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From the 'Peking' 1853

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TIÈN TÈ

CHIEF OF THE INSURRECTION.

Printed by Smith, Elder & Co. London 1853

HISTORY

OF THE

INSURRECTION IN CHINA;

WITH NOTICES OF THE

CHRISTIANITY, CREED,

AND

PROCLAMATIONS OF THE INSURGENTS.

By MM. CALLERY AND YVAN.

Translated from the French,

WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY ACCOUNT OF THE MOST
RECENT EVENTS,

By JOHN OXENFORD.

WITH A FACSIMILE OF A CHINESE MAP OF THE COURSE OF THE
INSURRECTION, AND A PORTRAIT OF TIÈN-TÈ, ITS CHIEF.

THIRD EDITION, ENLARGED.

LONDON:

SMITH, ELDER & CO., 65, CORNHILL.

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P R E F A C E.

THE writers of this history of the Chinese insurrection are neither of them unknown to the world of letters. M. Callery, once a missionary, and afterwards interpreter to the French embassy in China, is the author of several works connected with the study of the Chinese language. Dr. Yvan, physician to the French embassy in China, has written an interesting book of travels in various parts of the globe, under the title of "Voyages et Recits." There is no preface to their history of the rebellion to inform us which is the share taken by each in the work, but from the antecedents of the two writers, we may fairly conjecture that the narrative belongs to Dr. Yvan, and the interpretation of the various documents with which it is interspersed to M. Callery.

If these gentlemen had merely made use of their opportunities of consulting the archives of their embassies to reduce a quantity of fragmentary information into a continuous narrative, they would still have done good service, considering the importance of their subject, and the scanty instalments by which we receive all the knowledge connected with it. But they have done far more than this: they have not merely given a dry narrative of the rebellion, but they have introduced so many lively descriptions of localities and events, that while this book has all the charm of a romance, it gives a novel, instructive, and even humorous picture of Chinese manners generally.

Although the work of MM. Callery and Yvan comprises the most important event that has occurred during the rebellion, namely, the capture of Nankin, it has been deemed advisable to add a supplementary chapter, bringing down the narrative to the date of publishing this translation. This supplementary chapter contains the events that have occurred since last April, together with some additional information, which throws new light on the narrative of the events preceding.

In spelling the Chinese names, the French mode has been adopted; the monosyllabic elements of the names of places commencing each with a capital letter, while those of persons are distinguished by the hyphen only. An alteration of the spelling would have rendered the book inconsistent with the Map, and, in the case of persons, would hardly have been justifiable. To convert the French orthography into the English, a change of "Tch" into "Ch," of "Ch" into "Sh," and of initial "Ou" into "W" will generally suffice. The French method of distinguishing provinces by the definite article (as *the Kouang-Si*), has also been employed.

With respect to the map, it should be remarked, that a red spot against a town indicates its capture by the insurgents.

J. O.

London, August 25, 1853.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THE great interest excited by MM. Callery and Yvan's account of the Chinese Insurrection, has induced the publishers to bring out a new and enlarged edition of the English version of that book. The translator having added to his "Supplementary Chapter" a "postscript," comprising the events that have happened since the date of our last publication, the book is thus rendered a complete history of the Chinese movement to the end of October.

It is scarcely necessary to state that MM. Callery and Yvan's work is, in point of fact, the only original history now in existence of one of the most stupendous movements that ever occurred on the surface of the globe, and that this is the only authorized version of a book, remarkable not only as a statement of extraordinary facts, but for that vivacity and spirit which give such an indescribable charm to the narrative.

London, December 19th, 1853.

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THE
INSURRECTION IN CHINA.

CHAPTER I.

The Emperor Tao-kouang—the last years of his reign.

THE Chinese insurrection is one of the most important events of the present time. Politicians of all countries observe with curiosity the progress of that invading army, which during three years has steadily advanced towards its proposed end—the overthrow of the Tartar dynasty. Will it attain this prodigious result? This we cannot yet foresee; but in the mean while all who are interested in Christianity or in commerce watch with uneasiness the alternations of the struggle, and the nations of the West await with anxiety the issue of a war which, come when it may, will essentially modify their relations with the Chinese empire. In such a state of things, we have deemed it opportune to write a history of the insurrection—to give an idea of the

threatening invasion—and to follow its course through the districts where it has already penetrated. To throw a light on the origin of these events we shall first sketch the biography of the last emperor, and give a glance at the state of the Chinese empire at the close of his reign.

This monarch, who was born in 1780, and who on ascending the throne took the name of Tao-kouang, or “brilliant reason,” was the second son of the Emperor Kia-king. His youth was passed in comparative obscurity, and he was thirty years of age when an event which nearly overthrew his dynasty suddenly brought out some of the eminent qualities with which he was endowed.

The Emperor Kia-king was a weak incapable man, completely governed by those around him. An unworthy favourite reigned in his name. This person, who was named Lin-king, was the chief eunuch of the palace. Instances of this kind are not rare in the annals of the court of China. The chief of the eunuchs has always great influence in the intrigues of the palace, and according to the strange ideas of the country, his personal defect is no obstacle to his ambition. The authority of Lin-king was boundless. He disposed of every office. The highest functionaries, the ministers, and even the imperial family, bowed before him. Nor did this lofty position satisfy him. The indirect exercise of

power emboldened him to desire the sovereign authority for himself, and he began to open a path to the throne by gaining over the greater part of the military mandarins. This conspiracy was conducted with so much secrecy, that no one at the Court of Peking suspected it in the least.

One day, when the Emperor was hunting with his sons, Lin-king introduced into the capital those troops whose chiefs he knew were entirely devoted to him, and the soldiers were disposed about the environs of the palace. The plan of the first eunuch was to kill the Emperor and the princes of the imperial family, and to have himself immediately proclaimed by the army, whose chiefs he had secured. Towards the evening the Emperor returned to the palace without mistrust, accompanied by his eldest son, and followed by his usual *cortège* of civil and military mandarins. Scarcely was the great portal closed behind him than Lin-king gave the signal to his cohorts, who at once surrounded the palace, and guarded every outlet.

In the hurry of this critical moment, the first eunuch had not observed that the second son of Kia-king was not returned from the chase with his father. When the conspiracy had already broken out, the prince returned to Peking alone. He was in a hunting dress, and wore none of the insignia of royalty; he could therefore traverse the city with-

out being recognised. The greatest agitation already prevailed in the principal quarter, and he only required a moment's reflection to perceive the cause of the tumult, and to divine the purpose for which the troops had surrounded the palace. By the aid of his plain costume, he passed through the people, who were in an excited and disorderly state, and reached the very focus of rebellion. The first eunuch had left the palace to harangue his partisans, and the prince could now see that the favourite, whose insolence had so often angered him, was at the head of the rebellion. He approached still nearer, unobserved among the throng of troopers, and although he was quite alone among so many enemies he did not for an instant lose his courage or his presence of mind. Tearing off the round metal buttons which adorned his dress, to use them as bullets, he loaded the fowling-piece which he carried in his belt, and taking a short aim at the chief eunuch, shot him dead on the spot.

The troops were thrown into disorder. The soldiers threw down their arms and fled, and all the partisans of Lin-king dispersed, to escape the chastisement they had deserved. The prince returned triumphant into the imperial residence, the threshold of which had not been profaned by the rebels, and old Kia-king learned his danger and his deliverance at the same time.

Tao-kouang ascended the throne in 1820. According to the usages of the princes of his dynasty, he had married a Tartar woman — a woman with large feet. She did not give birth to any children; but he had a numerous family by his concubines. In China, neither law nor custom makes any difference between the children of a lawful wife and those of a concubine: they have all the same rights; the sterility of the Empress therefore did not at all affect the succession to the throne.

During the earlier part of his reign, Tao-kouang called to the administration of public affairs, those statesmen who, in the eyes of the people, were faithful guardians of Chinese traditions. Every nation whose history dates from a remote past, has its conservative party; and during tranquil times it is to the representatives of the old national guarantees that the government is naturally entrusted. But when the moment for modifying ancient institutions has inevitably arrived, the exclusive attachment of this party to things of the past becomes really dangerous. This political truth may be perceived as well in the history of Chinese revolution, as in the history of France. The agents of Tao-kouang, thoroughly Chinese in their ideas, and filled with a proud disdain for barbarian nations, involved their country in a disastrous war, because they did not see that the moment was come when they

should descend from that diplomatic elevation where their presumption and the endurance of the Europeans had so long maintained them. At a later period, the same spirit of resistance to the exigencies of the time caused the insurrectional movement of which we are about to treat. In fact, the two most important events which have been chronicled in the annals of China during the last quarter of a century—namely, the war with England, and the revolt in the Kouang-si—have both proceeded from the same cause.

In spite of all the opposition of the “Son of Heaven,” the war of China against England resulted in bringing Chinese diplomacy, to a certain extent, within the compass of the political movement of the West; and the experience which cost Tao-kouang so dear, afforded no instruction to his successor. Before proceeding further, we will briefly set forth the occasion of this first struggle.

By virtue of its original charter, the East India Company enjoyed till 1834 the monopoly of the British trade with China. Those merchants who have founded, beyond the limits of their own country, the most opulent and extensive empire of our time, had the sole right of trading in the produce of the Chinese empire. It will easily be understood that when difficulties arose between the Chinese functionaries and the Company’s agents,

the latter, being exclusively occupied with commercial interests, made but feeble protestations against pretensions which were often exorbitant. The representatives of the Company were, for the most part, clever merchants, and nothing more; and the one among them, who has of late acquired the most celebrity—namely, Sir John Davis—was more distinguished for his literary attainments than for his national susceptibility.

When the Company's charter expired in 1834, the English Government refused to renew their exclusive privileges; and all British merchants had now a right to trade with China. Some years afterwards, the Emperor Tao-kouang resolved to check in his dominions the progress of a custom, which was about a century old—in other words, to prohibit the sale of opium through the whole extent of the Celestial Empire. For this purpose he sent to Canton a man whose services he had already learned to appreciate. A mandarin of acknowledged integrity and inflexible will, whose severity was somewhat barbarous, came to the capital of the two Kouangs to replace a faithless official, who, in consideration of enormous advantages, had closed his eyes to the illicit traffic of the British merchants and the smugglers.

Every one trembled at the arrival of the new governor, who wore the insignia of the highest dig-

nitics, and whose appearance was very imposing. Lin was then about fifty years of age ; he wore the red ball, and the peacock's feather with two eyes.*

Lin's only error was that he did not understand the altered spirit of the time, and consequently did not reckon on the change which had taken place in the character of the foreigners with whom he had to settle such difficult and delicate questions. So long as the mandarins had to deal directly with agents of the East India Company, they could without danger assume a disdainful tone ; for such a tone inflicted no deep wound on men devoted solely to their commercial interests. But when Lin came suddenly into contact with the representatives of a government jealous of its dignity, he struck against a rock which he little expected.

As a man of tact, he should have confined himself to the efficacious measures he had already adopted. Thanks to his activity, his zeal, and above all to the fear which he inspired, he had given new sinews to the Chinese Government, and the smugglers, con-

* The colour of the ball worn at the apex of the conical cap serves, in some measure, to mark the rank of the wearer. Red indicates the highest degree of official dignity. The introduction of peacock's feathers, of one, two, or three eyes, and of different colours, to hang from the top of the cap down the back as a sign of various degrees of merit, was an invention of the Tartar dynasty.—J. O.

stantly chased by the custom-house officers of the Celestial Empire, had nearly abandoned their dangerous trade. But not content with this first success, he wished, by a vigorous act, to strike a blow at the British merchants, and to put out of their heads all thoughts of again introducing the narcotic drug into the Chinese empire.

