thinking perhaps that he was getting old and would soon die. Had Wu declared himself against his masters the Manchus, or proclaimed his own independence, they might have acted,

but there was no reason to doubt his loyalty beyond the fact that he was slowly making for himself a position which would enable him to act independently of them. In connection with the conquest of the southern provinces, events had occurred which showed his allegiance to the Manchu power. One of the last of the Ming princes, Kuei Wang, having suffered defeat, fled into Burmah, and having secured the co-operation of the king of that country, endeavoured once more to restore his family to the throne. He was opposed by Wu and his army conquered and he himself taken prisoner. This unfortunate prince was led to the execution ground, probably surprised and disappointed that Wu San-kuei in this matter was acting loyally towards the Manchu government.

It was not until the second Manchu Emperor was on the throne that steps were taken to reduce the power and influence of Wu. This sagacious ruler became thoroughly alarmed at Wu's popularity, and determined to test his loyalty. He was confirmed in his suspicions of the genuineness of the viceroy by the statements of other officials accusing Wu of designs against the government, but these statements were the outcome of jealousy on the part of those who had not received so many imperial favours. Feeling that the new dynasty would not be secure if Wu's influence increased, K'ang She, the Emperor, sent an invitation to Wu to present himself at court in Peking. This was a reasonable request, and if Wu had complied with it, the course of events must needs have had a different issue, but the viceroy refused to leave his post, excusing himself on the ground of old age. Such an excuse, however, would not be accepted by the emperor, who knew as well as others that it was not Wu's real reason for such an action. There is little doubt that Wu never intended to submit himself to an examination in the capital such as would have been the result of his visit, but he was confirmed in his attitude of independence

by another circumstance. One of the practices of the time was that all great officials should have a son or other near relative at court, as a hostage for good conduct and loyalty to the reigning family. Wu San-kuei had a son in Peking who was on intimate terms with the members of the royal house; in fact his wife was half sister to the Emperor. This son, knowing the feeling of the court with regard to his father, wrote to him advising him not to accede to the Emperor's request to proceed to Peking. Wu San-kuei no doubt was confirmed in the belief that he was under suspicion, and of course took care not to be caught in any trap that might be set for him.

The Emperor, however, was determined to know the real position of Wu, and accordingly sent two trusted officials to him demanding his presence at the capital. These officials at the same time would see for themselves how far Wu's excuse of old age was a real one, and also be able to gather information as to the number of troops he possessed and the quality of his defences. The viceroy received the envoys with all the honours due to their office, and they for some time were unable to decide definitely as to Wu's attitude towards the throne. But at last they were left no longer in doubt. Wu listened for a while to the oft-repeated requests of the envoys for the pleasure of his company to Peking, and at last broke out in wrath upon them, repudiating the Manchu authority and declaring his intention to assert his own. Said he: "Do they think at the court that I am so blind as not to see the motive in this order of summons? I shall indeed present myself there if you continue to press me, but it will be at the head of twice forty thousand men. You may go on before, but I hope to follow you very shortly with such a force as will speedily remind those in power of the debt they owe me." This was a declaration of war, and the envoys lost no time in getting back to the

capital to acquaint the Emperor. Judging from Wu's words it would seem that his revolt was the outcome of neglect on the part of the government to recognise fully his services in the first years of conquest. True he was rewarded with honours and position, but these do not seem to have satisfied him, probably because the Manchus having once acknowledged their debt, felt that they were no longer under any obligation, and had to a certain extent flung him on one side. The facts of history make it difficult to understand Wu's actions, but however puzzling to us, the Chinese seem to have credited him with the best of motives, and his name to-day is held in high esteem as the result. Wu, in dismissing the envoys of K'ang She in such a manner, made it evident to all that he had broken loose from Manchu authority, and knowing that sooner or later he would be taken to task for his action, he prepared for war. This was no difficult matter for him, because he wielded such a powerful influence over the peoples of his territory, and many were willing and ready to flock to his standard. In a short time he had gathered a large army, and the greater part of South China was on his side.

In the meantime events were taking place at Peking that were calculated to widen more than ever the breach between the Emperor and his viceroy. Whilst Wu was rallying his army in the south, his son in the capital was ill advised enough to take part in a plot hatched for the purpose of destroying the Manchu dynasty. A large number of slaves, perhaps incited by hopes of liberty, were engaged in this treasonable transaction, binding themselves by oath not to divulge their secrets. The New Year was the time appointed for the conspiracy to act, when a general massacre of Manchus was intended. Unfortunately for the plotters the secret was found out, and they were all speedily executed; Wu San-kuei's son amongst the number. This so incensed the Emperor that he was more

determined than ever to crush the man whose son had thus attempted his life.

This story of the plot is not accepted by all, for the simple reason that in China a son might easily come to an untimely end if he were unfortunate enough to have a father in arms against the central authority. It is in accordance with Asiatic methods of rule to punish the innocent for the guilty. Whether the story of the conspiracy is true or not, the fact remains that Wu's son was executed, which event more than ever embittered the struggle between Emperor and his formidable opponent. The caution with which the Emperor K'ang She proceeded to overthrow the power of Wu, is one of the evidences of that monarch's sagacity and wisdom. He knew that the viceroy was exceedingly popular, and that the new Manchu dynasty was not yet too firmly established, and this led him to act warily. He began by issuing an edict ordering the disbanding of all the Chinese troops serving under the various Chinese viceroys in the empire. This was done in order to find out the strength of these satraps and to assure himself of their attitude towards him. At this juncture, however, he was not able to proceed further with the humiliation of the viceroy, but had to turn his attention to the northern border of the empire, where the Mongols, under a chief named Satchar, taking advantage of the disturbed state of the country, were preparing for an invasion. With characteristic energy K'ang She despatched his troops towards the north, and before the Mongols, could strike a blow, the leader was captured and the threatened danger averted. After this the Emperor sent his soldiers into the eastern and southern provinces, and by force of arms once more established Manchu authority, where Wu's influence weakened it. This accomplished, he turned his attention to the subjugation of Wu San-kuei, and although his troops had no great successes on the field of battle, the Chinese commanders were so much at variance amongst themselves that ere long

he was able to drive out Wu's armies from Hunan. The evacuation of this province by the viceroy's soldiers, was the first defeat that Wu had experienced, and unfortunately it was the forerunner of many more. In fact ever after that disastrous retreat, the fortunes of Wu declined. His influence waned, many of his soldiers and their officers deserted, and gradually weakened he had to fall back with a greatly diminished force on his own territory in Yunnan. For two years after the Emperor was able to concentrate his attention on the destruction of Wu's power, the struggle went on, but at the end of that time Wu San-kuei died, and the victory for the Emperor's forces was then practically assured. Wu Shu-fan, the grandson of Wu San-kuei, endeavoured to hold on in Yunnan, but with no success. By 1681 the province had been taken by the Manchus, with the exception of the capital city, where Wu was making a last stand. This city was besieged by the conquerors, and when it fell and the garrison were massacred, Wu Shu-fan committed suicide in order to escape a worse fate. His head was taken to Peking and placed upon the city gate, and such was the relentless hatred of the Manchu leader, that he disinterred the body of Wu San-kuei and scattered the bones throughout the provinces that had acknowledged his rule. Thus was secured the pacification of China; the Tartar conquest was complete and the new dynasty firmly established.

Wu San-kuei is one of the most conspicuous characters in Chinese history. A military leader of no mean order, possessed of superior courage and energy he has won for himself a name in the annals of his country. But not merely are his deeds recorded by verbose historians in unreadable tomes, they are sung in the people's ballads, they are reproduced on the stage, they are talked over in the cottages of the humble, and in every part of the Chinese empire the name of Wu San-kuei is cherished and held in highest esteem.



## KOXINGA

### PIRATE AND PATRIOT

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**I**N the early years of the seventeenth century, a young man named Cheng Chih-lung migrated from his home in the province of Fukien to Macao, at the mouth of the Canton river. Being of a roving disposition he determined to see other places, and accordingly went to Manila. From Manila he sailed to Japan, and there seems to have found a port congenial to his tastes, for he married a Japanese girl and settled down to a life of business. In 1623 a son was born to him, who was afterwards destined to make his mark on the page of his country's history and to turn the tide of events in the Far East. Cheng Chih-lung was a capable and shrewd man, but not troubled with any scruples of conscience, determined to make his fortune in any way that presented itself. By his ability he made himself almost indispensable to his Japanese employer, fully gaining his confidence and trust, but finally betrayed that trust by an act of dishonesty that was but the beginning of a long series in his after career of crime. He induced his employer to send him with a rich cargo of goods across to China. Arriving at Foochow he effected the sale of the goods, and with the proceeds fitted out a fleet of junks for the purpose of piracy on the coast and on the high seas. A man of energy and possessing a marked individuality, he soon became the leader of a notorious band of pirates, whose depredations on the Chinese coast brought consternation to the people and deep anxiety to the government. The reigning Emperor, realising his impotence to check the ravages of the pirate, in true Chinese fashion, endeavoured to conciliate him by the offer of certain favours, and conferred upon him the title of admiral. Cheng Chih-lung in this capacity was still a pirate, and

although posing as one of the defenders of the empire, yet at the same time was filling his pockets with stolen gold. His son, Cheng Kung, who had been born to him in Japan, joined him, and for a considerable time served under him, receiving a training that contributed to his fame in after years. This lad was possessed of exceptional ability, and attracted the attention of the Ming Emperor by taking his degree, at the competitive examinations, at the early age of fifteen. For this he was rewarded ; the Emperor bestowing upon him his own personal surname of Chu, which incident is responsible for the name by which he is most widely known amongst people of other nations. Cheng Kung, having the Emperor's name, was called by the people Kuo Shing-a, or Possessor of the National Surname, which appellation has been corrupted into Koshinga or Koxinga.

During the conquest of China by the Manchus, the survivors of the Ming family endeavoured to re-establish their rule in the southern provinces. Nanking was chosen as the seat of government, and for a time Fu Wang held that city, but the Manchus finally conquered it and the Ming ruler committed suicide. In Fukien another of the ill-fated princes tried to make a stand, and for a time was fairly successful, being aided by Cheng Chih-lung, whose forces were able to check the Manchu aggression. Cheng was ambitious, and having gained considerable power by his piratical practices, saw his way towards establishing his son on the throne of the distracted empire. With this in view, he approached the Ming prince, asking him to recognise his son Cheng Kung as heir, but this the prince refused. Cheng Chih-lung, chagrined at this refusal, withdrew his help from the Ming ruler, and soon after went over to the side of the Manchus.

The Manchu Emperor, knowing something of the acts and prowess of Cheng Chih-lung, felt that even as an ally he was formidable, and would require watching, and not long after, sent a request to him to appear at court in

Peking. The admiral, not doubting the sincerity of the request, presented himself before the Emperor, and was at once made a prisoner and kept in the capital. The Manchus being victorious in Fukien, and the Ming prince having retreated south, Cheng Kung, or as we shall now call him Koxinga, being captain of the fleet, proceeded southwards to the Pescadore Islands in the Formosan Strait, and there made for himself a strong position, intending to hold it against all comers. The imprisonment of his father at Peking had filled him with hatred against the Manchu conquerors, and he determined to fight them to the death, giving what help he could to the dying cause of the now fast falling dynasty.

The conquest of the province of Kuangtung had proved a difficult matter for the Manchus, on account of the Ming family making a determined stand to retrieve their fortunes. The Tartars were successful at first in capturing Canton, but soon after were driven from the city, and for a time the Chinese were in the ascendancy. Another attack was made by the Manchu, and the city once more fell into their hands; this time to be kept for the Emperor. Many were the Chinese fugitives who sought refuge on the water, and Koxinga, who was near, received them on board his fleet.

The Tartar conquerors of the Chinese empire had no fleet, and if they had had, were not at home on the sea, and so they were unable to follow up their land victories, leaving the Chinese secure on their junks. The daring and activity of Koxinga were the admiration of his countrymen, and the more he harassed and injured the Manchus, the more he became their idol. He gathered together large forces with which he attacked the Tartars on the Fukien coast, taking several large towns and causing dismay amongst the ranks of the Manchu warriors. Cruising along the coast, his fleet was ever busy, and the whole seaboard from the Yangtsze to Macao suffered from his attacks. Two of his most signal successes were the

taking of the towns of Taichou and Wenchow in the year 1657.

The character and acts of Koxinga are the subjects of controversy. Some hold that he was a pirate pure and simple, and that his depredations and attacks on the Chinese coast were those of a freebooter, with no ends but his own to serve. Others look upon him as a patriot, an upholder of the Ming dynasty, and one engaged in a struggle for freedom and the rights of his countrymen against their northern foes. There is no doubt that many of his engagements were purely piratical ones, but it may have been that at the same time he saw it possible to strike a severe blow at Manchu aggression, and in this way acted the part of a lover of his country. It is possible that he saw his way to a throne that was slipping from the grasp of the weak scions of a decadent family. This gives colour to the supreme effort he made to capture the town of Nanking from the Tartar invaders, an effort which proved unsuccessful and which for ever rid the more northerly seaboard of his presence. During his successful raids he had established his headquarters on the island of Tsung-ming at the mouth of the Yangtze river. Collecting all his forces, in 1659 he sailed up the great river with the intention of attacking the ancient Ming capital. He seems to have chosen an opportune time, for the garrison at Nanking was then weak, and there were chances of a popular rising that would ensure his success. In fact he did not altogether depend on his own armaments, but trusted to the co-operation of the people, and in so doing failed in his purpose to subdue the city. He waited for the right moment, and waited too long. The garrison was reinforced, and the people were afraid to rebel. Seeing the opportunity lost, Koxinga determined to venture all on a united attack, but was forestalled by the Manchu leader of the garrison. Whilst Koxinga's troops were revelling, the Manchus attacked them by night and inflicted upon them irretriev-

able loss. Three thousand men were killed and over five hundred of the ships were burnt. Thus were the hopes of Koxinga crushed, and he retreated once more to the seaboard to carry on his piratical work.