One night the hong, or factories in which the foreigners resided, were surrounded by troops; and the English, American, and Parsee merchants, learned, when they awoke, that they were Lin's prisoners, and that the viceroy of the two Kouangs allowed them three days to give up all the opium they had on board the "receiving ships;" in default whereof, they were to be treated according to the utmost rigour of the new law,—in other words, were to lose their heads.

This was a violent measure, especially when we reflect that Lin was by no means in the right. In France, where ideas are not always correct, it is a settled point that the English were wrong in the opium war, and that the cause of right suffered in the treaty of Nankin. No opinion could be more false. The English carried on a contraband trade on the coasts of the Celestial Empire precisely similar to the smuggling which takes place on the coast of France; and we have not, as I am aware, laid down the principle that we can seize and

threaten with death all the foreign merchants within our clutches, on the pretext that there are vessels in the Havre or Marseilles roads loaded with contraband goods. To proceed, however — when Lin struck his decisive blow, there were vessels off the island of Lin-tin loaded with more than 20,000 chests of opium, and representing a value of more than 50,000,000 francs (2,000,000*l.*) This glut arose from the efficacious measures which had been pursued by the hoppo (the director-general of the Canton customs), at the instigation of and under the authority of Lin.

In this extremity, the prisoners wrote at once to Captain Elliot, commander of the naval forces of England in the Chinese waters, who then happened to be at Macao. They informed him of the dangers which threatened their lives and fortunes, at the same time soliciting his intervention and assistance. Captain Elliot hastened to his countrymen at once, and after urging them not to yield to the demands of the mandarins, he announced that he purchased the 20,000 chests of opium in the name of her Britannic Majesty; and declared that he would make a political question of what had hitherto been a commercial difficulty. He then ordered Lin to withdraw his troops, and release the Queen's subjects. The viceroy took no heed of this demand. He simply replied, that the severest mea-

asures would be taken against the English, unless the whole of the opium on board of their ships was given up.

As Captain Elliot had not sufficient force to resist the Chinese troops, he gave up the prohibited article. Lin caused large pits to be dug, and the opium, covered with quick-lime, was buried in the island of Lin-tin, in the presence of witnesses; after which operation, the foreign merchants detained at Canton were set at liberty.

However, the day of retribution was at hand. In a short time a British fleet sailed up the river of Canton, dismantling the forts, and threatening the banks on each side, and took a strong position on the northern coasts of China, by occupying Tehou-san (Chusan). When news of these events was received at Peking, Lin was immediately recalled, and Ki-chan, a member of the imperial family, was appointed by the Emperor to succeed him. Ki-chan was an intelligent and resolute man. He saw at once with what sort of enemies he had to deal, and the danger to which the Government had been exposed by the imprudence and presumption of his predecessor. As a skilful diplomatist he did not hesitate to accept the *ultimatum* laid down by the "barbarians;" that is to say, he avoided a disastrous war by accepting hard conditions, such as a heavy indemnity paid to the English, the cession

of Hong-kong, and so forth. However, when the treaty was submitted to the Emperor for sanction, the "Son of Heaven" rejected it with indignation. Ki-chan was ignominiously recalled, and underwent the greatest indignity that had ever been inflicted on any high functionary under the reign of Tao-kouang. He was publicly degraded, his property was confiscated, his concubines were sold, his house was razed to the ground, and, to complete his misfortunes, he was exiled to the remotest part of Tartary.

These sudden reverses of fortune are spectacles which the Celestial Emperor often presents to the Chinese people. The lower orders always applaud such catastrophes, which appeal to their gross instincts: and they think that a strong blow is necessarily a just one. Those of our readers who wish to form a better acquaintance with the great mandarin Ki-chan, have only to read the "Voyage au Thibet," by MM. Huc and Gabet; they will find him at Lassa, on intimate terms with the intrepid travellers.

A mandarin named Y-chan succeeded Ki-chan in the government of Canton, and brought back with him the treaty which his predecessor had concluded, torn. Hostilities were renewed at once. Every one knows the result of the English expedition. Ning-po, Chang-hai, Tchou-san, Ting-hai, fell successively

into the hands of the English, who at last compelled the Chinese to sign at Nankin a treaty, by which they ceded Hong-Kong to the "barbarians;" opened to them four new ports on the northern coast of the empire, granted them the occupation of Tchou-san for five years; and, moreover, bound themselves to pay a heavy indemnity.

This treaty was concluded by Ki-in, another member of the royal family, with whom we were intimately acquainted. He was the political friend of Mou-tchang-ha, the prime minister, and member of the council. These two persons were unquestionably the greatest statesmen during the reign of Tao-kouang. It is very probable that the "Son of Heaven," the sublime Emperor, never knew precisely what was going on between the English and the Chinese. He died, doubtless, consoled by the pleasant thought that his troops were invincible, and that if Hong-kong had been charitably bestowed on a few wretched exiles, it was only because they had begged for the happiness of being his subjects.

At all events, the treaty of Nankin was signed and ratified, and Ki-in, who was appointed governor of the two Kouangs, came to occupy the difficult post of Canton. He at once impressed his convictions on the mind of the prime minister, Mou-tchang-ha, and through his influence with that high dignitary, though difficulties still sometimes arose

between the people of the West and the Chinese, a rupture became almost impossible. We should add that this new policy, this attitude of the progressive conservatives, irritated the population of Canton against them. They were accused of temporizing with foreigners, and betraying their sovereign for the advantage of the barbarians. Thousands of placards held up the name of Ki-in as an object of popular hatred and vengeance. We quote one of these placards literally, to show that injustice, violence, and evil passions, belong to all countries and all races.

“Our cannibal mandarins have hitherto been the accomplices of the English robbers in all the acts that the latter have committed against order and justice. For five years to come our nation will mourn the humiliation it has been forced to undergo.

“In the fifth moon of the present year, many Chinese have been slain by foreigners; their bodies have been flung into the river, and buried in the bellies of fishes; but our high authorities have treated these affairs as though they had never heard of them; they have looked upon these foreign devils as though they were gods; they have despised the Chinese as though they had the flesh of dogs; and have not valued the life of men more than the hair which is shorn from the head.

They persist in keeping the throne in ignorance of what is passing, and in neglecting to treat this affair with the importance which it deserves. Thousands of people are filled with grief and anger; sorrow has penetrated the marrow of their bones, and their sole consolation is to express their woes in the public assemblies, &c., &c."

These absurd accusations had no influence on the political fortunes of Ki-in. The Emperor, satisfied with his services, recalled him to Peking to confer new dignities upon him and to raise him to the highest offices. He became the colleague of Moutchang-ha. These two statesmen endeavoured to effect several reforms. The first was directed to the military department. Ki-in saw clearly that the Chinese soldiers, armed like the Homeric heroes with bows and arrows, or encumbered with old-fashioned matchlocks, could not cope with the European troops, and he endeavoured to change this grotesque mode of equipment. We find on this subject a very curious report presented to the emperor during the ministry of Ki-in. The point is the substitution of percussion guns for the old arquebus, which was fired with a match. We see that in this change of fire-arms China has the advantage over Europe: she has passed over the flint-and-pan.

"I respectfully report, that whereas your Majesty has charged a prince of the imperial family to

make an experiment of the percussion weapons made in my department, all these weapons have been found admirably efficient. Nevertheless, as such weapons are somewhat similar in their mechanism to clocks and watches, they are in constant danger of getting out of order, so as not to work at all. Hence they are in need of frequent repair, which must not be neglected if they are to be kept ready for use at a moment's notice.

“For the manufacture of detonating powder and gunpowder an annual supply of one thousand cattis of saltpetre and fifty cattis of sulphur will be required; and I entreat your Majesty to have them sent to me.

“Fifty thousand copper caps should be placed every year in the arsenals, as a reserve, and renewed when necessary, in order to meet the exigencies of a sudden war. Besides this supply, a quantity of caps should be made for the practice with fire-arms, which takes place during the great reviews of spring and autumn.

“A year has scarcely elapsed since your Majesty first gave orders for the manufacture of weapons of the kind above mentioned, and even now all the persons employed on them—artificers, officers, and soldiers—have acquired wonderful experience, not only in the art of making them, but also in that of using them. We, therefore, pray your Majesty to

grant to each of them the reward which his meritorious efforts deserve. We also entreat you to publish an edict setting forth the Mantchou name which is to be given to the percussion guns."

Thus in the last days of the reign of Tao-kouang the Chinese empire was really in the path of progress. Mou-tchang-ha and Ki-in gave a powerful impulse to the movement, while the conciliatory spirit of the two ministers improved the relations with foreigners. The English chased the pirates, to the advantage of both nations; and if a suspicious junk made its appearance in the southern waters they ran it down at once. In fact, all was going on for the best, when an unexpected event changed the aspect of affairs.

CHAPTER II.

Accession of the Emperor Hièn-foung.

ON the 26th of February, 1850, at seven o'clock in the morning, the entrances to the imperial palace of Peking were obstructed by a dense throng of mandarins of the inferior orders, and servants in white dresses and yellow girdles, who spoke in a whisper, and wore an aspect of official grief on their countenances. In the midst of this ocean of subalterns were stationed sixteen persons, each accompanied by a groom, who held a horse saddled and bridled. These sixteen persons wore the satin cap tied under the chin and surmounted by a white ball; also a girdle hung with bells; a tube of a yellow colour was slung diagonally over their shoulders, and they held in their hand a long whip. One of the high dignitaries came out from the palace, and with his own hands gave each of these men a folded document sealed with the red

seal of the Emperor. The sixteen, after bowing to receive it, swung round the tube, which with the exception of its yellow colour perfectly resembled the tin cylinders in which soldiers, released from service enclose their *congé*. In this they respectfully placed the official despatch; after which they mounted on horseback, while the grooms secured them on their saddles with thongs that passed over their thighs. When they were firmly fixed, the crowd gave way, and the horses set off at full speed. These sixteen horsemen, who are called *Féi-ma*, or “flying couriers,” had each of them to perform in twenty-four hours a journey of six hundred *li*, or sixty leagues French. Their office was to carry the following despatch to the Governor-general of the sixteen provinces of the Celestial Empire:—

“The Board of Rites gives notice in great haste to the Governor-general, that on the fourteenth of the first moon, the Supreme Emperor, mounted on a dragon, departed to the ethereal regions. At the hour *mao* in the morning, his Celestial Majesty transmitted the imperial dignity to his fourth son, *Se-go-ko*, and in the evening, at the hour *hai*, he set off for the abode of the gods.

“It is consequently ordered that the mourning for the Empress-dowager, which had nearly reached its termination, shall be immediately resumed by all

civil and military functionaries, and that no one shall be allowed to shave his beard or his head in the interval. A subsequent decree will make known the duration of the great imperial mourning."

Thus it appears that the Emperor Tao-kouang was dead, and accordingly the constitution of the empire had devolved the supreme dignity on the successor he had appointed.

The sceptre was to be wielded by his fourth son; but the "Son of Heaven" had departed from ancient usage, by appointing his heir by word of mouth. Usually the bequest of supreme power was made long beforehand, by a solemn document which was deposited in a golden coffer, to be opened with great solemnity when the Emperor ceased to exist. However, even in China the last will of a deceased monarch is not always respected, and we may find there, as elsewhere, an illustration of the old adage, "A living dog is better than a dead lion." The history of the Celestial Empire offers several examples of a violation of the posthumous orders of the Emperor; and we may as well record here one of the most remarkable instances of the sort, inasmuch as it strikingly exemplifies the civilization and manners of China.

The second Emperor of the dynasty of Tsin, Tsin-che-houang, being already old and infirm, sent his

son Fou-sou, the heir to the throne, into the north of China, to superintend the defensive works, which three hundred thousand men were constructing on the Tartarian frontier. He gave the young prince for his guide and guardian the celebrated Mong-tièn, an experienced general, and the most illustrious warrior of his time. While the imperial prince and his three hundred thousand men were working at that great wall of China, which travellers have so much lengthened in their narratives, the old Emperor Tsin-che-houang took it into his head to perform a pilgrimage into the southern provinces, to visit the tombs of his predecessors Chuen and Yu. The latter is the Deucalion of Chinese mythology, and his memory is held in high veneration.

Tsin-che-houang performed this long journey, accompanied by his second son, Hou-haï, and Tcha-kao, chief of the eunuchs. The old Emperor could not support the fatigues of the journey. He fell ill at a great distance from his capital, and feeling the approach of death, wrote to his eldest son to quit the frontier, and proceed with all haste to the capital of the empire, there to receive the news of his decease, and to celebrate his funeral when his body should be brought thither by his faithful servants. The chief of the eunuchs, whose office it was to place the imperial seal on this despatch and send

it to the crown-prince of the empire, fabricated another despatch, and boldly substituted it for that of the dying emperor. In this document, which had all the marks of authenticity, Tsin-che-houang ordered the prince his son, and the illustrious warrior who accompanied him, to kill themselves, by way of expiating their transgressions.

On the day after the perpetration of this fraud, the Emperor died. The infamous Tcha-kaio then persuaded the second son to take possession of the throne; but to effect this usurpation, it was necessary to conceal the death of the Emperor for a certain time, in order that the high functionaries, and the young princes, who had remained in the capital, might not of their own accord proclaim the heir, already appointed by the deceased monarch.

The eunuch therefore contrived this stratagem. The body, wrapped in sumptuous raiment, and in the same attitude as during life, was placed in a litter surrounded by a light trellis-work, and concealed by silken curtains. A few initiated persons could alone approach it, and the eunuch proclaimed throughout the route that the Emperor, wishing to hasten his return, would travel day and night without alighting from his litter. At meal times, the procession stopped for a moment to take in the food, which was consumed by a man placed in a litter by the side of the corpse; but even the most curious eye

could not detect anything behind the thick silken curtains.

Unfortunately this took place during the most intense heat of summer, and the corpse soon began to send forth a most intolerable stench, which would have revealed the terrible truth, had not the eunuch contrived a new expedient. He sent in advance of the procession an ante-dated edict, professedly issued by the Emperor, which declared that the said Emperor, for the interest of commerce, allowed the carts of vendors of oysters to take the same route as his cortége. Formerly this had been severely prohibited on account of the offensive nature of the wares. The oysters, which in Chinese are called pao-yu, are the enormous shell-fish to which naturalists give the name of *spondyles*, and were then, as now, largely consumed by the people.

The oyster-dealers took advantage of the permission which was granted them; and consequently cart-loads of *spondyles* preceded and followed the imperial procession, sending forth effluvia which defied the most sensitive nose to detect the putrid exhalations of the corpse among the alkaline exhalations which surrounded it. In this manner the imperial litter reached the capital amid the sound of gongs and the acclamations of the multitude.

Prince Hou-haï and the eunuch took their measures at once. Having gained over the high functionaries and the soldiers, they announced the death of Tsin-che-houang, and proclaimed the new Emperor. While all this was going on at Ping-yuèn, Fou-sou and Mong-tièn received with astonishment the imperial edict which commanded them to kill themselves. The old general observed to his pupil that it was contrary to the rules of sound policy to order generals who commanded 300,000 men to die by their own hands, without providing successors, and he was therefore of opinion that the imperial edict was a forgery. However Fou-sou made the heroic reply that filial piety required him to obey, without examination or discussion, an order bearing his father's seal, and stabbed himself without hesitation.

The accession of Hièn-foung was not attended by such disastrous circumstances, though his father had not appointed him in the express terms to which the Chinese, who are formalists by nature, attach great importance. He mounted the throne without opposition, and if we have related the catastrophe of Prince Fou-sou, it is only for the purpose of showing the reader how easily the most audacious crimes may be perpetrated in a country where an almost invisible sovereign is surrounded by persons who, at any given moment, can conspire together to violate without a

struggle the law of succession to the throne. The new Emperor, according to custom, abandoned the name he had hitherto borne, and took that of Hièn-foung, which signifies "Complete Abundance."

CHAPTER III.

The new Emperor and the old Ministers—First news of the Insurrection.

AFTER the death of Tao-kouang, one of us wrote as follows:—"We must be very ignorant of the affairs of China, or have some interest in concealing the truth, if we do not feel the gravity of the political position resulting from the old Emperor's decease." These words were addressed to some journalists, who seemed to think that the people of the Celestial Empire were utter strangers to the feelings which animate the people of the West. We, on the other hand, who have long been convinced that the disdain of the Chinese for the arts of the barbarians is no more than a result of national vanity, could not conceal from ourselves the gravity of the position.

A young man of nineteen, inheriting absolute power, and succeeding an old man whose reign had been chequered by events of incalculable import, appeared to us a severe test for the destinies of

the empire. It was to be feared that he would only be guided by the feelings and suggestions of persons of his own age ; and it must be remembered that in China the educated youth and the ignorant populace entertain the same political opinions. They profess an equal hatred for foreigners, and entertain the same instinctive repugnance for the institutions of other countries. The arts of other nations seem to them tainted with heresy, for they feel that their introduction among themselves is followed by new manners and customs. In a word, they are re-actionaries by habit, and by their attachment to national usages. Only those who are of a mature age, and have been trained in the school of experience, can appreciate the arts and institutions of Christian nations. Ki-in, at the time of our residence in China, when no misfortune had yet befallen him, often praised the Governments of England, the United States, and France ; and at the same time, Ki-chan, who had been unjustly cast down from his high position, expressed similar opinions to MM. Hue and Gabet, in the holy city of Thibet.

The accession of Hièn-foung was hailed as an event of great promise. The national party saw in him the regenerator of the old exclusive system. If this party did not hope to see him build the great wall which was now crumbling, it could, at any rate, believe, without excessive vanity, that he would raise

a barrier across the river of Canton, and hinder the *fire-ships* of the "barbarians" from approaching the capital of the two Kouangs. On the other hand, the progressive conservatives hoped that one who was the son of Tao-kouang, and the pupil of Ki-in, would maintain peace with foreigners, and regulate the opium trade, as the English had done in India, the Dutch in Malay, and as the French have done with respect to the sale of two poisons equally dangerous, alcohol and tobacco; and finally, that the army, the fleet, and the administrative details of the Chinese, would receive those improvements which modern times demanded.

In monarchical countries—especially where the monarchy is absolute—the beginning of a new reign affords full scope to all sorts of illusions and ambitious dreams. Everybody prepossessed with his own utopia hopes to see it realized, when a hint from the sovereign will is all that is required for so desirable an end. Hence, during the first days of the reign of Hièn-foung, each of the different parties believed that its own system of politics would be established.

In the mean while the young Emperor lived, surrounded by a troop of flatterers, eunuchs, and concubines, in his immense palace—whose domain is as extensive as one of our cities. He never passed the limits of those gardens, the walks of which are of quartz, sparkling with a thousand

colours; and it might be imagined that he was altogether absorbed in those refined luxuries and splendid enjoyments which are concealed in retreats impenetrable to the eyes of the multitude. Politicians began to feel surprised at this long period of inaction; when all of a sudden the thunder broke forth. The absolute power exerted itself at last—the moment of unexpected downfalls, and unlooked-for elevations, had arrived. It was the reactionary party that triumphed. The *Moniteur* of Peking contained the dismissal of Mou-tehang-ha and of Ki-in, and thus set forth the motive of this proceeding:—

“To employ men of merit, and to remove the unworthy, is the first duty of a sovereign, for if any indulgence is shown to the unworthy, the government loses all its power.

“The injuries done to the empire, by some of its functionaries, have now reached their utmost limit. The Government is everywhere on the decline; the people are in a state of general demoralization; and the burden of all these calamities falls upon me. Nevertheless it was the duty of my ministers to propose good measures, to reform abuses, and to render me such daily assistance as might keep me in the right direction.

“Mou-tehang-ha, as first minister of the cabinet, has enjoyed the confidence of several Emperors, but he has taken no account of the difficulties of his office,

or of his obligation to identify himself with the virtue and good counsels of his sovereign. On the contrary, while he has maintained his position, and the credit which pertains to it, he has, to the great detriment of the empire, kept men of real merit out of office, and while, to deceive me, he has put on an outward show of devotion and fidelity, he has only employed his talents in dexterously trying to make my views accord with his own.

“One of the acts which most kindled indignation, was his removal from office of those men who had not the same political opinions with himself, at the time when the question concerning the barbarians was under consideration. For with regard to Ta-houng-ha and Yao-joung, whose extreme fidelity and energy offended him, he never rested till he had overthrown them; while with respect to Ki-in, a shameless man, who is dead to all virtue, and whom he hoped to have for an accomplice in his iniquities, he was not satisfied till he had raised him to the highest dignity. There are numberless examples of the same kind to show that he constantly made use of the favour he enjoyed to extend the measure of his power.

“The last Emperor was too honest and too just himself to suspect men of perfidy, and on this account Mou-tchang-ha has been allowed to go on fearlessly and without hindrance in his evil courses.

If all his treason had once been brought to light, there is no doubt that he would have suffered a severe punishment, and that not the slightest mercy would have been extended to him. However, his audacity was increased by his impunity, and the continuation of the imperial favour; and even unto this day his conduct has been unchanged.

“At the beginning of our reign, whenever we had occasion to ask his advice, he either gave it in equivocal terms, or was silent. A few months afterwards he had recourse to stratagem. When the vessel of the English barbarians arrived at Tièn-sin he conspired with his confident Ki-in to make his own policy prevail, and to expose the people of the empire to the return of past calamities. We cannot depict all the dangers which were hidden in his schemes.

“When the minister Pan-che-gan strongly advised us to employ Lin, Mou-tchang-ha never ceased to urge that the infirmities of Lin rendered him unfit for any employ; and when we ordered him to proceed to the Kouang-Si to exterminate the rebels, Mou-tchang-ha again questioned the aptitude of Lin for this mission. He has thus treacherously endeavoured to dazzle our eyes, that we may not see what is going on without; and it is in this that his culpability really consists.

“As for Ki-in, his anti-national propensities, his

cowardice, and his incapacity, are beyond expression. While he was at Canton he did nothing but oppress the people in order to please the barbarians, to the great detriment of the State. Was not this clearly shown in the discussion respecting the entrance of the Europeans into the official city?

“On the one hand he violated the sacred principles of justice, while on the other he outraged the natural feelings of the nation, thus causing hostilities which we had no reason to expect.