Koxinga in these years harried the coast to such an extent that the government had at last to resort to desperate measures. The Manchus seemed incapable of checking his depredations, and the only thing they could do was to order the inhabitants of over eighty townships on the coasts of Fukien and Kuangtung to remove some ten miles inland, so as to be safe from the attacks of the freebooters. Such a proceeding seems strange to us, and we are compelled to assent to the opinion of Dr. Williams "that a government which could compel its maritime subjects to leave their houses and towns and go into the country at great loss, might have easily armed and equipped a fleet to have defended those towns and homes."

In the year 1661, the first Manchu Emperor, Shun Chih passed away, and as his successor was only eight years of age, the government was placed in the hands of regents. Whilst Shun Chih had lived, the life of Cheng Chih-lung, Koxinga's father, had been safe, but now that a new *régime* was in force, he fell upon evil days and was led out to execution. This act more than ever fanned the flame of hatred in Koxinga's breast, and he determined to oppose the Manchus as much as possible, but his great opportunity had gone by with the defeat at Nanking. Seeing that there remained nothing for him on the mainland, he turned his attention to the island of Formosa and laid his plans for the conquest of that territory. But he had a new enemy to face, and this is the fact that makes the last exploits of Koxinga of such interest to us in the west. It was the time of Dutch aggression in the east, and Formosa was practically in their hands. Some forty years before, the Dutch, having captured Malacca, the Spice Islands, and other places, had attacked the Portuguese in Macao, but had been

repulsed. Finding it impossible to establish themselves there, they had retired to the Pescadore Islands and fortified them, endeavouring to divert the coast trade between Chinese and Portuguese into their own hands. This effort was not successful, and soon after, in 1624 they went over to the island of Formosa, and with little trouble made themselves masters of the place. They erected a fort and named it Zelandia, at the place where the town of Taiwan now stands. From this centre they spread out, and before long a large number of the villages with the northern ports of Tamsui and Kelung were brought under their control. Before the Dutch invasion, Japanese traders were living on the island, but these were induced to retire, and some Spaniards that had established themselves in the north were expelled, thus leaving the whole of Formosa in the power of the Hollanders. Unfortunately for the Dutch they were not wise in their treatment of the aborigines, nor of the many Chinese settlers who had come over from the mainland during the last days of the fallen dynasty, and this no doubt helped to bring about their downfall.

Koxinga, having lost all in his attack upon Nanking, was engaged in preparing another armament, with the object of capturing the island of Formosa. He went carefully to work, and whilst carrying on his piratical trade in a small way, he was slowly influencing the Chinese settled in Formosa in his favour. By and by he submitted to them his plans for the conquest of the island and expressed his confidence in their readiness to help. The Dutch, aware of the prowess of Koxinga, had been strengthening their fortifications for some time, but eventually feeling themselves safe, had sent back the forces that had been stationed there for their protection. This proved Koxinga's opportunity, and in 1661, when his plans were ripe, he landed on the island with an army of 25,000 men and took up a strong position. He was soon able to cut off communication between the different



forts, and one by one they fell into his hands. The brave Governor Coyett did all in his power to resist the invasion, but he was practically deserted by his countrymen in Batavia, who were able to help, and received no reinforcements for his garrison until it was too late. Koxinga, however, did not find it an easy matter to subdue the white traders. The fort of Zelandia held out very bravely, and Koxinga had to establish a blockade to it. The accounts of this time of bloodshed and massacre are sad reading. The Dutch during their occupation of the island had not been indifferent to the spiritual needs of the people, and missionaries had established schools and churches in several places. The work, though carried on under difficulties, was good, and a fair number of mission converts was the result of the missionaries' labours. Koxinga and his troops, whilst investing the fortress, put most of the converts and missionaries to the sword and left a track of blood throughout the island. In connection with this time it is worth recording an act of heroism on the part of one of the missionaries, which has placed him amongst the noble army of martyrs for the cause of Christ in China. During the conflict with Koxinga, over five hundred of the Dutch fell into his hands as prisoners. Many of these were barbarously put to death, whilst numbers of the women and girls were given to the Chinese commanders and common soldiers. Amongst these prisoners was a missionary, the Rev. Antonius Hambroek, his wife and several of his children. Two of his daughters were in the fort. Koxinga sent Mr. Hambroek to the fort to propose terms for surrender, with the information that if the terms were not accepted, the prisoners would be massacred. The courageous missionary whilst giving Koxinga's message, used every possible argument to encourage the defenders of the fort to hold out to the last. Governor Coyett gave him permission to stay in the fort if he chose, but the noble man, although knowing that death awaited him, would not stay, but elected to return

and suffer with his dear ones. It is a touching story how that his daughters endeavoured by tearful appeals to persuade him to remain, and how he had to tear himself from their affectionate embrace to go to his doom. Koxinga, angered at the refusal of the governor to capitulate, proceeded to slay his prisoners ; amongst whom the noble missionary met his fate.

Towards the end of the siege of Fort Zelandia, a force of ten ships and seven hundred men arrived from Batavia, but these proved unable to turn the tide of affairs. Listening to advice that proved disastrous, Governor Coyett let the forces go for a time, in the hope of a larger squadron appearing later on. Koxinga seeing this, redoubled his efforts, and finally the fort fell, and with its fall ended the Dutch occupation of Formosa. The siege had lasted nine months and 1,600 men had lost their lives.

The loss of Formosa induced the Dutch to attack Amoy, where Koxinga still had a garrison. A fleet of twelve ships was sent, and the commander tried to enter into negotiations with the Manchus to effect a clean sweep of the pirate's followers from that city. The Manchus refused to form an alliance, and the commander of the Dutch fleet attacked Koxinga's forces, burning his ships and destroying his soldiers in true buccaneer fashion. He retired to Batavia after inflicting great loss on the pirate's armament, but returned again the following year and was successful in taking Amoy, and in this way completing the subjugation of that province to the Manchus. The authorities in recognition of help, granted him two junks with which to augment his fleet for the re-taking of Formosa, but this scheme proving beyond his power he returned to the south.

Koxinga established himself in Formosa as king of that island, but was not long permitted to enjoy his regality. He died soon after the conquest, from the effects of a fit of passion manifested against his son, at the early age of thirty-nine. This was in 1662.

After the death of Koxinga, his son succeeded as ruler of the island. The Emperor K'ang She, however, having pacified the Chinese empire, turned his attention to Formosa and sought to bring it under the rule of the Manchus. A fleet of three hundred ships was sent, and after several naval engagements the troops landed on the shores of the island and completed the conquest for the Tartars. And so finally Formosa became a Chinese province through the instrumentality of Koxinga, who had driven out the Dutch traders. K'ang She, no doubt elated with his success, felt partially reconciled towards the memory of Koxinga, and instead of calling him a rebel against the Manchus, declared that he was an upholder of the Ming cause, and as such a patriot instead of a pirate. In the year 1675 a memorial was presented to the throne asking for permission to build a temple to the honour of Koxinga, and permission was granted.



# K'ANG SHE

## THE GREATEST OF THE MANCHUS.

WHEN Shun Chih, the first of the Manchu Emperors was on his deathbed, he summoned the four leading officials of the empire to his side and said: "I have a son of eight years old, and though he is not the eldest, his rare intelligence makes me hope he will govern the empire well. Let him therefore be my successor. To you four, whose fidelity is known to me, I recommend him with confidence." The dying Emperor then appointed the four officials as regents to administer the affairs of the government until the boy selected should be of age. The boy was Shuan Yeh, who on his occupation of the throne took the title of K'ang She, and proving worthy of his father's confidence, ruled the Chinese empire for sixty-one years, leaving behind him a name honoured by all. He ranks amongst the great rulers of China and takes a worthy place in the roll of the world's potentates.

K'ang She was only eight when he came to the throne, and of course, could not take much interest in the affairs of the empire, but even in this time of childhood he gave promise of an able and sagacious man, one who would be better able to fill the position waiting for him, because of the nature of his education. His forefathers had been warriors, members of a nomadic tribe more acquainted with forest lore of Manchuria than the literature of a conquered nation. His father, Shun Chih, had patronised and favoured the Jesuit missionaries in Peking, and one of them was tutor to the young boy, opening up to his enquiring mind the mysteries of Western knowledge. And so K'ang She, only removed from savage ancestry by a few generations, was learned in all the wisdom of the Chinese and not ignorant

of the higher branches of knowledge taught in European schools.

The patronage of the Jesuits by the deceased Emperor, had been a source of jealousy and ill-feeling amongst the regents and other officials, and when Shun Chih died, the missionaries fell upon evil times. Charges were brought against them which resulted in their dispersion ; several of the most prominent, among whom was Adam Schaal, K'ang She's tutor, were thrown into prison and condemned to death. Although the sentence was not carried out, the sufferings of the prisoners were so great that Father Schaal succumbed to his injuries, dying in his prison at the age of seventy-eight. These and other acts of tyranny were indulged in by the regents, but they were ended in a few years by the decision of the boy Emperor to rule himself, and in 1667 he dissolved the regency and assumed the reins of government. He was only fourteen when this took place, but already he was manifesting an intelligent interest in the affairs of his people, and no doubt was helped by the guidance and influence of his mother.

One of the first acts of the young Emperor was to redress the wrongs of the Jesuits. Knowing the determined opposition on the part of many of the officials, he was not able to grant too many privileges, but the missionaries found a friend in K'ang She, and during his long reign they were often assured of his interest. Unfortunately that interest abated, mainly on account of their unseemly disputes and arrogant behaviour.

When K'ang She had reached the age of eighteen he began to realise that his throne was by no means firmly established. The Tartar conquest was a matter of recent history; he himself was only the second Emperor of a new dynasty, and he was brought face to face with the fact that all the elements of an upheaval were present in the empire. It remained for him to consolidate and establish on a firm basis the new government by an alien race.

From this time to the end of his reign he was constantly engaged in war, but such were his abilities that whilst conducting a series of great campaigns, he was able at the same time to attend to the affairs of the people and to administer a government that resulted in their happiness and prosperity. With K'ang She was established a *régime* that, although defective from our point of view, has proved equal to any under which the Chinese people have ever been placed.

K'ang She's first trouble began with Wu San-kuei, the valiant ex-general and viceroy of Yunnan. This old soldier, chagrined at the apparent ingratitude of the Manchus, was daily gaining power and influence in South China and ready to assert his independence. Tales came to K'ang She's ear of his growing power, which rendered him uneasy, the more so because for the last ten years. Wu had been absent from the court of Peking, K'ang She sent a request for his appearance, but Wu begged to be excused. The Emperor more than ever sure that things were not satisfactory, sent envoys to the viceroy, and these came quickly back with the news that Wu San-kuei was a rebel and that he was preparing for war. K'ang She at once made preparations to meet him, but whilst so doing, had to turn his attention to the plotters against his life, amongst whom Wu's son was a prominent figure. The conspiracy squashed, K'ang She was about to march to oppose the viceroy, when news came of a formidable movement by the Mongols on the northern border. A chief called Satchar, thinking that K'ang She was embarrassed, took the opportunity to invade Chinese territory. The Emperor, quick to perceive his danger, at once despatched troops, and before Satchar had fairly set foot in the coveted territory, he was attacked and made prisoner, and the Mongol rising suppressed. This done, K'ang She once more turned his attention to Wu San-kuei, and sent his armies into the southern provinces. The death of Wu in 1679 practically ended the campaign and the Emperor breathed more freely.



The most southerly parts of the empire, however, were still in a state of disorder, and K'ang She's troops were kept busy in the work of pacification. When this was accomplished the Emperor decided to crush the power and influence of Koxinga's son in Formosa, and bring that island under his own rule. At this time the son of the noted pirate was king of the savage tribes and also of the Chinese settlers there, and of course owing no allegiance to the Chinese government. K'ang She prepared a fleet of three hundred ships, and these, with twelve thousand men on board, sailed for the Pescadores, where the pirates still had strongholds. After a hard fight they succeeded in taking the islands, and then proceeded to the larger island of Formosa. The natives submitted almost at once and the territory passed under the rule of the Manchus. Koxinga's son was sent to Peking, where the Emperor, instead of executing him, conferred upon him the title of duke.