“Very fortunately, our predecessor, fully informed of the duplicity of this man, recalled him in haste to the capital, and though he did not at once remove him from office, he would certainly have done so when a fitting time arrived.

“Often, in the course of the present year, when he has been called before us, he has, while speaking of the English barbarians, endeavoured to persuade us how greatly they were to be feared, and how necessary it would be to come to a speedy understanding with them, if any difference arose. He thought that we did not know his treason, and that he could easily deceive us; but the more he declaimed, the more evident did his depravity become, and his discourse was no more in our ears than the barking of a mad dog. He even ceased to be an object of commiseration.

“The manœuvres of Mou-tchang-ha were veiled

and hard to detect, while those of Ki-in were palpable and visible to all the world ; but with respect to the mischief they might have done to the empire, the guilt of both these persons was equal. If we do not proceed against them with all the severity of the law, how are we to show our respect for the institutions of the empire? How will our example strengthen the people in sentiments of rectitude?

“ Considering, however, that Mou-tchang-ha is an old minister, who has held the reins of empire for a long time, under three successive reigns, it goes against our heart suddenly to inflict upon him the severe chastisement which he deserves. We wish, therefore, that he be treated with mildness, that he be simply deprived of his rank, and that he never be recalled to any office hereafter.

“ The incapacity of Ki-in has been extreme ; nevertheless, taking into consideration the difficulties of his position, we wish that he also should be treated with indulgence, and order that he be degraded to the fifth rank, and that he remain as a candidate for employment in one of the six Boards of administration.

“ The selfish conduct of these two men, and their infidelity to their sovereign, are notorious throughout the empire. Nevertheless we have treated them with clemency, not condemning them to capital punishment. In examining their case, we have used

all our care, and it was not till after mature reflection, as our ministers are aware, that we came most unwillingly to a decision which had become indispensable.

“ May all the civil and military officers of the capital and the provinces show henceforth by their conduct, that they are guided by the principles of sound morality, and faithfully serve the empire without fearing difficulties or seeking indolent repose. If any one is aware of any measure calculated to call forth the wholesome action of the government, or to promote the welfare of the people, let him make it known without reserve. No one should be guided by his attachment to his political master, or by his sympathies for his protectors.

“ Such are our most ardent wishes; and we order that our decision be published both within and without the capital, that all the empire may take notice of it.

“ Respect this! Dated the 18th day of the 10th moon of the 30th year of Tao-kouang (21st November 1850).”

This document is dated in the reign of Tao-kouang, although it was promulgated by his successor. To explain this apparent difficulty it should be observed, that the whole of the year in which an emperor dies is considered by Chinese chronologists to belong to his reign.

We should bear in mind that Ki-in, now so cruelly degraded, had possessed the entire confidence of the Emperor Tao-kouang, to whom he was nearly related; that he had reached the very summit of greatness; and that his sovereign had given him the highest mark of esteem, when he appointed him to preside over the obsequies of the Empress-dowager.

The successors of Mou-tchang-ha and Ki-in were selected from among the most fanatical enemies of the Europeans, and employed every effort to destroy the effect which a contact with "barbarians" might have produced on some individuals of their nation. This departure from his father's policy was not productive of happiness to the new monarch. Shortly after the victory of the reactionary party, the first intelligence of the revolt of the Kouang-Si was received.

Precursory symptoms had to some extent announced this insurrection. Marvels preceded realities, and endowed them with a sort of prestige, by giving the rebellion of the Kouang-Si the character of an event predicted by the prophets, and expected by true believers. A report was current among the people that the 48th year of the present cycle, which began in 1851, was the epoch fixed by prophecy for the restoration of the dynasty of Ming. It was added that a sage, who lived under the last emperor of that race, had preserved his standard, and had

prophesied that he who unfurled it in the midst of his army would ascend the throne. At the beginning of the insurrection it was affirmed that the rebels marched under this miraculous flag, and the fact was not at all questioned by the people. We have seen with our own eyes many of these sibylline decrees, the obscure phrases of which seem modelled on the verses of Nostradamus and St. Cæsarius. The multitude does not believe in the extinction of ancient royal races: it is never certain that their last representative is laid in the tomb. The Portuguese people still expect the return of Don Sebastian, who was killed at the battle of Alcazar-Quivir, three hundred years ago.

A general uneasiness soon took possession of the public mind. There was a talk of treacherous or corrupt mandarins; the number and importance of secret affiliations were exaggerated; and in several places meetings were held, where the legitimacy of the Tartar dynasty, and the necessity of substituting for it a national dynasty, were publicly discussed. The movement was so manifest, that, in the month of August 1850, the following article was published in an English journal:—

“*24th August.*—Under the powerful influence of the men of letters, and in consequence of a general discontent throughout China, the cry of reform is

raised in all directions. The new principles are making immense progress, and the day is rapidly approaching when the empire will be torn in pieces by civil war. Among the higher and middle classes of Peking there is a firm belief in the prophecy diffused over China a century ago, that the reigning dynasty will be overthrown in the commencement of the 48th year of the present cycle, and this fatal year will begin on the 1st February next.

“This event is by no means improbable, if we examine with attention the revolutionary movements which have simultaneously taken place at the most remote points of this vast empire. The work of revolution has already commenced in the province of Kouang-Si, in the neighbourhood of the first commercial city of China; and it is the general belief among the lettered party of Canton, that this is only a pilot-balloon to test the opinion of the masses, and to force the Tartar Government to display the means which it has at its disposal for its self preservation.

“Hitherto the rebels have triumphed over every obstacle; and their chief, who takes the title of Generalissimo, openly declares that the object of the revolutionary movement is to dethrone the reigning dynasty, and to found another of Chinese origin. In vain have the authorities armed all the contingents of their several districts; the torrent has carried everything before it, and many mandarins

have fallen victims to their loyalty. At the same time, the successes of the rebels do no honour to their cause; their passage is marked by pillage, murder, conflagration, and all those acts of spoliation which are scarcely practised in cities taken by storm; although the people thus afflicted have given no motive for persecution, but, on the contrary, have been the first to suffer under the Imperial tyranny. The lettered and the rich do not approve of these deplorable excesses, but they are without power to check them.

“ Besides the secret societies, which are now more numerous than under the late Emperor, clubs are everywhere formed, in spite of the laws which prohibit all meetings of the kind. In these every member is forced to make oath that he will do all in his power to overthrow the dynasty of Tsing, and pursue this noble undertaking until its end is attained.

“ While this work of regeneration is going on, the boy who now wields the imperial sceptre annihilates the devoted ministers who, seeing the approach of the tempest, dare to convey the counsels of experience and wisdom to the foot of the throne. While the nation utters the cry of ‘Reform,’ the blinded monarch answers by that of ‘Resistance;’ and to that natural movement of mind which has brought China into the path of progress, he opposes a factitious movement to force it back into the imprac-

ticable routine of the past. Can we be astonished, if the Tartar dynasty falls in a contest so unequal? If so, it will only have itself to blame."

We shall presently see with what dexterity the insurgents have taken advantage of popular credulity, —with what art they make use of a personage in the shade who never speaks and never shows himself, but in whose name an army of 100,000 men is in motion. Strange to say, the chief competitors in this great struggle are two young men scarcely out of their boyhood. The Emperor Hièn-foung is only twenty-two years of age. He is of a middle height, and his form indicates great aptitude for bodily exercises. He is slender and muscular. His face, which indicates a certain degree of resolution, is chiefly characterized by a very high forehead, and by an almost defective obliquity of the eyes. His cheek bones are very prominent, and strongly marked. The space between the eyes is large and flat, like the forehead of a buffalo. Hièn-foung is of a stubborn and credulous disposition. In the midst of the most effeminate luxury he affects severity of morals, and, notwithstanding his youth, he is already married. The Empress is a Tartar princess, with large feet, totally devoid of that delicacy and fragile gracefulness which belong to the small-footed Chinese women. The Emperor loves to see her per

form the violent exercises which are the delight of the women of her nation, and she often gallops about with him in the extensive gardens of the palace.

Tièn-tè, the chief of the insurrection, is not above twenty-three years of age; but study and want of rest have made him prematurely old. He is grave and melancholy, leads a very retired life, and only communicates with those about him when he gives his orders. His face is expressive of mildness, but it is a mildness peculiar to certain ascetics, and which neither excludes firmness nor that obstinacy belonging to persons of strong religious convictions. His complexion, which borders on the colour of saffron, is that of the Chinese of the southern provinces. In stature he is taller than Hièn-foung; but he appears less robust. Both of them have been influenced by their education; and their moral are indicated by their physical qualities. The young Emperor, easy in his movements, and with firmness in his glance, has an aspect of haughty command, and requires blind obedience. Tièn-tè, on the other hand, has a fixed gaze, which seems to penetrate into the depths of the human soul, and to unmask all its designs. He commands rather by suggestions than by directly giving orders. In a word, he has the taciturn reserve of a man who has long reflected before he has made any one the confidant of his projects. As

for the position he takes, the following is an account given by a Chinese of the Pretender's entry into one of the numerous cities of which his troops have taken possession:—"The cortège of the new Emperor recalled to my mind the scenes which are represented in our theatres, and those pieces in which we see the heroes of ancient times who lived before we submitted to the Tartar yoke. The persens who surrounded Tièn-tè had cut off the tail, and allowed their hair to grow, while instead of the *chang*, buttoned at the side, they wore tunics open in front. None of the officers had on the thumb of the right hand the pan-tche, or archer's ring, which our mandarins wear with so much ostentation. The Emperor was in a magnificent palanquin, enclosed by curtains of yellow satin, and carried by sixteen officers. After the palanquin of Tièn-tè came that of his tutor, placed on the shoulders of eight coolies. Then came his thirty wives in painted and gilded chairs. A multitude of servants and soldiers followed in perfect order."

Such are the peculiarities of the two young men who now dispute the throne of China. If we draw a comparison between them we shall find that one is deficient in qualities which are indispensable to his position, while the other possesses all those talents which are useful to a pretender. Hièn-foung, invested with supreme authority, and summoned to

direct a state-machine, the springs of which are strained but not worn out, does not know how to restore those parts which have been affected by time. His chief defect is a want of that exquisite tact which enables a prince to give every one the exact measure of praise or blame which is his due. He is not endowed with a correct judgment, for amongst that multitude of attendants, eunuchs, concubines, and slaves who surround him, he does not know how to distinguish those faithful counsellors whose fate is bound up with the existence of his dynasty, from mere adventurers who hover about every palace, and who, having their fortunes to make, never give advice which is wholly disinterested. At once violent and weak, the young Emperor abandons himself to his favourites of the moment, and places blind confidence in the officials for the time being. The manifestations of his authority are always the exaggerated expressions of some insinuation, perfidious or otherwise; and even in this latter case his most useful determinations become so many political faults when they have passed through a brain naturally disposed to violence and ferocity.

Tièn-tè, on the contrary, has organized his political system by so marshalling existing interests as to secure devoted agents. Affable to all, he has only one intimate adviser. Whether it be his father, his

master, or only his friend, no one knows; but this mysterious councillor accompanies him everywhere. Violence is foreign to the Pretender's character. He speaks on all subjects with moderation, and it is only with the greatest reserve that he alludes to the monarch whose rival he has become. Surrounded by officers who are partners in his fortunes, he is better served than the Emperor; and the discipline of his governmental staff is under his own immediate influence. While his generals advance, conquering cities and acquiring new territory, he remains in the background, watching the position of the people of each district, and organizing his political system. But he is always within such a distance of the theatre of war, that his enemies cannot doubt his courage, while his friends have no right to blame his temerity.

CHAPTER IV.

The Kouang-Si—The Miao-tze—The Insurgents during the year 1850.

THE insurrection began in the Kouang-Si. This province, which is larger than the whole state of some sovereigns of our old Europe, is under the administration of a governor-general, and forms part of the vice-royalty of the two Kouangs. It is situated in the south-west of the empire, and is bounded on the east by the Kouang-Toung, on the west by the Yun-Nan, on the south by the Tonkin, and on the north by the Hou-Nan. It is a mountainous district, covered with naked peaks, the summits and declivities of which bear no signs of vegetation. The numerous hills of rounded form, which rise above these gigantic peaks, are covered with shrubs and ligneous plants. The mountains of the Kouang-Si belong to the curiosities of the Celestial Empire, and all the guides of travellers in China

give singular accounts of these accidents of the soil, which no foreigner has been at liberty to explore since the time of the Jesuits.

According to native travellers, these masses take the form of various animals, and represent, beyond the chance of mistake, sometimes a cock, sometimes an elephant; while rocks are found in which strange animals are encrusted, petrified in the most singular attitudes. We have carefully examined the drawings of these figures, which resemble the species restored by Cuvier, and we are convinced that they are only red spots produced by an oxide of iron, and strongly contrasted with the black colour of the stone.

The general aspect of the Kouang-Si is singularly picturesque, and this vast district offers points of view, which have often been depicted by Chinese painters. But their landscapes always appear strange to European eyes: the inaccessible mountains, which appear fashioned to suit the caprices of human imagination—the rocks bearing a resemblance to gigantic animals—the rivers, which fall into abysses, crossed by impassable bridges—all these appear to us like something belonging to the realm of fairies.

Charming as it is, the country is extremely poor, and its picturesque beauties are opposed to fertility. If the Creator had spread a few vast plains at the foot of these mountains with bare summits, the nu-

merous torrents which flow from the heights might have been turned to useful account. But the soil is only suited to certain kinds of cultivation, and only produces a few articles of luxury. It is on the broad plains of the Kouang-Toung that the waters are found in some degree serviceable. If we study the map of the Kouang-Si, and bear in mind the war now going on, we are forced to admit that the chief of the insurrection showed great discernment in choosing for his starting point this barren and mountainous country. The poverty of the inhabitants was in itself a powerful ally, and an army of adventurers could easily be recruited from a people who are always in a state of indigence. Moreover, the accidental irregularities of the soil, which we find throughout the district, are favourable to its defence. The "Son of Heaven" would require an army twenty times more numerous, and means of attack a hundred times more efficacious than those now at his disposal, to dislodge the rebels from their natural intrenchments.

In case of defeat, the insurgents of the Kouang-Si could renew the history of that desperate struggle which the guerillas of heroic Spain maintained so long against the French troops. There are besides several points of resemblance between the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula and those of this southern province of the Chinese Empire. Both

are sober, intrepid, inured to fatigue, and animated by the same spirit of independence. After centuries of occupation, the Tartars have been unable to reduce the more remote regions of this mountainous district to a state of submission.

A circumstance arising from the nature of the soil, and the agricultural habits of the people, was also favourable to the designs of the Pretender. The produce of the Kouang-Si chiefly consists of white cinnamon and badiana, and the care which these trees require, only occupies the cultivators during a portion of the year. It is on the declivity of the hills that these two magnificent species of evergreens chiefly thrive. The capital of the province is in some measure concealed by the shade of these fine trees. Hence comes its name of Kouéï-Lin, which signifies a forest of cinnamon trees. The *Laurus cinnamomum* and the *Ilicium anisatum* constitute the principal wealth of the Kouang-Si. Commerce derives from this province, not only the bark of the white cinnamon and the brown umbels of the anise, but also the essential oils, which are obtained by distillation from the bark of the *Laurus cinnamomum* and the husks of the *Ilicium*. The oil of the green anise is found in a concrete state; and an officer of the customs confounding the two kinds, has stated in an official document on the Chinese trade, that badiana sugar is supplied by the Kouang-Si.

We need only glance at the drawings of the Chinese artists to be convinced that the soil of the Kouang-Si abounds in metallic strata. This natural peculiarity caused a sort of miracle, which greatly struck the imagination of the multitude.

At the beginning of the insurrection, the chiefs wished to mark the date of their enterprise, by the erection of a religious monument. The workmen set about their task, and they hollowed out some of the decomposed rocks, which offered no strong resistance to the pick-axe. They had not descended many feet, when they came to some pebbles, very similar to the flints deposited by our rivers. These pebbles, being examined with care, were found to be very heavy; they were, in fact, lumps of argentiferous lead, of surprising richness. It was by means, they say, of this providential treasure that the Pretender paid his first soldiers.

Whether this story be true or not, it deserved to be recorded by those writers of legends, whose works will some day amuse the leisure hours of the mandarins. We cannot quit this wonderful anecdote without remarking that, at the present day, strange coincidences take place, which seem to hand over science and observation to the service of those minds which have a tendency to believe in supernatural phenomena. As if to confirm the Chinese miracle, argentiferous strata precisely similar to those

of the Kouang-Si have been recently discovered in Norway.

It was in the month of August, 1850, that the journals of Peking first made mention of the Chinese insurrection. According to the official gazette, the troop of insurgents was merely composed of pirates, who had escaped the shots of the English on the coasts of the Fo-Kièn, and had taken refuge in the mountains. It must be confessed that the robbers must have made a singular choice, in establishing themselves in one of the poorest districts of the empire, far from the populous cities, and from all the high roads of communication. But it must also be admitted that this place, totally unsuited to the exploits of a highway robber, was an admirable centre for the organization of an insurrectionary army.

The insurgents at first were in no hurry to contradict these reports. They even allowed them to gain credit, and established themselves in the southwest of the province, in the midst of a population scattered among the mountains; continuing to recruit their army, and patiently awaiting the attack of the "tigers" of the Celestial Empire. We should here remark that the most distant regions of the Kouang-Si are peopled by a race of men known as Miao-tze. It would be difficult to give the reader an idea of these refractory tribes, if we did not find in the

journal of one of our party the particulars of a conversation on the subject.

This conversation took place during our stay in China, at the residence of Houang-ngan-toung, assistant imperial commissioner, who had asked us to dinner in company with MM. Ferrière and D'Harcourt. The young and elegant minister of the Celestial Empire occupied at Canton the pagoda of Foung-lièn-miao; and it was in the choir of this Buddhist temple that he received us, and that the dinner was served.

During the repast the conversation turned on the Miao-tze, and the following are the details given by this official personage:—

“The Miao-tze are natives of a mountain chain, which takes its rise in the north of the Kouang-Toung, and extends to the central provinces of the empire. They always choose secluded spots, and are never found in societies of above 2,000. Their houses are raised on piles, after the manner of the Malays, and the domestic animals which they rear are kept under their own roof. In general the Miao-tze are agriculturists and warriors. They are an intrepid race, inured to fatigue, and reckless of danger. The Tartars have never been able to reduce them to submission. They have always preserved the ancient national dress, have never shaved their head, and have always repelled the authority of the mandarins and the customs of

the Chinese. Their independence is now an established fact, and in our maps their country is left white to show that they do not submit to the Emperor.

“The last attempt which was made to subdue them was in the reign of Kièn-loung; but in spite of the bulletins which were published to set forth the victories of the Imperial troops, it was necessary to give up all idea of subduing the mountaineers. From that period till 1832 there was no interruption to tranquillity; when the warlike spirit was again awakened.

“They decorated one of their nation with the title of Emperor, clothed him in a yellow robe—the symbol of supreme authority—and made an irruption into the low countries, which they completely devastated. Their invasion caused us great uneasiness. Our troops were beaten by these savage hordes. The Miao-tze were too warlike to be conquered by arms, but negotiation was employed with success. The Emperor sent skilful diplomatists, who held interviews with the chief, and persuaded them, in consideration of certain advantages, to disband their troops and return peaceably home.”

“But do these mountaineers never descend into the plains?” asked one of us; “and have they not in the end established some relation with the Chinese?”

“The Miao-tze scarcely venture into the cities,” replied Houang; “nor do they carry on any great trade with us. They cultivate the mountain rice, and turn to account the forests which are protected, by their independence, from the axe of the Chinese labourer. They sell to the merchants who visit them in their villages the timber which they have felled, and which is floated down into the low countries by the various streams which flow into the sea. Their intercourse with their neighbours is confined to the interchange of part of their produce for the manufactured articles of which they stand in need. It should be added that this nation is the terror of the inhabitants of the Chinese towns.

“The Chinese call the Miao-tze ‘men-dogs, men-wolves.’ They believe that they have a tail, and state that when a child is born, the soles of its feet are cauterized to harden them, and render them incapable of fatigue. These, however, are mere fictions. The Miao-tze are, in reality, a fine intelligent race, and their manners, I believe, are becoming more civilized. Indeed, I have one fact to prove that they are not wholly rude and unlettered. During the last literary examination over which I presided, three young Miao-tze made their appearance to take their degrees—a circumstance which never occurred before.”

This conversation throws great light on the shrewd

policy of the insurrectionary chiefs of the Kouang-Si. By concentrating themselves at this point, they doubtless intended to gain the intrepid Miao-tze as auxiliaries, while at the same time they took care not to proclaim this alliance, for fear of alarming the people of the towns, who persist in looking upon the Miao-tze as barbarians.

According to documents which we have ourselves inspected, it appears that the insurgents passed the first months of 1850 in the south-west of Kouang-Si, performing some strategic movements of no importance, and approaching the frontiers of the Kouang-Toung. The first towns which fell into their hands were the town of Ho—one of the most commercial in the province—and the capital of the district, Kiang-Men, where three mandarins of high degree persisted in opposing them. These manœuvres gave great uneasiness to the Governor-General of the two Kouangs. The titular head of this vice-royalty, whose name was Siu, was an irresolute man, prudent to a degree of cowardice. When he learned that the rebels were approaching him, he urgently solicited the honour of visiting the tomb of the late Emperor, and prostrated himself before it, hoping thus to escape the responsibility with which he was threatened. This request was not granted; and the viceroy, fearing that he would be accused of allowing the evil to increase, sent troops to reduce

the rebels. The Imperial soldiers were, however, conquered and destroyed.

The tactics of the insurgents consisted in feigning flight, and thus drawing their enemies into ambuscades, where they slaughtered them without mercy. This stratagem answered on several successive occasions. Siu, hearing of these calamities, set off without delay to Peking, where he spread the alarm. While he was proceeding towards the capital, the insurgents obtained new successes; and the Chinese journals gave a daily bulletin of the advantages gained by these guerillas. Two rebel chiefs, Tchang-kia-soung and Tchang-kia-fou, did wonders on two successive occasions, and the soldiers of the "Son of Heaven" nearly all perished in the field.

Hitherto there was no notion of a pretender to the throne. There were merely generals appointed on the spur of the moment, who did not conceal their intention of overthrowing the reigning dynasty, but made no mention of any sovereign whom they intended to set up in its stead.

The insurgents, emboldened by success, now passed the limits of the Kouang-Si, and penetrated the Kouang-Toung. Between Tsing-Yuen and Ing-Tè they met a detachment of the Imperial troops. The rebels retreated according to their ordinary tactics, but turning back almost immediately, they slaughtered the Imperialists to a man.