And now that the Chinese empire was in a peaceable condition, the people made the best of their circumstances and quietly submitted to the Tartar sway. But K'ang She had more work to do. The nomadic tribes over the northern borders were constantly threatening the peace of the empire, and by periodic raids causing suffering and hardship to the Chinese peasants. K'ang She, remembering Satchar's invasion, thought that similar movements might again take place, and he accordingly took steps to ensure the safety of his people and also of his own throne. One of the most influential of the border tribes was that of the Khalkas, who boasted direct descent from Genghis Khan, the great Mongol conqueror. K'ang She determined to establish friendly relations with these people, and by means of letters and presents, succeeded in gaining their allegiance. This stroke of policy meant that all the Mongol tribes at least, would refrain from aggression and act as tributaries to the empire. But there were other tribes living further away that were not prepared to do as the Mongo's had done, amongst these notably

the Eleuths of Ili and Kashgaria. These, on hearing of the surrender of the Khalkas, determined to hold their own against an empire of which they knew very little beyond the fact that it was extending its power towards their borders. This decision was made the more easily because their chief, Galdan, was a man of unusual ability and prowess, who had made for himself a position by his energy and unscrupulous deeds. Galdan knew something of the Chinese by the fact of his having sent an embassy to Peking during Wu San-kuei's rebellion, but he had not the right estimate of their resources, nor did he know what manner of man K'ang She the Emperor was. This was the more clearly shown afterwards when, confident of his own power, he practically declared war against China and began his operations by attacking the Khalkas who had owned allegiance to the empire. Galdan was able for a considerable time to harass the Khalkas before K'ang She really knew anything of the matter, and even then was successful in concealing many of his movements. K'ang She, willing to try diplomatic measures, sent letters and also presents to the Eleuth chief, but was not able to induce him to make peace and yield his authority, and so finally he determined to settle the matter by the sword. He despatched a great army, which was successful in defeating the forces of Galdan, and the chief was constrained to sign a treaty of peace. This, however, did not last long, for Galdan, some time after his reverse, caused the envoys of K'ang She to be massacred, and thus drew upon himself the wrath of that potentate, who swore to punish him severely for his action. In a letter to Galdan, K'ang She wrote: "I sent one of the officers of my tribunal to be the bearer of words of peace, and your people, like mere savages, have committed the inhuman act of massacring him. I call upon you to judge whether an act so atrocious does not demand vengeance, and whether it can be approved of by a prince who ought to set his subjects an example of morality . . . . . What

ought I to think of conduct which proclaims you false to both your oath and your allegiance? I now desire to finally warn you that unless your repentance follows close upon your fault, I shall come with arms in my hands to exact from you the fullest reparation for so many outrages."

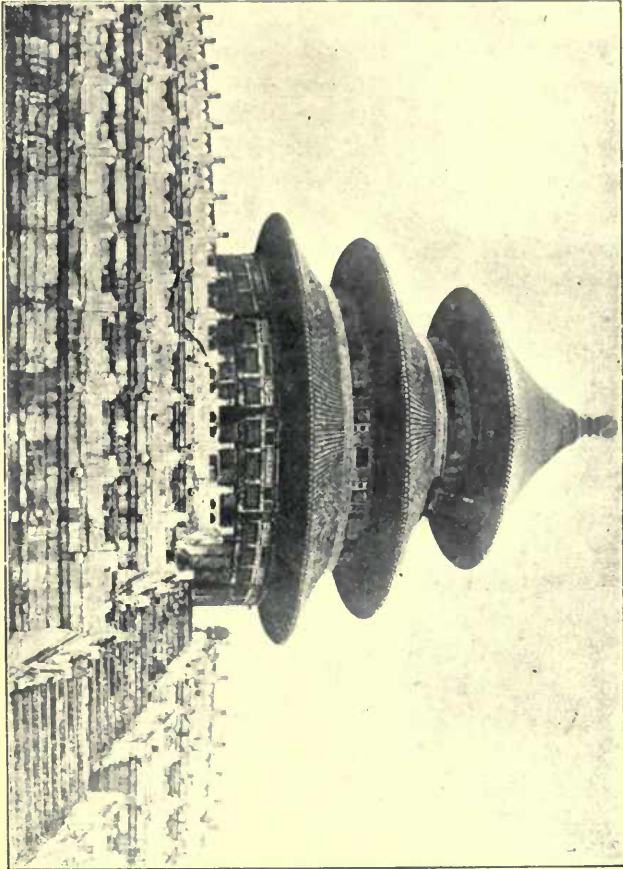
Galdan was in no wise willing to humble himself, and so K'ang She gathered together a great army of 150,000 men to make good his word. This army he divided into four companies, one of which he commanded in person. In order to make this campaign popular, and ensure its success, K'ang She offered special pay to the soldiers and undertook to provide for the widows and orphans of those who might be slain. He also provided a certain kind of armour that would withstand bullets and arrows, and had an artillery corps, in which camels were used to carry and support the guns during action. Before the first company under General Fei left for the war, K'ang She held a high court ceremony at Peking, during which the troops passed under review. The Emperor was seated in state, surrounded by officers of all ranks, and when all arrangements had been attended to, General Fei approached the throne and knelt before the Emperor, who handed him a goblet of wine, which he drank as a pledge of loyalty and as a toast to the success of the campaign. The other officers, in accordance with their rank, also knelt before the throne and, drinking the wine, retired to their respective regiments. After the pageant was over, the troops marched towards the north-west, inspired by the impressive scene they had just witnessed.

K'ang She was not long in following his general. He had been entreated not to expose his life in such a difficult undertaking as this promised to be, but he was determined to show an example of courage and endurance to his soldiers, and so made all preparations for his departure. Before leaving Peking he presented himself before the Altar of Heaven and invoked the blessing of Shang Ti, the Supreme Ruler, on his campaign. "Receive my

homage," he prayed, "and protect the humblest of your subjects, Sovereign Heaven, Supreme Ruler. With confidence but respect I invoke your aid in the war that I find myself compelled to undertake . . . . . My most ardent desire has ever been to see the peoples of my empire, and even foreign nations, enjoy all the advantages of peace. Galdan destroys my dearest hopes; he sows disorder everywhere, he tramples underfoot your laws and despises the commands of his sovereign, who holds your place here on earth . . . . I hold from you the right to make war upon the wicked. In order to fulfil this duty I am about to march at the head of my troops. Prostrate before you I implore your support, and I offer up this sacrifice animated with the hope of drawing down upon myself some of your most marked favours. But one vow I most resolutely formed, and that is to bestow the blessing of peace throughout the vast territory over which you have placed me."

This campaign of K'ang She was a tremendous undertaking, a task fraught with difficulty and danger, the magnitude of which cannot be properly appreciated by us. The Gobi desert had to be crossed, and K'ang She's march to subdue the Eleuth chief is one of the great achievements of the Manchu rulers of China. Arrived at the scene of action, the great army had sadly diminished in numbers, but it succeeded in routing the forces of Galdan, and that warrior had to secure safety in flight. He was never able afterwards to assert his authority, and died in obscurity in 1697.

K'ang She returned to Peking after the downfall of Galdan, but was not permitted to remain long in peace, and the rest of his years were spent in a struggle against Tsi Wang, a nephew of Galdan, who endeavoured to maintain the supremacy of the Eleuths. Tsi Wang sent an army into Thibet and captured Lhasa. As Thibet was under the suzerainty of China, K'ang She was obliged to despatch his forces to punish the invader, but they did



THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN, PEKING.





not meet with very great success, and for a long time the army of the Emperor was unable to subdue the daring chief. Thibet was saved to China, but it was not until the last year of K'ang She's long reign that victory was ensured and T'si Wang's army annihilated. But even this did not mean a complete subjugation of the warring tribes to the power of China; this was left for a later date when another great ruler sat on the throne.

Not only was K'ang She involved in the struggle with the tribes of Central Asia, but he also came into collision with an European power. Russia for some time had been extending her borders eastward and had erected a fortress at Albazin on the River Amur. Galdan, during his campaign, had tried to form an alliance with the Russians, but was not successful, partly on account of the energy and far-sightedness of K'ang She. The Emperor heard of the Russian advance and also of Galdan's overtures, and sent envoys to the Khalka territory to gain a clear knowledge of the situation. Two Roman Catholic priests travelled with the envoys, and were able to do much for the Emperor on account of their knowledge of both the Mongol and Russian languages. The accounts the envoys brought back showed K'ang She that in order to preserve his supremacy over that territory, he must check the progress of the Russians, and accordingly he commanded his armies to attack them. The Russians were not able to withstand the Emperor's troops, and the fortress fell. Those of the garrison who were spared, were taken as prisoners to Peking, where they were allowed to live. Most of them married Chinese wives and settled down there as Chinese citizens, and their descendants are to be seen to-day in that city. The Russians, however, were not driven away after the fall of Albazin, but they again occupied the dismantled fortress and held their ground. After several years of uncertainty the two Catholic priests, Gerbillon and Pereira, managed to open negotiations with the representatives of Russia, and in 1689 a

treaty was signed at Nerchinsk, on the Amur, which marked out that river as the boundary of the Russian empire. This was the first treaty that China concluded with an European power.

The outcome of this conflict with Russia was an attempt on the part of Peter the Great to open up diplomatic relations with China. An attempt had been made some thirty years before, but was unsuccessful, and the Czar determined to accomplish something to prevent further troubles like that which resulted in the taking of Albazin. He was doomed to disappointment, however; his ambassador, General Ides, returning to Russia without having secured an audience with the Emperor. In 1719 the Czar once more tried, and sent a mission, consisting of Captain Ismailieff, M. De Lang, Mr. Bell (an Englishman) and others. They carried an autograph letter from the Czar to the Emperor K'ang She. On their arrival in Peking they were received courteously, and were entertained in a house specially set apart for them by command of the Emperor. The former difficulty of prostration before the throne was raised, but on direct appeal to K'ang She it was waived, and the matter was settled by Ismailieff performing the ceremony before the Emperor whilst K'ang She's principal minister prostrated himself before the letter of the Czar. The audience was given and Captain Ismailieff returned to Russia elated at his success. The Czar was no less pleased, and at once fitted out a large caravan to proceed to Peking for the purposes of trade. But when the caravan arrived at the capital in 1721 the tide of events had turned. K'ang She was then very ill, and the anti-foreign officials in evidence. They refused admission to the caravan, and it had to return with the notification that all future intercourse with Russia would take place at the border.

K'ang She would never have gained the name of a wise and capable Emperor if his time had been all taken up with conquest. He might have had the reputation

of a soldier, but that is not always associated with wise government. Amidst wars and disputes, K'ang She did not neglect his empire; on the contrary he strove to secure the happiness and prosperity of his people, and was singularly successful. Through his efforts the Manchu rule was established and consolidated, and the people settled down under a government that spite of its defects has proved one of the best the country has ever known. K'ang She was a busy man, and, how he managed to attend to the multifarious affairs of the state, is indeed a wonder, but he also found time to make periodic tours through the provinces, in order to gain exact knowledge of the conditions under which his people were living. His care for them was shown in this, and his consideration for them was no less manifest, when in later years he gave up the practice of visiting the provinces on account of the amount of money spent to entertain him and his numerous retinue.

He endeavoured, as most great rulers have done, to secure the administration of justice in the law courts, and this means much in an Asiatic empire where such a thing is so often unobtainable. K'ang She seems to have had that quality that "becomes the throned monarch better than his crown," and his mercifulness is shown in the fact that during his long reign there were very few executions of criminals or offenders against the throne. He was a man whose private life seems to bear strict examination and who stands high amongst the rulers of Asia as an Emperor of great moral worth. Of course he had faults, and charges of avarice and vanity have been made against him, but he stands clear of the crimes that are so often laid at the door of men of unlimited power and influence.

Chinese and foreign writers have given us descriptions of K'ang She's personal appearance and of his habits and recreations. We are told by one who evidently had a great admiration for him that "his air is majestic, his

figure is excellently proportioned and above the middle height; all the features of the countenance are regular; his eyes bright and larger than is usual with his nation; the nose slightly curved and drooping at the point, and the few marks left by the small-pox detract nothing from the charm which is conspicuous throughout his person.' K'ang She was very fond of out-door exercises, and his walking abilities remind us of the first Emperor. He was a famous hunter, and throughout his life thoroughly enjoyed the chase.

We have already mentioned K'ang She's connection with the Jesuit missionaries, but no account of his life would be complete without a fuller reference to them. These men had won the favour and patronage of Shun Chih and had been employed by him in many ways on account of their scientific and practical knowledge. K'ang She on his assumption of power, restored them to offices they had lost during the regency, but did not go so far as to give them opportunities for spreading the teaching of Christianity. He allowed them to return to their own churches, because he felt that they had an equal right to worship in their own way with the Buddhists and Taoists who were not restricted, but he forbade them to proselytise. His main purpose in favouring them was no doubt on account of their literary and scientific attainments. Educated as he had been under Schaal, he could not forget that these men possessed knowledge of which his countrymen were ignorant, and in order to profit himself he appointed a Dutch priest, Father Verbiest, as his tutor. The Emperor and his teacher spent many hours together discussing philosophy, and there is no doubt that Christian teaching also formed a large share in the priest's dissertations. K'ang She's studies led him to investigate many things of which his predecessors had been ignorant, and he became a proficient scholar. It was at this time that Father Verbiest was exalted to the position of President of the

Astronomical Board. During his tutorship he had pointed out to the Emperor a glaring mistake in the calendar issued by the native members of the Board, and K'ang She, assured of his correctness, dismissed the president and appointed Verbiest in his place. He was ordered to issue another calendar, and the disgraced officials begged him not to expose their mistake, but Verbiest unwisely refused their request and thus drew upon himself the dislike and hatred of many of the literati.

K'ang She, during the earlier years of his reign, was well-disposed towards the missionaries, and made use of them in his government of the empire, as witness his sending two of them to negotiate with the Russians, but by degrees he withdrew from them much of his favour and imposed restrictions upon their work. There is no doubt that the missionaries brought trouble upon themselves by their unseemly disputes and quarrels and their want of proper respect and courtesy towards their patron. During the first thirty years of K'ang She's reign they were not allowed to engage in a definite religious propaganda, but they naturally chafed at this and continually requested permission to do the work for which they had been sent. At last in 1692 the Tribunal of Rites passed a decision in their favour, and from that time they were at liberty to preach. That year K'ang She had been ill, and his life had been saved by the missionaries, and this no doubt influenced him on their behalf. It is said that he showed his gratitude by presenting them with a site for a church next to his palace, and also a large sum of money. In the years that followed, the Roman Catholic missionaries became more numerous, and when the Franciscan and Dominican orders had acquired influence then trouble began, which not only disgusted the Emperor but of course did harm to the work. Disputes took place as to whether Christians should engage in the worship of ancestors as the heathen themselves did, and also as to the proper term to be used to designate the deity. With

regard to the latter subject of discussion K'ang She was much offended because his opinion was rejected in face of the statements of a bishop who proved himself ignorant of the language. It is interesting to note the part that the Emperor took in these disputes. He showed a great interest in the questions discussed, and no doubt was possessed of sufficient knowledge and ability to pronounce judgment, but he could not escape from the bias of his Jesuit training. After a deal of turmoil the Pope, Clement XI, appointed a legate to go to China to settle the disputes. This was another rock of offence to the Emperor. His personal interest in the matters was such that he thought the missionaries might have left the decision with him, but as the legate had been appointed, he treated him with courtesy on his arrival. Whilst in Peking the legate was the unfortunate cause of further quarrels, and the Chinese, who had more or less been opposed to the Christian teachers, took the opportunity of bringing charges against some of them, with the result that K'ang She withdrew from them his favour and patronage. Several were sentenced to banishment, and the Emperor issued a decree that no one should be allowed to remain in China without special permission from himself.