At this moment two political acts of great importance took place almost simultaneously—one at the Court of Peking, the other in the insurgent camp. The young Emperor, faithful to his retrograde policy, ordered old Lin, who was living in retirement in a charming habitation in the environs of Fou-Tcheou, to subdue the rebels of the Kouang-Si. Our readers will no doubt recollect this austere mandarin, this conscientious barbarian, who had opium destroyed to the value of 50,000,000 francs. Notwithstanding his advanced age, the old servant obeyed the orders of his young master, and set off for the province he was commissioned to reduce.

The insurgents answered the commissioner's envoy by the following proclamation, which makes the Chinese appear much less Chinese than they are generally supposed.

“The Mantchous, who, for two centuries, have been the hereditary occupants of the throne of China, were originally members of a small foreign tribe. With the aid of a powerful army they took possession of our treasure, our lands, and the government of our country, proving that superior strength is all that is required for the usurpation of an empire. There is, therefore, no difference between us, who levy contributions on the villages we have taken,

and the officials sent from Peking to collect the taxes. Taking and keeping are both fair alike. Why then, without any motive, are troops marched against us? This appears to us very unjust. How! Have the Mantchous, who are foreigners, a right to collect the revenues of eighteen provinces, and to appoint the officers who oppress the people; while we, who are Chinese, are forbidden to take a little money from the public stock? Universal sovereignty does not belong to any individual to the exclusion of all the rest, and no one ever saw a dynasty which could count a hundred generations of emperors. Possession—and possession only—gives a right to govern.”

This proclamation was the first political act of the rebels. Hitherto the principle for which they fought had only been promulgated by those vague rumours which, when the moment of revolution has arrived, circulate among the masses, as if they had a presentiment of what was about to happen.

At the commencement of the insurrection, the Anglo-Chinese press was divided into two parties. One looked upon the insurgents as mere robbers, ready to lay down their arms as soon as they had filled their pockets, or perhaps their hands; the other, on the contrary, feigned to regard the rebel army as a troop roused to fanaticism by dexterous

chiefs, and ready to shed every drop of their blood in the overthrow of the reigning dynasty. Neither of these exclusive opinions was correct.

Revolutionists cannot live in China, any more than in Europe, on pure water and patriotic maxims; while, on the other hand, it must be confessed, to the honour of humanity, that the most detestable causes, to act on the masses, must appeal to elevated sentiments, and generous ideas, by which, as isolated individuals, the members of these obscure bodies would be but little moved. The proclamation of the insurgents of the Kouang-Si gave the insurrection its true significance. By openly proclaiming that they looked upon possession as the sole source of legitimacy, they avowed that their object was not only to expel the Mantchous, but to transfer the administration of the public revenues into the hands of the Chinese. Now, this latter consideration was not without value in the eyes of the politicians of the Celestial Empire.

This was the last act of the insurgents in 1850. It was simultaneous with the death of Lin, which took place in the month of November. The old mandarin died as he was proceeding to his post, at Tchao-Tcheou-Fou, in the province of Kouang-Toung. He was about sixty-nine years of age, and

sank under the fatigues and cares of government. His death cast a gloom over the public mind, and seemed a bad omen for that cause which the courageous old man had supported to his last hour.

CHAPTER V.

Protestations—Secret meetings—Proclamation of the Pretender.

THE Chinese year begins in the month of February, which marks a commercial and financial crisis throughout the empire. At this time every liability becomes due, everybody completely settles his affairs: creditors are paid, and debtors are dunned for money. There is no merchant so small that he does not make up his accounts, and draw a correct conclusion as to the financial results of the year just terminated. Now, in the month of January, a report was spread at Canton that the insurrection of the Kouang-Si was suppressed, and that the *tigers* of the Celestial Empire had added new laurels to those previously acquired. While this intelligence found credit, liquidation was easy; business went on in a normal course, and commerce being now rendered secure, speculation was begun on a

grand scale. This security was not of long duration. It was soon found that the reports of pacification, although emanating from an official source, were entirely false. The cunning mandarins of the Kouang-Toung had actually fabricated the bulletins of the Chinese army to suit their own commercial purposes. When the truth at last came to light, it was found that the insurrection, far from being suppressed, had made alarming progress. Hitherto, one of the Anglo-Chinese journals had stood alone in treating the troubles of the Kouang-Si as a matter of trivial importance; but recent facts caused this journal also to exclaim with dithyrambic fervour—"This revolt may be the commencement of a revolution which will overthrow the Mantchous; but we say with Mazarin—let us wait!" This was bringing Mazarin a long way to avoid a confession that the character and importance of events had been completely mistaken.

While the European press, placed near the scene of insurrection, had come to the conclusion that the overthrow of the Tartar dynasty was a possible event, the insurgents made a demonstration which might be considered equivalent to a declaration of war to the death. It is well known that the custom of shaving the head so as to leave no hair except the long tail from the *sinciput*, is a Tartar fashion, imposed by the conquering on the conquered race. It

was thus that the former marked their new subjects. Now the insurgents, to show that they had thrown off the foreign yoke, cut off the tail, allowed their hair to grow, and decided that all who joined the insurrectional movement, should leave off the *chang* and the Tartar tunic, and should wear the robe open in the front that their ancestors had worn in the time of the Mings. The mere act of applying the scissors to the demolition of the ordinary fashion of the hair, constitutes, in China, an act of high treason which it requires no little courage to perform. Cutting off the tail is, in fact, throwing away the scabbard of the sword. This vigorous proceeding greatly alarmed the Court of Peking. It was necessary, at any price, to reassure the people, and to reanimate the troops; and for this purpose a crafty stratagem was devised. It was assumed that the rebels had made their submission to the imperial commissioners; and one day the Imperial *Gazette* contained the following document, which proves that the *Moniteur* of the Celestial Empire, official though it be, does not always tell the truth:—

“We plebeians were born in times of abundance, and have hitherto been faithful subjects. Our families are esteemed in our villages; we have practised virtue, and respected property; but in consequence of a long series of rainy seasons, the farmers were not able to get in their harvests, and the people,

being without labour or means of subsistence, were obliged to associate with robbers. We came to the Kouang-Si in search of a residence, and there we met some of our countrymen, who, being distressed like ourselves, formed with us a band of robbers. If, however, we have followed the example of the too famous Lou-moung, cannot we also, like him, reform our conduct? When we think of our homes and our relatives, we are filled with the desire of seeing them once more; but when a resistless wind has driven us far into a stormy sea, how are we to regain the wished-for shore? Still, we trust that your lordships will have pity upon us, and obtain from his Imperial Majesty an act of oblivion for all that is past. If the withered and useless tree receives the same dew as the sweetest flower, why should not a man endowed with great goodness, grant life to those who implore his commiseration? In our hearts we are faithful subjects, and we shall be happy to return to the path of duty. Henceforth, to the end of our days, we will be faithful servants in any humble condition you may please to appoint; and if we commit any fault we shall willingly submit to the lash and the bamboo. These are our most earnest wishes, which we communicate to you with our faces prostrate on the ground. If this proceeding offends you, we shall await your sentence with fear and trembling."

In spite of this act of contrition, the Government of Peking, who perfectly knew the real claims of this document to authenticity, appointed a new Imperial Commissioner in the Kouang-Si, shortly after the death of Lin. This functionary, whose name was Li-sing-iuèn, was formerly Governor of the two Kouangs. He received orders to seize the Governor of the insurgent province, and to send him chained to Peking. However, Li-sing-iuèn made a report to the Emperor, in which he made it clear that all the responsibility of recent events fell upon Siu, the viceroy of the two Kouangs, and accused him, in so many words, of having favoured the development of the insurrection by his tardiness in sending troops against the rebels.

While the Imperial Commissioner was drawing up this accusation, Siu was writing to his young master that the insurrection in the Kouang-Si had been occasioned by the incapacity of the old Governor of the province, who, by his weakness, his unreasonable severity, his want of intelligence, his presumption, and his love of popularity, had excited these disorders. The young Emperor, who, between these contradictory reports, did not know where the truth lay, adopted a middle course. He degraded the Governor of the Kouang-Si, and he lowered the rank of Siu by four honorary degrees. This was just the same thing as if the French Government, being dis-

satisfied with the holder of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, reduced him to the position of a Chevalier. Notwithstanding this punishment, Siu was maintained in the Government of the two Kouangs. In the course of our narrative, we shall frequently recur to this estimable viceroy, who, like many mandarins of a country better known than China, is endowed with every virtue, but who certainly shines little by his civil, and still less by his military courage.

The following fact, which was related at Canton, will explain the sympathy of the people for the cause of the insurgents.

In March 1851, the little town of Lo-Ngan was taken by the insurgents, after a stout resistance. The conquerors levied contributions on the town, and securing the person of the pawnbroker,* fixed his ransom at 1,000 taels (nearly 8,000 francs, or 320*l.*) The unfortunate man paid the ransom, and was released at once, but on the following day the city was occupied by the Imperial troops, who had dislodged the rebels, and who now levied a new contribution on the inhabitants. The unfortunate pawnbroker was taxed on this occasion to the amount of 3,000 taels.

* This was probably one of the upper class of pawnbrokers, who correspond in a great measure to our bankers.—J. O.

The pawnbroker, who was a man of great influence in his locality, was enraged at being pillaged by those who ought to have protected him, and excited the people in the public places. He was followed by several other orators, and the mob, under the influence of their speeches, swore by their ancestors that the reign of the Tartars was henceforth at an end. The inhabitants threw off the *chang*, after which they immediately cut off the tail, and then made an appeal to the insurgents. These came in the middle of the night, and the Imperial troops, surprised during their sleep, were massacred.

In March 1851, the acts of the Court of Peking followed each other with great vigour, while the insurgents remained inactive, or, at any rate, did not risk any important movement, never attempting an expedition except where conquest was certain. In the mean while, the most contradictory reports were circulated throughout the empire, and even at the seat of war. The mandarins announced that the rebels had been deprived of the miraculous standard which had rendered them victorious. This magical banner, of which we have already spoken, had, according to the general opinion, been preserved by a Tao-se,* who endowed it with supernatural power.

* A priest of the sect of Tao.—J. O.

It is said to be covered with spots of blood, and to bear an historical inscription.

If we regulate our opinion on this subject by the known habits of the Chinese, it appears probable that the Imperial troops will often boast of having taken this *palladium*, while, on the other hand, the insurgents will never lose it. On the side of the insurrection, the news is hawked about that the insurgents have entered the Kouang-Toung; that Sin-Tcheou-Fou is in their power; and that they have taken the city Kouéi-Lin, the capital of the south-east.

In the mean while, Li, the Imperial Commissioner, who was sent to the Kouang-Si, established himself at Kouéi-Lin, which had *not* been taken by the rebels, together with the terrible Tchang-tiên-tsió, as his lieutenant. During our residence in China, that ferocious mandarin governed the Hou-Nan, where the use of opium had spread to a frightful extent. To stop the progress of this mischievous habit, he ordered that the smokers of opium, when fully convicted of the fact, should have their lower lip slit. We have seen these mutilated wretches with our own eyes, and their appearance is most horrible. The operation, performed by clumsy executioners, had left hideous traces. The flesh was jagged, and the scar was much more like a gaping wound than one of those seams which the surgeons of Paris produce with so much art.

The appointment of this terrible man to the post of Lieutenant-Governor was a most significant act. However, it seemed that the terror inspired by his name produced no more effect upon the insurgents of the Kouang-Si, than upon the opium-smokers of Hou-Nan. In conformity with the same system of policy, rigorous measures were adopted towards the turbulent population of Canton. The authorities of the two Kouangs, viz., the Governor-General and the criminal judges, put to death in one day thirty-six individuals accused of plotting against the safety of the State. Were these unhappy persons really condemned for political offences? In China a sort of preventive justice is exercised. According to the exigencies of the occasion, individuals condemned for other misdeeds are dressed as political criminals, and put to death in that character, that the people whom these executions inspire with a wholesome terror, may think the culprits are suffering the penalty of treason and rebellion.

It is, however, possible that these wretched victims were members of the secret societies which are very numerous in China, and which not only branch into the interior of the empire, but extend to those Indian localities resorted to by Chinese emigrants. In Singapore, Penang, Batavia, and Manilla, we have known numerous adepts of the secret societies of the Chinese empire. These societies

belong to a sort of freemasonry, the known object of which is the dethronement of the Mantchous.

In 1845 we passed several days in the society of a tradesman of the Chan-Toung, who clandestinely introduced arms into the territories of the empire. He conducted us to a house which he occupied in the western part of the suburb, the dirtiest and worst inhabited quarter of the outer town. The proprietors were adepts of the association. We were received by a young woman with large feet, and with her head dressed in the usual Chinese fashion, with silver bodkin and flowers in her hair, and attired in a tunic and trowsers of deep blue. We went into a species of garret: though it must be observed the garrets in this country are on the first floor. The merchant had taken us home to ask our opinion respecting the arms which he had bought from the Americans. These were enormous sabres, with steel scabbards. They were of common workmanship, but nevertheless were very cheap, having been sold in China at the price of ten francs, which was less than prime cost. When we entered the room, our Chinese friend drew one of these broad blades from its sheath, and with loud exclamations began to throw himself into attitudes, after the manner of those Chinese heroes which are painted on fans.

After giving him our opinion on the value and

quality of his merchandize, we asked him if he had purchased these arms for the invincible "tigers." At these words the Chinese smiled in a significant manner, and by an expressive gesture showed us the use to which the weapons were to be applied with respect to the Imperial troops. Who can say? Perhaps at this very moment these gigantic sabres are in the hands of the rebels; perhaps their keen blades have laid open more than one blue chang, and have demolished more than one conical cap.

The nomination of the terrible Tchang-tièn-tsiò, the executions at Canton, and the reported triumphs of the Imperial army, industriously circulated, had not checked the rebels. To the violent acts and vauntings of the Tartar sovereign, they answered by proclaiming an emperor of their own, whom they called Tièn-tè, that is to say, "Celestial Virtue."

Hitherto the insurgents had merely expressed their intention to overthrow the Tartars, but now they raised up a competitor for the throne, paid the highest honours to a Chinese, and—horrible to say!—clothed him in the imperial yellow. Soon the name of Tièn-tè resounded throughout the empire; and, contrary to Tartar usage, which prohibits subjects from copying the features of their sovereign, portraits of the Pretender were distributed throughout the provinces by thousands. Thanks to this circum-

stance, we are enabled to present to our readers a portrait of Tièn-tè.

It is our opinion that the principal object of the rebel chief in circulating his likeness was to give the people an idea of the head-dress and costume of the time of the Mings, thus newly revived.

We can now duly appreciate the facts of this first period of insurrection, as well as the skilful, firm, and, above all, cautious policy of its chiefs. For a whole year Tièn-tè remained in the shade, and his partisans contented themselves with spreading the report that a descendant of the Mings was still in existence. Now they proclaim him, but they do not show him to the people. The new Emperor is enveloped in a sort of mysterious obscurity, and it is only at distant intervals that he shows himself, even to his fanatical partisans.

CHAPTER VI.

The Revolt in the Kouang-Toung—The Viceroy in the
Kouang-Si.

THE rebellion now decidedly took the character of a civil war. The Court of Peking was in consternation, and the young Emperor resolved to send to the theatre of war, men of whom he had personal knowledge, and whose energy and steadfast fidelity had already been tested under other circumstances.

In May 1851, he sent to Kouéi-Lin, the capital of the Kouang-Si, the Prime Minister Saï-chang-ha, with two assistant Mantchous, Tè-hing and Ta-toung-ha. The first of these two mandarins was hitherto little known; the other had acquired an unfortunate celebrity on the coasts of Formosa: he had presided over the massacre of the whole crew of the *Nerbudda*, an European transport-ship.

As soon as these measures were known at Canton, the commercial interest was alarmed. The traders

began to deplore the misery of the times; and, in their hyperbolic and figurative language, likened the insurrection of the Kouang-Si to the overflow of the Yellow River, that "Grief of China," as it is called by the poetical bureaucrats of the Celestial Empire.

Soon came a new measure which increased the discontent of the Canton merchants to perfect exasperation. The Government took the liberty of borrowing their money to defray the expenses of the war. At first 100,000 taels were asked, and afterwards 500,000 piastres passed from the pockets of peaceable tradesmen into the pouches of mandarins more or less military; though it must be confessed that, in return for their money, they had the satisfaction of seeing Canton put into a respectable state of defence, and of being present at an important military evolution. Several bodies of troops were despatched to the Kouang-Si; but as the communications with Kouéï-Lin were cut off, the soldiers, to reach their destination, were obliged to take a circuitous route by the Hou-Nan.

About this time a strange rumour began to circulate, and was published without qualification in all the Anglo-Chinese journals, whether favourable or unfavourable to the insurrection. It was stated that the Pretender was really a descendant of the Mings, but that he was a Catholic; and that his course was everywhere marked by the overthrow of pagodas and

the destruction of idols. Others, on the contrary, affirmed that he belonged to the sect of the Chang-ti—in other words, that he was a Protestant.

Not wishing to discuss the part which the Christian inhabitants of China are destined to play in the existing struggle, we shall merely remark that the name of Tièn-tè, or “Celestial Virtue,” chosen by the Pretender, is purely pagan. The rumour in question was, doubtless, spread by crafty agents of the retrograde party—by mandarins, who played the double game of exciting the Buddhist part of the population against the insurgents, and of increasing the hatred of the young Emperor against the Christians, by representing the latter to be enemies of his throne.

By a less dexterous manœuvre, which had no other effect than that of revealing the source of the suspicious information, it was even insinuated that the insurgents had announced their intention of expelling the Europeans from the five ports as soon as they were in possession of supreme authority. Thus the mandarins intrigued in three directions, hoping to gain a three-fold advantage, by exciting the hatred of the Emperor against the Christians, whilst at the same time they aroused the courageous Europeans, and the numerous followers of Buddha, against the rebels.

At this juncture new complications arose to in-

crease the embarrassments of the Viceroy Siu. The insurgents unfolded their banners in the West of the Kouang-Toung, and the rebels occupied Kao-Tchcou-Fou, a chief town of the department, situated about ten leagues from the frontiers of the Kouang-Si, and at a short distance from the sea. This *coup de main* led to the supposition that they meant to secure a retreat in case of a reverse, or—what was much more to be dreaded—that they contemplated some maritime expedition. At the same time troubles arose in another part of the Kouang-Toung. The inhabitants of the districts of Nan-Hai and Toung-Kouan refused to pay the taxes. The Emperor ordered the instigators of this contumacious act to be punished; and Siu, in faithful execution of his master's commands, sent a mandarin, with an order to bring before him the two principal culprits. The mandarin returned with the intelligence that they were both dead. Siu suspected this to be one of those tricks so often resorted to by mandarins to shelter criminals from the pursuit of justice; and to be assured of the fact, he ordered the two corpses to be brought to him. When the unlucky mandarin returned to the disloyal districts with this order, the whole population rose to a man, surrounded the ill-starred agent with furious cries, threw him out of his palanquin, which they tore to pieces, and would have torn him to pieces

likewise, if he had not effected his escape while they were sacking his house. On reaching Canton, this worthy son of the Celestial Empire declared that nothing in the world could induce him to return to the duties of his administration.

Siu at last found a way of chastising these rebellious districts. The punishment which he inflicted is highly characteristic, and shows the degree of civilization attained by this singular people. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the moment, he announced that the literary examinations would take place as usual within the walls of Canton; but that candidates from Nan-Hai and Toung-Kouan would be excluded. He thus punished the rebellious districts in the persons of those men of intelligence who ought to be the leaders of the people in every country; and certainly no punishment could have been more effective. Siu in person presided over the examinations, at which more than 3,000 students were present. The number of candidates would have been still larger, had it not been for the difficult circumstances under which they took place.

We have travelled through these districts of Nan-Hai and Toung-Kouan, which are situated in the midst of the fruitful plains watered by the Tchou-Kiang. They are intersected in every direction by canals, and there is no cessation of abundant harvests. These canals are constantly fur-

rowed by vessels, which, with their broad sails made of reeds, pass through fields of rice like so many gigantic fans. Nowhere in the world has human industry produced more splendid results, or accumulated more agricultural wealth.

During the months of June and July, no intelligence was received. Persons acquainted with the general practice of the Government affirmed that letters from the Kouang-Si were stopped, in order to keep the people ignorant of the real state of affairs. Only one fact was known for certain. The Tartar General, Ou-lan-tai, had set off from Canton with a small army to attack the rebels; who, contrary to their usual custom, had advanced to meet him, and intercepted his passage near Lo-Ou-I. A smart encounter took place, and victory was on the side of the insurgents. Many of the Imperial soldiers were killed, and Ou-lan-tai, dangerously wounded, had to undergo the amputation of an arm.

After this misfortune, the Government took new measures, and concentrated fresh forces to march against the Kouang-Si. Sam-koua, formerly a Hong merchant, and now prefect of Shang-Hai, was despatched with orders to appropriate the revenues of the customs and salt-tax in the province of the Kiang-Nan to defray the expenses of the war. Siu himself, having no longer any pretext for delay, made up his mind to join the Imperial Commissioners, and set off

at the head of 3,000 men. At the moment when he was about to quit Canton, the following proclamation was posted at the northern gate:—

“ Tchou, hereditary prince of the dynasty of Ming, having received orders from Heaven to take pity on the people, and punish the crimes of its present rulers, has published this for the information of all.

“ His Sovereign Majesty, Tièn-tè, has learned that Siu-kouang-tsin is so wicked and corrupt, as to deceive his sovereign, deceive the nation, flatter foreigners, and oppress the people. Knowing that at this moment he abuses his authority at Canton by treating men of letters with tyrannical cruelty and severity, thus awaking the wrath of Heaven, his Majesty had resolved to collect a great number of troops, to take vengeance on his crimes. Fearing, however, to disturb the people, his Majesty confines himself to a statement of facts, and now publishes this proclamation, in order that you, soldiers and people, may clearly know that if any one of you will lay hands on the aforesaid traitor, Siu-kouang-tsin, and bring him to the Imperial camp, with witnesses to prove his identity, he shall at once receive a reward of 10,000 piastres. The money is ready, and will be paid down as soon as the robber is brought. Observe well the name of this despoiler of the people; he is called Siu-kouang-tsin, and is to be found at this moment in company with wretches

like himself, in the official house of the street Maï-na, in the city of Canton.