Although K'ang She had been so well-disposed towards the Roman Catholic missionaries, he was opposed to the traders who had established themselves in the south. No doubt the missionaries had done something towards fostering this dislike, for the majority of the traders were Dutch and English, and as such represented Protestantism, but the Emperor was not inclined to open his dominions to trade with the West. During the later years of his reign, when restrictions were put on the work of the missionaries, certain prohibitions were enforced with regard to commerce.

K'ang She, as we have seen, was no mean scholar. He was a great patron of literature, and was himself the



author of several works. None of these, however, have attained to any great celebrity, except the Sacred Edict, which consists of sixteen moral maxims written when he was sixteen years of age. These maxims were amplified in a later reign and commanded to be publicly read to the people on the first and fifth day of each month, which decree is still in force. At the present day the Sacred Edict of K'ang She is known in every corner of the empire.

K'ang She's reign, however, is noted for the inception and completion of some of "the greatest literary enterprises the world has ever seen." The Emperor, whilst engaged in many wars outside his own borders, and involved in disputes within, found time to initiate great schemes for the advancement of learning. The chief of these was the production of the great standard dictionary of the Chinese language, the K'ang She Tzu Tien. This was prepared by a commission of noted scholars, and has ever since been recognised as the chief authority. Other great works are the two encyclopædias, one of which was published in 1,626 volumes of 200 pages each.

As old age drew on the Emperor was subject to many illnesses, but these did not deter him from following the chase of which he was passionately fond. It was whilst in his hunting-box in the north that he was stricken with his last illness. He had gone there to spend part of the winter, but before December had passed he had breathed his last. He died in 1723, in the sixty-first year of his reign.

The greatest tribute to K'ang She is given by the historian Mailla, and we cannot do better than reproduce it here. He says: "Just posterity will beyond doubt assign to this prince a distinguished place among the greatest monarchs. Fully occupied between affairs of state, military achievements, and the study of liberal pursuits, beneficent, brave, generous, wise, active and

vigilant in policy, of profound and extended genius, having nothing of the pomp or indolence of Asiatic courts, although his power and wealth were both immense, the one thing alone wanting to this prince, according to the desire of the missionaries who have become the exponents of his eminent qualities, was to crown them all with the adoption of the Christianity of which he knew the principles, and of which he valued the morality and the maxims, but which policy and the human passions prevented his openly embracing."



# CHIEN LUNG.

## THE CONQUEROR.



THE Manchu Dynasty can boast of two famous Emperors, K'ang She and his grandson Chien Lung.

It is not easy for us to decide which of the two takes preëminence, because both were distinguished for the number and character of the campaigns in which they engaged, and both were scholars and possessed literary ability. As, however, they rank amongst China's great rulers, a sketch of one must necessarily be followed by a description of the life and work of the other.

The Emperor Yung Cheng, after a reign of fifteen years, died suddenly without having chosen his successor to the throne. There were several sons, and the eldest was chosen to succeed his father, but this decision seems to have been a matter of surprise to him, because although son of the deceased ruler, his mother was not the Empress. Up to this time he had spent his life in study and literary pursuits, and had paid little attention to the government of the empire. Seeing, however, that he was required for the exalted position of Emperor, he ascended the throne with a desire and determination to add glory to the succession. He was twenty-five years of age when he assumed the imperial yellow, but knew so little of the affairs of his dominions and the science of government, that he appointed four regents to help and guide him in the administration of the laws. This was not weakness on his part, for he only instituted the regency to act during the period of mourning for his deceased father, and accordingly put limits to the power of the chosen officials. He looked forward to a long and successful reign and hoped to accomplish great things for his empire. It is said that on the day of his installation in the Hall of the Imperial Ancestors, he vowed that if permitted, like his illustrious

grandfather K'ang She, to complete the sixtieth year of his reign, he would show his gratitude to heaven by resigning the crown to his heir as an acknowledgment that he had been favoured to the full extent of his wishes. He was spared to see the end of the cycle, and fulfilled his vow, leaving a throne whose dictates were obeyed throughout half the continent of Asia.

Chien Lung began his reign well by a merciful consideration of the condition of some of his own family. His father had imprisoned his own brothers fearing their power and influence, and up to his death they had not been released. Chien Lung made a good impression on his subjects by restoring the unfortunate princes to their liberty and rights, and was well repaid in after life by the loyalty with which these princes served him.

This act of kindness on the part of Chien Lung inspired the Catholic missionaries and Christians with fresh hope, for during the reign of Yung Cheng they had fallen on evil times. The deceased Emperor had suppressed the Christian propaganda, and many of the native converts with their teachers had suffered severe persecution. Their expectations, however, were doomed to disappointment. Chien Lung himself does not seem to have been really hostile, but the regents were bitterly opposed to the missionaries, and they had to continue their work under similar conditions to those of the last reign. Persecutions took place especially in the south-east, and many suffered for their adherence to the faith.

The first twenty years of Chien Lung's rule were comparatively quiet. True there were rebellions in the provinces of Kuangsi and Ssuchuan, but these were suppressed and probably did not affect the people more than the risings that are so constantly taking place in Chinese territory. During these years the Emperor did not give promise of his future energy and ability. He was not physically strong, and left much of the administration of the government in the hands of officials. His love

for a student's life led him to pass a great deal of his time at Jehol, in Mongolia, where he broke the monotony of study with hunting and court ceremonies.

Towards the end of this period of inactivity he was brought face to face with problems of government that had taxed the brain of his forerunners, but had never been satisfactorily solved. The chief of these was the condition of the immense tracts of territory outside the northern and north-western boundaries with their fierce and warlike tribes constantly harassing the more peaceable inhabitants of the Chinese frontier. We have seen how K'ang She endeavoured to cope with the difficulties presented and how he was rewarded with only partial success. His work, however, was nullified by the indifference of his son Yung Cheng, who allowed the tribes once more to gain the ascendancy and did nothing to extend and enforce the authority of China. Chien Lung therefore was confronted with a problem that had not lost any of its difficulties since K'ang She's time, and which demanded a solution. He sought the answer in conquest and determined to carry his arms to the furthest limits of these regions. From this time Chien Lung's fame as an Emperor rose. The conquest of Central Asia which he eventually accomplished, and the other campaigns in which he engaged, have given him the position of a great conqueror, and as such he is known to-day. He differs, however, from many noted warriors in that he never commanded his armies in person, but sent them to victory whilst he attended to the internal affairs of the state. His forces suffered more than one reverse, but it was his boast that he never undertook a war without succeeding in humiliating the enemy. His long reign is noted for the number of campaigns in which his soldiers were engaged and the height of power to which he attained by their successes. It was through Chien Lung that the Manchu dynasty reached its highest pinnacle of fame.

During the last years of K'ang She's reign, T'si Wang, the Khalka chief, had seen his army annihilated and his power reduced. Had Yung Cheng, K'ang She's son, still maintained his authority over the Mongol tribes this chief would have passed into obscurity, but seeing the attitude of the Chinese Emperor, T'si Wang had been able once more to assert his authority, and when he died in 1727, his son, Galdan Chereng, took his place. This chief died in 1745, and immediately after his decease dissensions arose between the various members of the family as to the chieftainship. Quarrels ensued and blood was shed, which resulted in two men—Davatsi and Amursana—setting themselves up as independent princes. These two eventually fought each other, and Amursana being defeated, fled to the court of Chien Lung, where he poured out his grievances and managed to gain the ear of the Emperor. He of course represented himself as having suffered wrong at the hands of Davatsi and that he had been deprived of his rightful territory. Chien Lung thought this a favourable opportunity to assert the authority of China and secure peace for his subjects on the frontier. He knew that a confederacy was established amongst the tribes and he had apprehensions of a formidable attack on their part. He was made all the more desirous of subduing these peoples by the arrogance of Davatsi, who sent an embassy to Peking with a letter, written in terms that betokened his equality with the Chinese Emperor. Chien Lung on receiving this epistle, lost no time in preparing to humiliate his enemy. He gathered together an army of 150,000 men and despatched it with all speed to the region where Davatsi was in power. In five months the soldiers had crossed the desert, and not long after that the turbulent chief was captured and sent to Peking and Amursana was installed as tributary chief to the Chinese empire. The larger part of Chien Lung's army returned to the capital, but a garrison was left to uphold his authority.



Amursana, however, had no intention of recognising the supremacy of China, and gradually extended his influence until he felt his position secure. He then massacred the Chinese garrison and executed its commander, following up these acts of violence with great pretensions to power. He declared himself King of the Eleuths and independent of the empire that had helped him to his throne. This ingratitude on the part of Amursana led Chien Lung to determine to accomplish the subjugation of all the tribes in that vast region. He met with opposition in his own court from a number who constituted a peace party, but he would not listen to their advice. They endeavoured to dissuade him from making the attempt, but he felt that the prestige of his great empire had been outraged, and he determined to revenge himself on the wily chief who had so imposed upon him in his own capital. Another great army was sent across the Gobi Desert, but owing to the incapacity of the generals it met with no success. Chien Lung, following the custom of his country, executed the unfortunate commanders and called other officers to their places. One of these was a man named Chao Hui, who had proved himself of superior courage and who possessed considerable military ability. He had been the only one in the recent campaign who with his company had been able to withstand the attacks of Amursana. For this reason he was given command of another large army with orders from the Emperor to capture Amursana at all costs. Under the leadership of Chao Hui the Chinese battalions were victorious and Amursana had to flee for his life. The general pursued him until he sought refuge in Russian territory where, though safe from capture by his enemies, his life proved to be forfeit. An epidemic of small-pox was raging, and Amursana was stricken with the fearful disease and died. The Chinese commander demanded the body of the chief, but the Russians refused to deliver it up to him, and Chien Lung had to be satisfied with the

fact that his own general had looked upon the dead face of his once formidable foe.

Although Chao Hui was successful in defeating Amursana and establishing the supremacy of China in a wide extent of territory, the peace party at Peking tried to persuade Chien Lung to abandon the project of governing the peoples beyond the border, on the ground that the country was too extensive and that they would be too far away from the seat of authority. The Emperor, however, was not the man to let go what had been obtained at such cost. He placed native officials over the conquered territory, but this plan did not work well, as several of them were tempted to assert their independence, and he had to put the government of the country in the hands of Chinese and Manchus. The ambition of Chien Lung was not satisfied with the downfall of Amursana and the conquest of his territory. This chief had subjugated Ili and Jungaria, but there remained the territory of Kashgaria or Eastern Turkestan still independent. Two armies under Chao Hui and another capable general, Fu Te, marched westwards and succeeded in winning the whole region for the Chinese Emperor. The opposing forces were routed and the chiefs and their families exterminated. Other adjoining states seeing that they would have no chance against the legions of China, acknowledged their allegiance to that empire, and the whole of that vast tract of land became subject to the Dragon Throne. The success of Chien Lung's generals silenced the peace party in Peking, and the after-history of the conquered territory proved how well the Emperor had solved the problem that had so long troubled the minds of Chinese rulers. The various tribes of Central Asia knew at last the power of the Chinese empire, and were in no hurry to hurl themselves against it. They acknowledged its superiority and settled down to a life of comparative quiet and peace. They no longer harassed the border peasants, and thus was secured prosperity and safety for China Proper.

In connection with the pacification of Central Asia by Chien Lung, we must mention one of the most remarkable incidents that have taken place in the history of the world. This is none other than the migration of a great Tartar tribe, an episode that has been graphically described by the pen of De Quincey. During the last years of the reign of K'ang She, when Tsi Wang was troublesome, the T'oungot tribe fled westwards and settled in Russian territory. At first their coming caused considerable alarm to the Russians, but that abated when the cause was known, and the wanderers were given a fertile tract of land situated between the Volga and the Yaik. In their new quarters they were subject to the rapacity of tax-gatherers and suffered in other ways, but their condition was an improvement upon the old, when constantly attacked by the turbulent and rapacious Eleuths. For fifty years they lived in voluntary exile, and then hearing of the peaceable condition of their native soil consequent on the victories of Chien Lung's army, they turned their faces homeward. They received assurance from the Emperor himself that they would be welcomed back to their old haunts, and accordingly made preparations for their return. They fixed upon a certain day in the winter time on which to start, choosing this season because the Volga would be frozen and afford a passage for those living on its right bank. They kept their preparations secret, and on one of the first days of January, 1771, the whole colony on the east side of the river, numbering about 600,000 men, women, and children, started on their journey towards their native home. The first stage of three hundred miles was covered in seven days, but in spite of their rapid movement, the Cossacks were able to overtake them, and many of them were slain. Still they pushed on, suffering terrible hardships from thirst, famine, and disease, and losing many of their number daily by the attacks of savage enemies all along the line of march. For eight months the T'oungots kept on their way, in

spite of all obstacles and difficulties and at last entered Chinese territory at Lake Tengis. To the very last they were pursued by other savage tribes, who slaughtered all they could. The final scene in the waters of Lake Tengis almost baffles description. The Tourgots and their relentless pursuers mad with thirst, all rushed into the water, and for a moment forgot everything in the claims of appetite. Then when all had satisfied themselves, an awful scene of carnage took place the Bashkirs and Kirghizes, who had followed them for so long, slaughtered the fugitives until the lake was one of blood. This fearful massacre was ended by the timely arrival and help of Chien Lung's soldiers, who routed the destroyers and saved the remnant of the great host that had started from Russia eight months before. Chien Lung provided food and garments for the survivors, and also gave them land, on which they settled, and the Tourgots became one more tribe owning allegiance to the Chinese empire.

The pacification of Central Asia was followed by a call to arms against Burmah. The real reason is wrapped in obscurity, but it is thought that the border tribes had proved troublesome and that the Burmese authorities had taken no steps to quiet them. Anyhow Chien Lung deemed it necessary to send his armies into that country, and a Burmese war resulted in the acknowledgment of his supremacy. The Chinese troops defeated the enemy who had invaded Yunnan and followed up their victory by another in Burmese territory, but penetrating too far, they fell into a trap and most of them were slain. Chien Lung hearing of this disaster, sent another army under two of his trusted commanders, A Li-kun and A Kuei, and these generals were successful in establishing themselves in Bhamo. From thence they marched towards the capital of Burmah, and without much fighting were able to make the king of that country sue for peace. A treaty was signed, which proclaimed a perpetual peace between the two countries, and by which the King of

Burmah agreed to pay a triennial tribute to the throne of China. This tribute was regularly paid up to the time of the English taking possession of Upper Burmah, and even afterwards, for British policy in that country allowed it to continue, deeming the friendly attitude of China of great importance.

The next war in which Chien Lung engaged, took place within his own borders. No sooner had the troops retired from Burmah when the Miao Tzu tribes of Ssu-chuan broke forth from their mountain fastnesses and commenced hostilities against the Chinese. These tribes are the aborigines of the country, who through the long history of the empire have never been really subdued, but have been left in possession of the mountainous territory in the west and south-west. From time to time war has broken out between these people and the Chinese, but they have been able to hold their own owing to the difficult nature of the country in which they have taken refuge. On this occasion the Miao Tzu, for some reason or other, attacked their enemies, and in several skirmishes that followed were successful in driving off the Chinese troops. Under some Emperors a truce might have been made, but Chien Lung, who had conquered Central Asia and Burmah, was not going to allow a few savage tribes to go unpunished. He attempted first to secure their recognition of his authority by sending envoys, but the Miao Tzu chief defied him by murdering his ambassadors. At this Chien Lung determined to enter upon a war of extermination, and despatched a large army under General Wen Fu. This soldier, however, mistook the character of his opponents, and also knew nothing about mountain fighting. The Miao Tzu came upon him and his troops and inflicted a crushing defeat. This disaster caused Chien Lung to send another army under A Kuei, who in a battle lasting five days and five nights completely defeated the Miao Tzu. The chief of the tribes, however, held out in a stronghold that the Chinese troops were

unable to take, but he was compelled to submit by famine. His life was promised to him, but on his arrival at Peking Chien Lung broke his word and sent him to execution. General Kuei, who had been so successful in this campaign, received a dukedom and many other favours at the hands of the Emperor.

This subjugation of the Miao Tzu tribes was not entire, although so signally defeated by the Chinese. They still hold the mountain fastnesses of the western provinces, and to a great extent maintain their independence. Not many years passed before Chien Lung was again called to send forth his battalions. This time the trouble was in Formosa, that island that has always been a difficult possession since the days of its acquirement by K'ang She. Owing to the physical characteristics of Formosa, it has always held places of refuge for the savage aboriginal tribes, and its Chinese population has generally been of a turbulent and independent kind. In 1786 a local official arrested a man of influence in the island which so exasperated the man's friends that they rose in a body and murdered the mandarin, at the same time releasing the prisoner. Chien Lung on hearing of this affair, sent troops to punish the culprits, but these, forming part of a secret society, were able to gather others to their help, and when the Imperial soldiers landed, they were utterly destroyed. The Emperor on hearing of this disaster, sent envoys to dictate terms of peace, but the islanders would not listen, and so he determined to inflict on them a severe punishment and crush once for all any attempts to attain independency. An army of one hundred thousand men, under Fu Kang-an, a noted general, was sent across the straits to Formosa. Many of these soldiers had seen service amongst the mountains of Burmah, and had also fought with the Miao Tzu in their strongholds, and they were able to carry out their military tactics with success. Before long the army returned to Peking with the news that the island was pacified, and Chien



Lung was able once more to boast of the power and success of his forces.

Formosa had not long been subdued, when a revolution broke out in Cochin China. An ex-minister named Yuan headed the rebels, and they succeeded in deposing the king of that country. The unfortunate monarch appealed to Chien Lung for help, and he at once ordered the governor of Kuangsi to march with his soldiers to the help of the dethroned king. The governor soon executed his task of reinstating him, and was returning to his own quarters when he was attacked by the rebels and suffered severely. Chien Lung sent Fu Kang-an, of Formosan fame, to avenge this defeat, but the rebels were too much afraid of the Chinese battalions to resist, and the leader, Yuan, made abject submission to the Chinese Emperor. He managed to gain the favour of Chien Lung by his pleadings, and was eventually placed on the throne of Cochin China by that Emperor.

Chien Lung's attention was next turned towards Thibet on account of serious trouble there. The Panshen Lama having died suddenly in Peking, his elder brother appropriated all his wealth and religious relics, whilst the younger brother was left without. In revenge for this treatment, the younger brother invited the Gurkhas from Nepaul in North India to plunder the wealth of his rival, and the Gurkhas, ever ready for fighting and raiding, did not refuse the offer. They crossed the frontier into Thibet and succeeded in frightening the Chinese forces to such an extent that they compounded with the invaders and agreed that a large sum of gold should be paid yearly to them by the abbots of the monasteries. The Chinese generals at the same time informed the Emperor at Peking that the Gurkhas had acknowledged their allegiance to the throne and had paid tribute. The gold promised to the Gurkhas was not paid, and after a time of waiting, these warriors once more invaded Thibet and plundered the monastery of Teshilumbo. The Dalai Lama at once

appealed to the Chinese Emperor for help, and Chien Lung was made aware of the deceit practised upon him by his generals. He ordered a large army to move towards Thibet under the command of Fu Kang-an. The Gurkhas retreated to the frontier, but General Fu marched forward and attacked them in their own mountain passes. The Gurkhas fought bravely, but they were no match for the Chinese, and they retreated into Nepaul, destroying their bridges as they went. The Chinese general, however, persistently followed them up and invaded their own territory, which made them sue for peace. Fu Kang-an flushed with success, would not listen, but pushed on towards the capital, Khatmandu. He might have completed the conquest of the Nepaul state, but winter was coming on and he became willing to accept the proposals of the Gurkhas. The chiefs took the oath to preserve peace with Thibet, acknowledged themselves vassals of the Chinese Emperor and agreed to send an embassy to China every five years bearing tribute to the Dragon Throne. From that time to this the Gurkhas have sent their embassies and have paid tribute to the Chinese empire.

The conquest of the Gurkhas added one more to the list of tributary states that acknowledged the power of Chien Lung the conqueror. This bit of Chinese history is all the more interesting to us, because of the fame of our own Gurkha regiments and the contempt that Chinese soldiers are sometimes held in by those ignorant of their character and military traditions. With this last campaign in Thibet the reign of Chien Lung was drawing to a close. Some local risings in the provinces had to be suppressed, but the conquests of this noted Emperor were practically at an end. He had made his power felt over the greater part of Asia and had raised his empire to a dizzy height of fame amongst the inhabitants of that continent. He had given to the Manchu dynasty its highest glory, and to-day he is remembered with pride by the people of the Chinese nation.

It was during the reign of Chien Lung that the British government, realising the unsatisfactory condition of its relations with China, determined to send a special ambassador to the court at Peking. In 1788 Colonel Cathcart was appointed, but he died before reaching China, and in 1792 Lord Macartney, an ex-governor of Madras, was sent in his place. Great preparations were made to impress the Chinese with the majesty and might of England and costly presents were provided to manifest the friendly feeling of George III towards the Chinese Emperor. The embassy sailed to the mouth of the Peiho, where Lord Macartney was received with courtesy by a special commissioner appointed by Chien Lung. A fleet of seventeen vessels took the embassy up the river to Tungchow, from whence they proceeded to Peking overland. The same difficulty about performing the ceremony of prostration that had confronted other embassies was once more presented, but Lord Macartney refused, and Chien Lung was wise enough to waive the matter. Although the British scored in this particular, the Chinese won a partial victory by placing flags at the masthead of the vessel carrying Lord Macartney up the Peiho, with the inscription, "Tribute Bearer from the Country of England." On arriving in Peking the ambassador found that Chien Lung was in his northern palace at Jehol, Mongolia, and after due preparations had been made he set off for that town in an English carriage. The journey was covered in three days, and when he arrived, he was accommodated in a spacious house in the town. On the fourteenth of the month Lord Macartney had an audience with the Emperor and was received with every mark of courtesy and civility on his part. Nothing was gained, however, by the English ambassador's visit, and in spite of the favourable reception he received, it is impossible to lose sight of the fact that he and his retinue were subject to indignities and inconveniences that showed the contempt for foreigners so characteristic of the Chinese.

It is gratifying, however, to remember that the English embassy fared much better than one that followed soon after. The Dutch in 1795 sent one to congratulate Chien Lung on the attainment of his sixtieth year as Emperor. The members of this embassy were treated as criminals on the way ; they were required to do all sorts of things for the amusement of the court, including the ceremony of prostration before all kinds of objects other than the Emperor's sacred person. From the Emperor's table they received food which was not only served on a dirty plate, but bore the marks of his majesty's teeth. Suffering these indignities, the embassy was dismissed without being permitted to speak a word about business, confirming the Chinese in the idea that foreigners were mostly fools.

In 1796 Chien Lung, having reigned for sixty years over China, fulfilled the vow made in his youth and publicly abdicated the throne in favour of his son, who took the title Chia Ching. During the three years that followed, he was able to influence the new ruler for good government, but at the end of that time he died, having reached his eighty-eighth year. Chia Ching did not follow in his father's steps, and from that time the Manchu dynasty began to decline. It has never since possessed rulers like Chien Lung and his illustrious grandfather K'ang She.

Although this Emperor during his long reign was constantly engaged in warfare, yet he was able to do much for his people, and the condition of the empire was satisfactory from an Asiatic standpoint. The people were prosperous and fairly contented. Chien Lung's desire for the welfare of his people is shown in his attempt to regulate the waters of the Yellow River, that stream which is known as "China's Sorrow." He endeavoured to make the lives of his subjects secure from its overflow, and immense sums of money were spent in strengthening the banks and digging the channel. The attempt was not altogether successful, but the river seems to have been deprived to some extent of its power of devastation.

Chien Lung had an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and was an accomplished scholar. His interest in literature was of course very great, and he did much to foster the desire for learning. His personal writings consisted largely of poems, prefaces to books, and notes on a variety of topics. The majority of these were short pieces, but the total sum amounts to 33,950 separate works. Under his direction several great literary enterprises were launched and completed, amongst which were a great encyclopædia of Chinese literature and a descriptive catalogue of the library. There is no doubt that the literary tastes of Chien Lung made him as the years went by more friendly towards the Roman Catholic missionaries in his capital, and during the latter half of his reign he availed himself of their services in the same way that K'ang She had done. He became much interested in their scientific attainments, and their mechanical productions, such as clocks and automatons, were constantly inspected by him. Two of the priests, Castiglione and Attiret, were employed in his palace painting pictures, and the latter painted such a successful portrait of the Emperor that he was offered the rank of a mandarin as a reward. Chien Lung learnt much from these men about the nations of the West, and in his mind at least much of the ignorance and prejudice with regard to foreigners gave place to true knowledge.



# TSENG KUO FAN

## THE IMPERIALIST GENERAL.

**I**N the year 1813 there was born in a village near Canton a boy who subsequently became known as Hung Siu-chuan, the leader of the Taiping Rebellion. His father was a Hakka, a member of a despised class in South China, and it is probably owing to this fact that Siu Chuan never succeeded in obtaining a degree at the civic examinations, although he competed thrice. But though he gained no success as a student, his visits to the examination hall at Canton led to his gaining a distinction that will be recognised so long as the history of the Chinese empire is known. Hung Siu-chuan, whilst in Canton, came into contact with a Christian native evangelist, from whom he received a tract that made a great impression on his mind. The tract was one setting forth Christian doctrine, but the term used for God was a term that has always been familiar to the Chinese in its reference to the higher powers. The new doctrine with an old name appealed to Hung, and he began to propagate it in his own fashion. Feeling the need of further instruction, he went again to Canton, and was received into the house of the Rev. Issachar Roberts, an American Baptist missionary. He stayed there for a short time, and then left for his home, but without having been baptised into the church. The missionary had not been at all struck with his ability, but there was no denying his earnestness, and when Hung reached his native village he spread abroad the new teaching with greater fervour than ever. About this time he fell seriously ill, and his mind being affected, he saw wonderful visions that led him to believe he was called to do a special work and fulfil a great mission. Becoming convalescent, he persuaded his own family and his neighbours to accept the truth as he understood it, and



formed a society called the Shang Ti Hui, or Society of the Supreme. This no doubt was his idea of a church, but ignorant as he was of many important points in Christian doctrine, his church was based on a wrong conception of truth. The number of members of this society, however, increased, and full of zeal the little band of converts commenced to attack the temples and destroy the idols and images found therein. In this way coming into conflict with other villagers, disturbances arose, which alarmed the government, and the officials began to see in the movement something that threatened the peace of the community. As the ferment spread, they became more and more alarmed, and their opposition changed the movement from a religious one to a political. The central authority at Peking sent special commissioners to pacify the district, but they were unable to accomplish anything, and the spirit of turbulence became more manifest than ever. Hung and his followers were joined by members of secret political societies, who professed to adopt the new religion, and the uprising resolved itself into a serious rebellion against the authority of the Manchus, who had held China for over two hundred years. Hung Siu-chuan professed to have more visions, in which it was shown to him that he was chosen of the higher powers to exterminate the Tartar government and establish a dynasty of his own, and accordingly he started on his career of conquest.

It was in 1850 that this rebellion assumed alarming proportions. The followers of the Chinese Mahomet seized and fortified the town of Lienchou, after which the cities of Taitsum, Yungan, and Nanning fell into their hands. These successes attracted many more malcontents to the standard of the rebel chief, and on this account the great city of Canton began to tremble for its fate. Preparations were made for resisting the insurgents.

This insurrectionary movement has become known as the Taiping Rebellion. The name was derived from two characters much used by Hung Siu-chuan, signifying

Great Peace, and supposed to describe the quality of the reign he was to enter upon. Hung considering himself a messenger of the higher spiritual powers, designated himself Tien Wang, or the Celestial King, and the kingdom he was to establish Tien Kuo, or the Kingdom of Heaven. His camp was a school of religion. His followers always chanted a hymn before sitting down to meat, and on the seventh day spent much time in religious services. Hung distributed among his soldiers manuals composed by himself, containing verses in which Scriptural truth and absurd fancies were strangely mixed. Here are some as given by Dr. Martin :—

“ Let the True God, the great Supreme Ruler,  
Be honoured and adored by all nations ;  
Let all the inhabitants of the world  
Unite in His worship morning and evening.”

“ Jesus His first-born son, was in former times sent by God ;  
He willingly gave His life to redeem us from sin ;  
After His resurrection He ascended to heaven,  
Resplendent in glory, He wields authority supreme.”

“ He (The Chief) was received up into heaven,  
Where the great God personally instructed Him,  
Gave Him odes and documents, with a seal and a sword,  
And majesty irresistible.  
The Celestial Mother was kind and exceedingly gracious,  
The Celestial Elder Brother's wife was virtuous and prudent.”

But whilst professedly following the Christian religion, Hung and his soldiers did many things contrary to its teaching, and instead of forming an army of righteous iconoclasts, they were nothing but marauders and murderers. They committed crimes of all kinds, and their excesses resulted eventually in a frightful depopulation of the territory through which they passed.

The provinces of Kuangtung and Kuangsi were the first disaffected regions, and the rebels, gathering strength, instead of attacking Canton as was feared, crossed the northern border and entered Hunan. Here they struck the Shiang River and followed its course, capturing the towus and

cities on their way. They met with little opposition from the officials and soldiers and were beginning to think that their task of obtaining the empire was an easy one when they received a check at the capital of the province. They had at last come into collision with a man of a different stamp from the mandarins who had fled at their approach and one who was destined to bring their triumph to the dust. Tseng Kuo-fan, a high official of the empire, happened to be in the district at the time, owing to the death of his mother, and when the rebels approached, set himself to oppose them and to preserve the capital for the government.

Tseng Kuo-fan was born in the district of Shiang-shiang, in Hunan, in 1811. He was a successful competitor in the civic examinations, and graduated as Chin Shih or Doctor at the age of twenty-seven. From this time his promotion was rapid, and in 1843 he was appointed Chief Literary Examiner in Ssuchuan. Six years later he became Junior Vice-President of the Board of Rites, and shortly after that, received an appointment as Chief Examiner of Military Graduates. In 1852 his mother died, and according to Chinese usage he had to retire from office to fulfil the allotted period of mourning. He returned to his native province of Hunan, and it was during this period of retirement that the Taiping rebels made their appearance in that territory. Tseng, realising the seriousness of the situation, concentrated his energies on the fortification of the city of Changsha, the capital of the province. He equipped a force of defenders, and at the same time called together the militia of the province to fight for their homes. He exhorted all his fellow-provincials that possessed money and influence to show their duty to the state by contributing towards the defence of the country, either by means of money or men.

When the rebels reached Changsha they met with a different reception from what they had been accustomed to. Instead of finding the city gates open to them, they

realised that Changsha could only be theirs after a severe struggle. They laid siege to the city and endeavoured to starve out the defenders, but without success. They tried by threats of terrible punishment to induce them to surrender, but the garrison held on firmly. Three times did the rebels assault the city, but each time they were driven back with considerable loss, and at last, after a siege of eighty days, which proved ineffective, they drew off and continued their march northward. Taking possession of junks and boats at the mouth of the Shiang River, the insurgents were able to cross the Tung-ting Lake and attacking the port of Yochow soon reduced it. Then down the Yangtse they went, and with little effort on their part captured the three great cities of Hankow, Wuchang, and Hanyang. Here the rebels were joined by many more who saw opportunities of plunder and the acquisition of wealth, and a formidable band moved down the river towards Kiukiang, which also fell into their hands. In the spring of 1853 the rebels sat down before the city of Nanking and made preparations for its capture. This did not prove an arduous task, for after a fortnight's siege, one of the gates was blown up and the rebels entered. Although there was a large Manchu garrison within the walls, the soldiers proved poltroons and begged for their lives, but the conquerors gave no quarter to the Tartars, and twenty thousand of them were massacred.

The rebels had now possession of the second city in the empire, the ancient capital of the first Emperor of the Ming Dynasty. Hung Siu-chuan, or as he was known, the Celestial King, also made it his capital, and it constituted the base of operations for the rebel army. A large tract of country reaching from the Tung-ting Lake was now in the hands of the insurgents, and they scrupled not to commit all manner of atrocities. But Hung was not satisfied with his conquests, and realised that his position would not be secure until Peking was taken, and so a

large army was despatched to accomplish that purpose, but it suffered a disastrous defeat, and the rebels fell back on Nanking. From this time the Celestial King sank into obscurity, spending his time in his harem and seemingly caring nothing for the success of his arms. The military operations were left in the hands of some of his capable lieutenants, who were also distinguished by the name of King, as the Faithful King, the Southern King, etc.

It was when the rebellion had assumed such alarming proportions that Tseng Kuo-fan was ordered, by special decree of the Emperor, to endeavour to suppress the insurrection in his native province. He built a fleet of warjunks and attacked the rebels, suffering, however, in his first onslaught a severe defeat. His lieutenants were more successful in after-engagements, and soon Tseng was chasing the insurgents out of Hunan. He pursued them in their flight down the Yangtse, and succeeded in recovering the cities of Wuchang and Hanyang. For this achievement he was rewarded with the position of Vice-President of the Board of War. He, however, did not rest on his laurels. Still pursuing the insurgents, he made his way towards the south-east, and was successful in recovering some of the towns from their grasp. His services were once more recognised by the Imperial government, and he was made a Baturu, or "Brave." This is a Manchu title of distinction given for military prowess and very much coveted by all who follow a soldier's profession, both on account of the honour and also because of the increased allowances to the bearer whilst on active service. He also received another decoration which is even more coveted, that of the Yellow Riding Jacket. This jacket is supposed to be worn only when in attendance on the Emperor.

Tseng Kuo-fan continued to fight the rebels in the district surrounding the Poyang Lake and succeeded in overthrowing them. He eventually cleared the province



of Kiangsi, but whilst so doing, they had renewed their successes further inland and had once more taken the three great cities of Hupeh. On this occasion Hankow was burnt to the ground and the Imperial fleet entirely destroyed. Tseng, however, could not be in two places at once. He continued at his work in Kiangsi until 1857, when his father died, and he had once more to retire into private life in order to fulfil the days of mourning. At this critical time, however, he was excused from passing the three years inactivity, and in 1858 was commanded by the Emperor to take supreme command in the province of Chekiang, where the rebels were very strong, and co-operate with the governor of the adjoining province of Fukien. Tseng was only too glad to be on active service again, and bent all his energies towards the suppression of the rebellion. He may not have possessed all the necessary qualifications for a successful general, but he was a loyal supporter of the Manchu Dynasty and determined to secure for the royal house the continuance of its rule rather than allow his country to be the prey of a band of unscrupulous marauders. In one of his proclamations he says: "Having received the decree of the Son of Heaven, the present leader of fifty thousand troops on land or water, swears that 'even in his sleep he cherishes his burning wrath.' He will prove his courage by destroying the turbulent rebels, by saving the captured boats, and by rescuing the intimidated captives, urged thereto by his indignant loyalty to the true sovereign, and from pent-up anguish the denial of the relations proclaimed by Confucius and Mencius, the massacre of myriads of the populace and the indignities cast upon the higher and lower deities . . . . My virtue may be poor, my strength small; my only claim is that of loyalty and fidelity to my post as commander of the army. Such loyalty and fidelity is witnessed to by the sun and moon above, by the deities and demons beneath, by the waters of the long Yangtse, and by the shades of the heroic and



faithful. All know my heart, all hear my words. This proclamation therefore, wherever it goes, is as binding as an Imperial Edict."

At this period the relations with England had become very strained and war was taking place between the two countries. During the war the rebellion had been gradually dying out, and the cities of Nanking and Anching were the only two of any importance in the hands of the insurgents. Tseng Kuo-fan, who had been pursuing the rebels westward through Hunan into Ssuchuan, was ordered to return and concentrate his energies on the province of Anhui, and accordingly he invested Nanking. His army, however, was not distinguished in any way for bravery or dash, and the Taipings were in no great danger. On the other hand the rebel cause seemed likely to flourish once more on account of the ability and courage of one of the officers, Li by name, who was known as Chung Wang, or the Faithful King. Chung Wang, seeing that the principal leader of the movement, Hung, was passing his days in debauchery with no thought of military achievement, determined to do something towards restoring the dying fortunes of the rebellion, and harassed the Imperialists considerably. He was able to outwit Tseng and the other commanders, and whilst they thought him safe, he had left Nanking and attacked the city of Hangchow, which fell into his hands. He was immediately recalled by the Celestial King to the defence of Nanking, and succeeded in defeating the government soldiers. He then marched eastwards and subdued the cities of Soochow, Kunshan, Tsingpu, and Taitan, and in a short time the whole of the peninsula between the Yangtse River and Hangchow fell into his hands. This greatly alarmed the government at Peking, and the Viceroy of the Liangkiang provinces, Ho Kuei-tsin, was summoned to appear before them. His inability to suppress the rebellion in his jurisdiction was his crime, and he was led out to execution.

Tseng, who had grown more and more in favour with the government, was now appointed to the viceroyalty of Nanking, and was also made Imperial War Commissioner. Some time afterwards he was appointed Assistant Grand Secretary of State, and other honours were heaped upon him. His successes, however, do not seem very striking to the European eye, but the central authority at Peking recognised in him a man who was giving of his best in the service of the dynasty. It was not until four more years had passed that ultimate triumph was given to his arms in the fall of the rebel stronghold of Nanking. During those years, whilst he was clearing the Yangtse valley of the insurgents the rebellion had got a new lease of life in Kiangsu through the energy and ability of Chung Wang. But the tide in its fortunes turned when Major Gordon, afterwards the Hero of Khartoum, opposed Chung Wang with his "Ever Victorious Army." Through the military genius of that splendid officer the province was cleared of the rebels, the Taiping power was crushed, and Chung Wang had to fall back on Nanking, the only city left in their hands. Tseng Kuo-fan besieged this city for the sixth time in 1864. He drew his forces entirely round the city and the rebels were compelled to retire within the walls. The greatest misery prevailed on account of the want of food. In order to relieve the distress, Chung Wang sent out all the women and children, and Tseng mercifully provided them with food and sent them to a place of safety. Gordon, who had just disbanded his army, visited Tseng in June in the hope of seeing the last of the Taiping rebellion. He found the Imperialists, numbering eighty thousand men, badly paid, but cheerful, and the camp works covering a distance of thirty miles. He had an important interview with the Viceroy, and discussed with him the best methods of ensuring success. He advised Tseng to organise an army on the lines he himself had followed, and we are told that the great chief listened well and accepted a memorandum of these and

other important matters. Gordon was favourably impressed with the Viceroy and describes him as "generous, fair, honest, and patriotic."

On the 30th of June the Celestial King realising that his power was at an end, committed suicide, but his son was proclaimed his successor. His reign, however, was very brief, for the end of the Taiping rebellion was near. By the middle of July the Imperialists had mined the wall, and when the explosion took place, a breach was made some fifty yards in extent. Through this the besiegers poured, and soon the city was at their mercy. Chung Wang made a desperate resistance, but seeing that all was lost, fled into the country, taking the young king with him. Even in this the hour of extreme danger his first thought was for the new dynasty, and he gave the young chief a good pony on which to escape, whilst he himself took an inferior one. The fugitives, however, were eventually caught and executed, and their death, with the fall of the city, terminated the great Taiping Rebellion that had lasted for fourteen years. For this decisive success Tseng Kuo-fan was rewarded with the title of Marquis and the decoration of the "double-eyed peacock's feather," a decoration second only to the yellow jacket, that is so much coveted.

Although the Taiping rebellion was crushed when Nanking fell, peace was not given to the country. Many of the rebels who had become used to the marauding life were not content to settle down, and they with others raised again the standard of rebellion in the provinces of Shantung and Honan. This uprising became known as the Nienfei Rebellion, but it never assumed the alarming proportions of the Taiping. In order to stamp out the movement, Tseng Kuo-fan, who by this time had become one of the most noted of Chinese officials, was sent, but he was unsuccessful. It may have been that he was sick or that it served his purpose to become suddenly incapable of taking such a charge, but he was relieved of his duty

and returned to the viceroyalty at Nanking, whilst his *protégé*, Li Hung-chang, was appointed in his place. Tseng continued at Nanking until 1869, when he was appointed to the viceroyalty of the province of Chihli.

In 1870 occurred the terrible Tientsin massacre, the report of which shocked the whole civilised world. For some time ill-will had been manifested towards the Roman Catholic missionaries and their work in Tientsin, and in May, 1870, this feeling was increased on account of an epidemic that broke out in one of the orphanages. Many deaths occurred, and the Chinese assumed a threatening attitude, owing to their belief in the wickedness of the foreigner. The missionaries in order to pacify the people, offered to allow a committee of five Chinese to inspect the premises, but the French Consul, with mistaken zeal, opposed this proposition and drove the five into the street. This made matters worse, and in the following month a crowd collected round the orphanage bent on evil. The French Consul again interfered; this time to his cost, for he was immediately murdered. The crowd then rushed into the orphanage, and with brutal ferocity murdered the Sisters of Mercy and many of the Chinese assistants. One or two other Europeans who happened to come in the way of the rioters were also killed. This manifestation of hatred caused of course considerable trouble to the officials, and the Foreign Ministers presented a united demand for the punishment of all concerned.

At this time Tseng Kuo-fan, as Viceroy of Chihli, was living at Paoting, the provincial capital. He was appointed, together with Chung Hou, the Superintendent of Trade, to inquire into the circumstances of the massacre. As Chung Hou had been the chief instigator of the crime, it did not seem likely that Tseng would trouble himself much about the matter, especially when he himself had never any friendly feelings towards foreigners. The viceroy was only a Chinaman after all, with all the prejudices and superstitions of a member of that conserv-

ative race. He had never shown any breadth of view, or largeness of mind, to indicate that he was anything more than a capable and loyal but truly conservative official. An amusing story is told by Mr. Mitford that illustrates Tseng's ignorance. On one occasion he was talking with an English doctor on the subject of the use of babies' eyes, supposed to be procured by foreigners for the purpose of photography. Said he: "It is no use you attempting to deny it, for I have here some dried specimens." With that he pulled out a packet and handed it to the doctor. It proved to contain gelatine capsules that are used for covering castor oil and other nauseous drugs.

As these ridiculous fancies were present in the mind of Tseng, it is not to be wondered at that his action with regard to the Tientsin massacre did not suit the European authorities, and Sir Thomas Wade, the British Minister, addressed a remonstrance direct to Prince Kung, a member of the royal house and President of the Tsung-li Yamên. This remonstrance had its effect, and whilst the massacre was enquired into, it was felt necessary also to remove Tseng from his post as viceroy. It so happened that at that time the viceroy of the Liang-kiang provinces was murdered in his own city of Nanking, and the office being vacant, Tseng was once more sent to the position that he had twice previously occupied. His *protégé*, Li Hung-chang, who at the time was viceroy of the Hukuang provinces, was ordered to take his place at Paoting, as viceroy of Chihli.

Tseng did not long survive this change. His death occurred in the summer of 1872, and he was gathered to his fathers full of Imperial honours. On the decease of any illustrious servant of the empire, the Emperor always hastens to give publicity to his grief at the public loss and to show his appreciation of the services rendered. The following is from the Imperial proclamation issued on the death of Tseng Kuo-fan:—

"The deceased Kuo Fan was a man of great knowledge, of varied talent, of profound penetration, of stainless morality, and of incorruptible honesty. He left the schools with the title of Doctor; his merits were discovered by the Emperor Tao Kuang, who promoted him to the rank of colonel. In the reign of Shien Fung, he was commissioned to raise an army in Hunan, and after the battles in which he was victorious over the Taiping rebels, he received the praises of the Emperor and the thanks of the whole country. It was then that my predecessor appointed him to the viceroyalty of the Liangkiang and named him Generalissimo of the Imperial Forces. During my own reign I made him Chief Secretary of State. He became to me a second self; he was my life, my heart, and my backbone. I therefore bestowed on him the title of hereditary count, and I authorised him to wear the double-eyed peacock's feather. I had hoped that he would live long for me to heap fresh favours upon him, so that the news of his death has filled me with sorrow and dismay. I wish that according to custom three thousand taels should be spent on his funeral. A jarful of wine shall also be poured out on his tomb by General Mutengah, chief of the Manchu garrison at Nanking. Two tablets of stone, bearing his name, shall be erected: one at Nanking in the Temple of the Loyal and Illustrious, the other in Peking in the Pantheon of the Wise and Good. I wish the life of Kuo Fan to be written and given into the care of the Imperial historiographers, that the memory of a life so beautiful may be preserved in the national annals. His son will inherit the title of count, and I give him dispensation from an audience. I appoint Ho Ching, lieutenant-general of Kiangsu, to be instructor of the children and grandchildren of the deceased. A token of my munificence will be given to them, that they may know how my throne remembers and honours a loyal servant."

Thus did the Emperor eulogise the man who had practically saved him his throne, and by his loyalty secured the continuance of the Manchu dynasty in China. It is said that Tseng might have assumed the reins of government himself; such was his power and influence in the empire, but he remained the incorruptible official and the faithful servant. He was noted for his honesty, and though occupying such positions as he did, died very poor. It is said that after his death his wardrobe did not contain a single new garment; all were old and worn.

In the record of Tseng's military exploits one must not lose sight of the fact that he was a scholar of considerable ability. His writings were greatly admired; the papers he addressed to the throne being held in the highest esteem. An edition of his collected works in 156 books, edited by his *protégé*, Li Hung-chang, was published in 1876.



# LI HUNG-CHANG

STATESMAN AND DIPLOMAT.

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**O**F all the great names of Chinese history not one is so well-known to Europeans as that of Li Hung-chang.

Even Confucius himself is only known by his Latinized appellation, and there are many to whom the name Confucius is a familiar term, who if mention was made of Kung Chiu, would be ignorant of the fact that reference was being made to the great sage of China. It is owing to the more friendly relations of recent years between China and the Western powers that a man like Li has become so widely known outside his own country; his energy, diplomatic skill, and force of character being the very elements that have contributed largely to this end. Whatever opinion is formed from a Western standpoint of his character and work, the fact remains that Li Hung-chang has proved himself one of the makers of his own nation's history, and as such is entitled to the honour and respect due to all great men.

Li Hung-chang was born at Hofei, in the province of Anhui, on February 16th, 1823. As a youth he was studious, and at a very early age became a beautiful writer of the complicated characters used by the Chinese, gaining a proficiency in this art, for which he was famous in his later life. Whilst still very young he successfully passed the first stages of the civic examinations, and at the age of twenty-four graduated as Chin Shih or Doctor. In 1849, two years later; he was admitted as a member of the famous Hanlin College, and as such entitled to a position of trust in the public service, but the empire being at that time a prey to disorder, he was left to make the best of his leisure at his native home.

It was not until some four years later that Li had the opportunity of distinguishing himself, but in a

different manner from what he had perhaps anticipated. The Taiping Rebellion had become a serious menace to the stability of the reigning dynasty. Nanking, the second city of the empire, was in the insurgents' hands, and a movement had already been made to secure the downfall of Peking. The Celestial King, on his conquest of the Yangtse Valley, realised that his position would not be secure unless the Imperial capital was also in his power, and accordingly a force marched northwards to accomplish that object. The path of the Taipings lay through the province of Anhui, and Li Hung-chang, then at his ancestral home, stirred by patriotism and ambition, raised a regiment of militia in order to oppose the insurgents. The rebel force was a large one and more than a match for Li's little band, and they continued in their progress towards the capital, but Li was able to harass the insurgents considerably. On the defeat of the rebels in the north, a retreat was ordered towards Nanking, and again Li, with his soldiers, caused the vanquished army some trouble. His patriotic action was reported to the great chief of the Imperialists, Tseng Kuo-fan, who at once enlisted Li and his men under his own command.

Li, once having gained influence on his side, rose rapidly from one post to another, and in six years had reached the responsible position of Taotai or Intendent of Circuit in Fukien. In this office he manifested all the energy and ability that characterised his later life, and thus laid the foundation for more important work in the future.

It was just at this time that the Taiping Rebellion, having almost died out, was revived by the energy and military ability of Chung Wang, the Faithful King, one of the principal supporters of the Taiping leader. Chung Wang, with considerable dash, captured the cities of Hangchow and Soochow with other less important positions in Kiangsu and Chekiang, and prepared to march on the treaty port of Shanghai. The inhabitants

of this latter place were much alarmed as they saw the possibility of the destruction of the commercial prosperity that had already distinguished it. Li, although not at all friendly towards the Europeans, recognised the ability and courage of the men from the West, and advised the formation of an European force to protect Shanghai and also to put a stop to the depredations of the rebels. An army was formed and placed under the command of an American adventurer named Ward, who possessed considerable military skill and proved it by defeating the rebels in more than one engagement. Li had the payment of these forces, and although he was often at a loss how to raise the money, and had many a quarrel with Ward about the finances, he managed somehow, and won the golden opinions of his Emperor, who as a reward for his services appointed him Governor of Kiangsu in 1862.

As Li in his new official capacity resided at Shanghai, he was brought more and more into touch with the Europeans at that port, and his name became known in other countries on account of his relations with them, and also the part he played in the suppression of the rebels in the district. He was responsible for the European division of the Imperial army under Ward, and used it for the destruction of the Taiping power in his own jurisdiction. This force was not always successful, and it was on one occasion of defeat that its commander received a wound, of which he died two days later. His place was taken by another adventurer of the same nationality, named Burgevine, and Li, who had had considerable trouble with Ward, found his successor a veritable thorn in his side. Much trouble ensued, and Li must have felt considerably relieved when Major Gordon of Chinese and also of Egyptian fame took command of the army in the place of Burgevine. Gordon soon increased the efficiency of the "Ever Victorious Army" as it was called, and place after place fell into his hands, thus quickly reducing the rebel power. In 1863 the fall of Soochow took place, and

then occurred the memorable event which put Li Hung-chang's life in danger of the avenging rifle of Gordon. For some time that officer had been in communication with the rebel leaders in Soochow and had promised them pardon if the city was delivered up. This they agreed to do, and at the time appointed, opened the gates and went out to the Imperialists. Li, who had left Shanghai for the scene of the capitulation, instead of respecting the promise of Gordon, ordered the rebel leaders to instant execution. The news of this treachery reached Gordon, and arming himself with a rifle he went off in pursuit of Li, and would certainly have shot the culprit if he had been able to find him. Li hearing of the anger of Gordon, quickly made his escape and wisely remained in concealment until the wrath of that officer had subsided. The fall of Soochow was a crushing blow to the Taiping power, and Li at once reported to the throne the great victory gained, of course by his own prowess. As a reward for his services the Emperor conferred upon him the honorary title of Guardian of the Heir-Apparent and presented him with the much coveted yellow jacket. For Gordon also there was a reward. The Emperor, in token of his appreciation of that officer's work, conferred upon him a military decoration of the first rank and ordered that a sum of ten thousand taels be given to him. In obedience to the edict Li, sent messengers bearing the money to Gordon, but these envoys were glad to get out of the presence of the enraged and insulted Englishman, for in response to their representations he laid his walking stick warmly about their shoulders and drove them away. This refusal of a large sum of money on the part of Gordon opened Li's eyes to the character of that high-minded soldier, and ever after the incident Li had the greatest respect for the man who had acted so nobly throughout the campaign and who had proved his disinterestedness in securing peace for the distracted country.

On account of the action of Li with regard to the rebel leaders, Gordon had resigned his commission, and

the "Ever Victorious Army," being inactive, the rebels were once more gaining power. Fortunately a reconciliation was brought about betwixt Li and Gordon, and the latter once more took the field in the interests of the empire. It was not long before the rebel power was crushed in the fall of Changchow, and Gordon's work was practically done. Li was now able to cope with the disaffection in his own jurisdiction, and accordingly at once disbanded the army that had done so much towards keeping the dynasty on the throne. He was afraid to continue its support, fearing that it might prove more than he could manage at some future crisis in the nation's affairs. Gordon was rewarded by the Emperor with the title of Ti Tu or Commander-in-Chief of a provincial army, and was also presented with the yellow jacket. A sum of money was likewise offered, but again refused.

The province over which Li had control was in a pitiable condition after the rebellion, and Li set about restoring it to its former prosperity, and in so doing distinguished himself by his administration. He encouraged the natives to return and cultivate the soil and secured for them the remission of three years' taxes in order to establish them in comfortable circumstances. He restored the cities of Soochow and Hangchow to something of their former beauty and established a postal system between the latter city and Shanghai. The task of ruling the province was by no means an easy one, especially as the war with England had opened up the country more than ever to the Europeans, and the native population did not take kindly to Western innovations. Li, however, was a strong man, and realising that it was of no use endeavouring to stem the tide of foreign influence, held the people in subjection and saw his orders carried out. For his able administration and services in the Taiping rebellion he was rewarded with the title of earl.

Li was not permitted, however, to remain long at his post in Kiangsu. The year after the fall of Nanking

saw the revival of the rebellion in the Nienfei uprising of the more northern provinces of Shantung and Honan, and Li was appointed Imperial Commissioner to suppress the revolt. In this he was not greatly successful, for after clearing the rebels out of Shantung he found that they had taken to junks and had landed at other ports, only to commit their depredations further inland. Two years after the outbreak Li was appointed to the viceroyalty of the Hukuang provinces at Wuchang, with orders still to carry on his campaign against the Nienfei. Having a different class of rebels to cope with, he was not successful, and in the following year was severely criticised by the Board of Censors at Peking and received a reprimand from the Emperor, who deprived him of his yellow jacket. Li was not the man to sit down under humiliation, and he took more vigorous measures for the suppression of the rebellion, which were finally crowned with success. He was summoned to Peking to receive the congratulations of his sovereign, who restored to him his honours and then sent him back to his viceroyalty at Wuchang.

In 1869 further honours were conferred on Li, and he was made a Tsai Shiang or Cabinet Minister, but no sooner had he received this mark of distinction than he was called upon to prove his loyalty to his government by taking steps to suppress a formidable rebellion that had broken out in Yunnan and Kueichow. Li had had sufficient of military life and had no desire to go westwards to suffer the discomforts of another campaign, and he delayed his preparations as long as he dared. He was just on the point of starting when he received orders to march northwards to the help of Tso Tsung-tang, a noted commander, who was endeavouring to pacify the disaffected regions of the north. Li journeyed to Shensi, and soon was able to report to the throne the suppression of the malcontents who had caused the trouble.

In 1870 occurred the terrible massacre of Roman Catholic missionaries at Tientsin, and the Viceroy of



Chihli, Tseng Kuo-fan, being held partly responsible for the occurrence, was degraded and removed to Nanking. Li Hung-chang was ordered to take up the seals of office in the place of Tseng and to institute an enquiry into the circumstances of the massacre. He was able to restore order and suppress the excitement of the natives of Tientsin, but the negotiations he conducted were not in the interests of the sufferers, and the representatives of the Western powers were not at all satisfied with the outcome. In this, as in many other affairs concerning the welfare of foreigners, Chinese duplicity prevailed.

Li was wise enough to see the probabilities of ruptures with the Western powers owing to such occurrences, and he set about strengthening the defences of the country. He re-armed the Taku Forts at the mouth of Peiho with Krupp guns, strengthened the earthworks, built other forts, and established an arsenal at Tientsin. In this work, however, he had to encounter a great deal of opposition, and carried on his schemes under the most overwhelming difficulties. Many of his fellow-officials were jealous of his power and influence, and endeavoured to secure his downfall; others opposed his innovations on account of their own ignorance and spirit of conservatism that has marked so many of the Chinese. It speaks much for Li's strength of character and will that he was able to succeed in his schemes in spite of such hostility.

Li, as Viceroy of Chihli, became a great power in the country, and the government recognised his worth. Apart from his ability as a Chinese official, his varied experiences with foreigners rendered him almost indispensable to the central authority, and his influence with the throne increased. Honours were heaped upon him. He was appointed Director of the Arsenal he had established, was made Superintendent of Trade, received the title of Honorary Imperial Tutor, and was also made a member of the Grand Council. As his power increased there were not wanting those who believed he harboured designs

against the government and the reigning dynasty, and was working towards a *coup d'état* which would set him upon the throne of China. He seems, however, to have been loyal to the Manchus.

Although Li gained so much power he was not altogether proof against the weapons of criticism wielded by the Board of Censors, and during his viceroyalty suffered one or two falls from Imperial favour. His first offence was in connection with the administration of his own province. There had been great floods which had destroyed many acres of good crops, and Li appealed to the throne for help to repair the banks of the rivers and thus prevent a recurrence of the inundation. The help was granted, and after a while Li reported that the banks were repaired and in good condition and that the work had been done economically. For this service he asked for more honours, both for himself and for those who had co-operated with him. Unfortunately a heavy rain fell, and the rush of water in the Grand Canal and other water courses destroyed the work of which he spoke so favourably. One of the censors immediately memorialised the throne accusing Li of having trifled with the Emperor in sending such a report, and the consequence was that the viceroy was handed over to the Board of Civil Office for nominal punishment. This made Li, however, more determined than ever to carry out his plans, and after securing the best engineering skill available, he was rewarded with success. Once more he reported his work to the throne, and in due time was restored to his former rank.

During these years the relations between the Chinese and foreigners were becoming more and more strained, the attitude of the officials towards the representatives of foreign powers becoming increasingly offensive. Li, as a Chinaman, was no exception, and whilst he took every opportunity of using the foreigner to further his own interests, he kept him at arm's length, thus earning the gratitude of the government, whose policy has always

seemed to be on these lines. But an affair occurred which brought matters to a crisis, and the result was another blow at the conservatism of the ancient empire in the signing of the treaty known as the Chefoo Convention.

It had been arranged by the Viceroy of India to send an expedition under Colonel Browne into China through Burmah with the idea of opening up the country to trade. In order to facilitate the passage of the expedition Mr. Margary, of the China Consular Service, was appointed to travel to the frontier and conduct Colonel Browne and his colleagues to their destination. Accordingly Mr. Margary proceeded across China, and in January, 1875, met the expedition, which at once proceeded on its way. Penetrating into Chinese territory, however, reports were heard that the natives were manifesting hostility, and Mr. Margary, not crediting the rumours, went on in advance of the expedition. On the 19th of February, 1875, he arrived at a town called Manwyne, and the following day he was treacherously murdered. At the same time a force attacked Colonel Browne's company, and the result was the abandonment of the expedition.

The British Minister at Peking, when he heard of the outrage, sought at once the punishment of the criminals and demanded reparation for the crime, but the Chinese authorities were so dilatory in the execution of justice that Sir Thomas Wade, the British Minister, broke off diplomatic relations with the government and left for Shanghai. This action, which might have entailed war between the two countries, brought the Chinese officials to their senses, and Li Hung-chang was appointed to meet Sir Thomas Wade at Chefoo to re-open negotiations on the question. Li, whilst not willing to secure the punishment of the real culprits, was ready to make terms with the British Minister, and the latter, realising that it would be almost impossible for justice to be done, sought to put matters on such a basis that a recurrence of such outrages would be impossible. He therefore sought for improved

official intercourse and additional trading regulations, and on the 13th September, 1876, the Chefoo Convention was signed by Sir Thomas Wade and Li Hung-chang.

It has already been mentioned that Li, realising the possibility of future wars with the Western powers, did much towards strengthening the coast defences of his country. Whilst preparing for such emergencies he was struck by the progress that Japan was making in the same direction, and he quickly saw how far China was behind her neighbour. He accordingly bent his energies all the more towards the equipment of the army and navy; amongst his innovations being the establishment of a torpedo college at Tientsin. He saw also that Japan was adopting many other Western methods, and he determined to follow suit. The Japanese were successfully developing the mining industry, and Li sent men to investigate this. The outcome was that Li proposed to form a company to work the mines in the Chihli province. This work being started, a railway was introduced for the conveyance of coal which, after a while, became very useful in the military schemes of the viceroy.

In 1877 there occurred the terrible famine in North China, during which some nine million people perished. The government did all in its power to relieve the distress, but a great deal of the money voted for that purpose found its way into the pockets of the responsible officials. Li endeavoured in many ways to supply the famine-stricken people, at the same time vehemently denouncing to the throne the speculators who were fattening on the lives of others. He collected donations towards the funds, and memorialised the government on the best and cheapest markets in which to buy grain. He superintended a system of distribution and did much good in the affected provinces.

In his memorials to the Emperor, Li urged the advisability of prohibiting distilling in order to save the grain so much needed for food, and he himself bought rice from

all quarters. He opened places in Tientsin for the free distribution of food, and it is said that he fed one thousand people each day from his own table. It is interesting to note in this connection his superstitious fancies and ideas, showing him, despite his strong common sense, the heathen and the idolater. During the months of drought he constantly prayed the Dragon King to send rain on the parched ground, and in obedience to an imperial decree, brought from Hantan Shien an iron tablet belonging to one of the temples of that city that is supposed to possess the power of attracting rain.

In 1882 Li's mother died, and he appealed to the Empress-Dowager for leave to resign his office and retire into private life till the days of mourning should be ended. Li, however, was too much needed, and leave was given only to proceed to Wuchang to attend the funeral. After an absence of only two months the viceroy resumed his duties at Tientsin.

Li's experience with foreigners, and also his ability as a diplomat, rendered him indispensable to the Chinese government. He was far-sighted enough to see that China would be worsted in any struggle with the Western powers or even with Japan, and his policy was always one of peace. Not that he was willing to submit to the claims of others, and purchase peace by humiliation, but he contrived, by acts of diplomacy, to create situations in which a settlement of a dispute was possible without loss of prestige. Many were the difficulties in which he was involved, especially in his later years, but he always managed to steer through the shoals and escape destruction.

In the year 1884 he was called upon to settle the Tonquin difficulty with the French. For some considerable time the French had been making advances against that territory, and in that year warlike operations were being carried on. Li endeavoured to secure peace and drew up a convention with Captain Fournier, who was credited with plenipotentiary powers. The agreement



was made, but repudiated at Peking, and Li, for a time, was in a precarious position. No less than forty-seven memorials were presented to the throne impeaching the viceroy of traitorous designs against his country, and it is said that he appealed to the Empress-Dowager for leave to retire into private life. Li, however, was too useful to the government to be easily thrown away, and he was able to retain his position in spite of the storm. Meanwhile the war was going on and the Chinese were suffering defeat, though little was being gained by the French. Both parties being tired of the whole affair, Li was once more instructed to enter into negotiations, and a treaty was finally concluded. It speaks much for Li's wisdom and farsightedness that this second treaty was practically the same as that concluded with Captain Fournier, and that the Chinese would have been the gainers if they had allowed the first one to stand.

Li was now getting an old man, and in the year 1888 he was warned of the fact by a stroke of paralysis, which rendered him for a time incapable of duty. He showed his confidence in the methods of European physicians by placing himself in the hands of Dr. Irwin, of Tientsin. Many times he was urged by his more conservative friends to call in Chinese doctors, but Li had sense enough to see that they were mere charlatans with no real medical knowledge. The Emperor was very solicitous about him and constantly sent to enquire after his health, and we are told that Prince Chun sent him twenty pills, which we presume he did not take. In 1892 Li's second wife died of malarial fever. This lady was in every way a real helpmeet to her husband. Kind and gracious, she was also clever, and shared in the progressive ideas that characterised the viceroy. She was good to the poor and also the sick, and one of her benefactions was the establishment of a hospital in Tientsin. Mr. Douglas tells us that it was with her approval, and at times at her instigation, that Li took part in the foreign municipal



life at Tientsin. He built the Gordon Hall there in memory of the soldier whom he had come to respect and admire. In March 1892, some months before his wife's death, he entertained in that hall the foreign consuls and other influential foreigners to celebrate his 70th birthday. Nor were the congratulations confined to the *élite* of Tientsin. The Emperor presented him with a tablet which he himself had inscribed, also with handsome scrolls and an image of Buddha. The Empress-Dowager also gave gifts of a similar kind.

Li's hardest task came to him when he had passed the allotted age of three score years and ten. It was in connection with the China-Japan war. For a considerable time affairs had been unsatisfactory in Corea, and there was constant friction between the Japanese reformers and the Chinese conservatives at the Corean court. Disturbances broke out, and the situation was aggravated by the landing of a Chinese force in Corea contrary to the agreement of 1885. Japanese troops were at once despatched, and Li, who although recognising the progress of Japan, perhaps underestimated her power, gave umbrage by his assumption of superiority on the part of the Chinese empire.

In July, 1895, he sent a British ship with troops, which was sunk by the Japanese. The war that followed is remembered by all. The Japanese were signally successful, and soon the flag of the island kingdom flew over Port Arthur. This place had been the special care of Li, who had raised it from the position of a fishing village to that of a strong fort, and when that fell, Li was bound to admit the superiority of the enemy as a fighting man. In the negotiations that followed, the Chinese tried the old trick of sending ambassadors of inferior rank, but the Japanese would not treat with them, and finally Li himself was appointed to meet the representatives of Japan. On account of the defeat of the Chinese, Li had suffered degradation. He had been deprived of his yellow jacket and other insignia, and the control of military affairs was

taken out of his hands. But the government saw that they could not do without him, and restoring to him his honours, sent him to make terms with the enemy. This was a humiliating task for Li, but he recognised his duty and did it. It was whilst negotiations were taking place that Li's life was attempted. One day, as he was being borne through the streets of Shimonoseki, a man rushed up to his chair and fired a pistol point-blank in his face. The bullet entered below the left eye, but did not penetrate to any great depth, and although the shock to the system of the old viceroy was great, in a surprisingly short time he recovered, in spite of the fact that the bullet was not extracted. Soon after this the treaty between China and Japan was signed, and Li returned to his native country. The conditions of peace were not palatable to the Chinese, and Li suffered in consequence the attacks of jealous-minded officials, but the treaty was ratified; Japan, however, abandoning her claims to the Liaotung Peninsula.

In 1896 Li was appointed to represent the Emperor at the coronation of the Czar of Russia. After the ceremony he visited the countries of Germany, Belgium, France, England, and the United States of America. After his return his services were required in Peking, until in 1900 he was sent to the viceroyalty of Canton. That year saw the Boxer movement, and he was recalled to the capital, and it was mainly through his exertions that a protocol of peace was signed in September, 1901. Two months after this Li Hung-chang died at the age of seventy-eight.

Li was a man of splendid physique, standing head and shoulders above the average height of his countrymen. His features betokened strength of will and ability to carry out his purposes. This is the distinguishing mark by which he will be known. Whatever verdict is given on his character as a statesman and politician, there is no doubt that he ranks high amongst the men of his age as a man of genius, ability, and tenacity of purpose, and as such worthy of the admiration and respect of all.

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