“The 25th of the sixth moon of the second year of Tièn-tè (13th July 1850).”

The prudent Viceroy fell into a great passion, when he heard of this proclamation ; and fearing that some desperado would really act upon it, he declared it apocryphal, and swore he would be revenged upon the author, when he found him out. But even the police of a viceroy cannot know everything, especially when they have to deal with those unlawful productions to which the author does not put his name. Siu continued his search for the culprit, suspecting that it was some Canton man of letters that had done him this ill turn ; he had, however, so many enemies in this class, that he did not know whom to punish.

When Siu began his march, he crossed the two walled enclosures of Canton, escorted by a double rank of soldiers. Two gongs noisily announced his passage, and his chair was preceded by a banner, on which was inscribed, “Fall into order and keep silence ; this is the Imperial Commissioner.” No one thought of disobeying this order. At the sound of the tam-tams, the tradesmen prudently retired into their shops, the chair-porters stopped, and the foot passengers, surprised by the procession, ranged themselves along the walls, with eyes lowered and

hands hanging down. Siu was huddled into a corner of his palanquin, in an attitude indicative of bad temper. The affair of the placard had greatly vexed him; and he looked about from left to right, as if he was seeking an opportunity of venting his wrath. In China, however, such great pains are taken to avoid the consequences of ill-humour in a mandarin, that notwithstanding his desire to pick a quarrel with some one, there was no fault to be found. At last, when he reached the corner of Hoëi-Gai-Kiaï, the street of "Kind Affection," which is the Faubourg St. Germain of Canton, the grand mandarin turned pale, knocked violently at the edge of his chair, and ordered the porters to stop. They were before the house of one of those poor artists who make large images of household gods, and paint family pictures. This man had displayed against the outer walls of his residence some of his most remarkable works; and, strange to say, in the midst of smiling deities, offended genii, and pictures of footless women, who seemed to fly about like birds in the fluttering folds of their light raiment, appeared the figure of a decapitated mandarin; the dignity of the person being indicated by the characters on his breast-piece. The body was on its knees, and the head, separated from the trunk, was lying near a felt cap, decorated with the ball of honour. It was this horrible painting which had called forth the wrath of the viceroy.

“ Let the author of this painting be brought before me,” he exclaimed.

At these words a poor miserable painter came out of his shop trembling, and fell on his knees before Siu's chair.

“ Why did you set up this figure in my path ?” cried the mandarin, in an angry voice.

“ Only to dry it, my lord,” replied the artist.

“ Was it not rather to put an evil omen in my path ?” asked the Viceroy enraged.

“ How could I, your excellency's humble slave, be guilty of such a crime ?” cried the painter, with his face in the dust.

“ Why, then, did you paint this abominable picture ?”

“ Alas ! my lord, because it was ordered. I gain my living by my work.”

“ Good ! To teach you not to get your living by daubing horrible subjects of this sort, you shall have twenty strokes of the bamboo,” said the Viceroy, turning towards the officers of his suite.

The porters again set themselves in motion, while the poor painter was seized and taken to the city gaol, where the Viceroy's sentence was executed. It was with these two events fresh in his mind that our mandarin set off for the war.

Siu learned by his scouts that the insurgents, who amounted to a formidable body, were at Ou-tcheou-

Fou, one of the towns in the extreme east of the Kouang-Si. Faithful to his prudential maxims, he took care not to surprise the enemy; but stopped at Chao-King, with the intention of watching them. It must be confessed that he would have found it very difficult to conceal his march, for besides the 3,000 men under his command, he had in his train a throng of inferior mandarins, servants, executioners, musicians, and flag-bearers; to say nothing of a small party of young women, who were intended to relieve the tedium of the journey. It would have been impossible to advance secretly with this noisy escort, which recalls to memory that of Darius; with this difference, that the money and the women, instead of being borne in chariots, were carried on men's backs, in sacks, coffers, and palanquins. Siu took with him a store of treasure: on leaving the city of Canton he had laid in a good supply of piastres, and on his route had increased his stock of the sinews of war as much as possible. In China, more than in any other country, are victories gained by money over hearts and consciences; which, it may be observed, bear by no means an extravagant price. Siu, impressed with this fact, had taken measures to reduce the town without striking a blow, and to gain battles without firing a shot. During his journey from Canton to Chao-King, the following incident occurred.

He came on his way to a deep and rapid stream, which could only be crossed by a swinging bridge of bamboos. Part of the escort had already crossed to the opposite bank; Siu stopped his chair, and ordered the coolies to proceed slowly and cautiously. They obeyed, but had no sooner reached the middle of the bridge, than a sudden shock precipitated them and their burdens into the stream, and a moment of terrible disorder ensued. The military chest was at the bottom of the river, and the unfortunate coolies were struggling against the current, uttering lamentable cries; while Siu, enraged, beat the edge of his chair with his fan. Fortunately the coolies swam like fishes, and easily gained the bank. The Viceroy would willingly have given them the bastinado, but he reserved this luxury for another time, and ordered the luckless wretches, who were still panting and trembling, to fish up the precious chest without delay, threatening them with the most terrible chastisement if they did not recover it.

The coolies threw off their clothes, and courageously plunged into the water. They were skilful divers, and having duly explored the bottom of the river, they succeeded, after many efforts, in bringing ashore the precious chest, which, though wet and covered with mud, had received no damage. Siu lost no time in having it placed on the shoulders of two other coolies, and gave orders to renew the

journey. Some days afterwards, when he had reached Chao-King, one of his first cares was to have the chest opened in his presence ; when, in the place of his ingots of gold, he found nothing but flints and pieces of stone wrapped carefully up in silky paper. The coolies were audacious thieves, who had dexterously contrived the substitution. The Viceroy, in a transport of rage, set all the police on the alert, but without avail. The thieves had doubtless taken refuge in the country of the rebels, where both their persons and their booty were in safety.

The insurgents, knowing what kind of projectiles were in the Viceroy's coffers, and with what sort of ammunition he had armed himself for the campaign, began to adopt a system of observation likewise, waiting a favourable opportunity for effecting a double capture, by taking the general and his weapons at once. However, if the Viceroy was not excessively brave, he was extremely cunning, and the rebels got nothing by their generalship. China, a prosaic and unwarlike country, was on this occasion the scene of a proceeding which recalls the days of the *preux chevaliers*. Tchou-lou-tao, a rebel chief, tired of finding himself opposed to an enemy whom no provocation could withdraw from his intrenchments, resolved to "call him out;" and, with his imagination probably excited by "the

lovely eyes of the Viceroy's chest," sent Siu the following challenge :—

“ Having learned that your excellency has brought troops hither to subdue and exterminate us, I want to know how you will escape the fate which awaits you? You are afraid to fight with us. You are evidently without strength or courage; for having ranged your troops in order of battle, you are overcome with fear and confusion just when an engagement ought to begin. If you really have confidence in your strength and your resources, and in spite of your absolute weakness think you can support a contest, appoint some near day that we may at once decide by single combat which of us is to yield, and which to triumph, and thus save from certain and general destruction those unfortunate soldiers whom you are slaughtering in detail.”

On receiving this challenge, which was contrary to all the usages of a country where the great point is to live as long and take as much care of oneself as possible, Siu flew even into a more violent passion than when he read that famous placard which set a price upon his head. Under the influence of extreme excitement he went beyond the limits of his ordinary prudence, and even beyond the ramparts of the city. Seated in his palanquin, he put himself at the head of his troops, and performed a whole day's march. However, at the distance of a few *lis*

from Chao-King, the Viceroy, taking a hint from the heat of the weather—it was the month of August—resolved to finish his military display with a return to the city. Thus ended the first campaign of Siu against the rebels.

While announcing the departure of the Governor-General of the two Kouangs at the head of his little army, an English journal, well acquainted with the affairs of China, made this apparently correct remark. “Siu is labouring to disperse the bands of the Kouang-Si, not by force, but by money and stratagem; and he will assuredly succeed. Money is the great object of the rebellion.”

However, in spite of this prophecy, the crafty mandarin did *not* succeed. The fact is, there was something beyond an interested motive at the bottom of this rebellion. We shall presently see what other element it was that offered an invincible resistance to Siu's diplomacy.

At all events, Siu did quite right in not measuring himself against the soldiers of Tièn-tè, who treated the vanquished with unheard-of barbarity. Five hundred soldiers of the Hiang-Chan, having had the misfortune to fall into an ambush, were slaughtered by the fanatical partisans of the Pretender. Only ten escaped, and these spread alarm through Kouéi-Lin, by relating the sad fate of their comrades.

Notwithstanding these successive defeats, the

mandarins did not cease sending bulletins of their victories to the "Son of Heaven." The *Moniteur* of Pekin was hardly large enough to record their prowess. In some of these military romances, mention is made of the marvellous effects of a cannon ball which swept off an entire file of the enemy's army, beginning with the captain; and a reward is asked for the cannoneer who took this wonderful aim. Another bulletin states that in one action 800 men were killed by a single volley, and that the conquerors stormed three towns in one day. All these monstrous fables are accompanied with precise names and dates. Even the official flourish of the pen is not wanting. Nevertheless, these very men who palmed such gross falsehoods on their sovereign would die in the defence of his throne.

We have already seen Lin quitting his beloved solitude in obedience to the orders he had received, and dying on his way to his post. His successor, Li-sing-yuèn, after half a year's good and faithful service, asked the Emperor to release him from his duties for a short time, that by a little rest he might recruit his health, now worn out by his struggles in the cause of Tartar rule. The favour was granted, and the faithful subject, transmitting the Imperial seal to Sai-chang-ha, in compliance with the orders he had received, quitted Kouéï-Lin for Pekin. However, he desired boon arrived too late. The responsibility

of his position had undermined his health: his inability to subdue the insurgents had affected him with a mortal grief; and he died before reaching the Imperial city.

Old institutions have alone the power of inspiring this devotion. The story of Blondel and Richard his king, is repeated in the history of all old dynasties. A loyal subject of this kind, though he sighs to see the sceptre in weak or incapable hands, dies, nevertheless, to defend the sovereign who is bowed down beneath the weight of his own greatness. Certain families have traditions which render them partners of the misfortunes of royalty, and nothing—not even their own will—can detach them from their glorious servitude.

The Emperor, on learning the death of Li-sing-yuèn, found also in his own heart one of those noble sentiments which do equal honour to the monarch and the subject. He shed tears for his faithful servant, pronounced his eulogy in a public edict, and ordered the Board of Rites to render the deceased all the honours due to a governor-general. These offices being performed, he sent to the Governor of the Hou-Nan, ten taëls weight of the ginseng of Tartary, that it might be presented to the aged mother of Li-sing-yuèn. It is well known that, in the eyes of the Chinese, this plant is endowed with marvellous properties. It is looked upon as a specific, at once

powerful and harmless, against the decline of strength, and the diminution of vital warmth. The rich, therefore, make frequent use of this cordial, not doubting that it will prolong their existence for a considerable time, and in certain cases preserve them from death. The young Emperor seemed, by making this present, to tell the mother of his faithful servant, that he prayed she would live as many days as her son had lost in his service.

CHAPTER VII.

A crime—The sapèques—Kouéi-Lin.

IN the month of July 1851, a mysterious occurrence, the circumstances of which are now but imperfectly known, took place in the Imperial palaece. At the hour when the Emperor usually walks in the superb gardens of his palace, an armed man darted upon him and attempted to assassinate him. A chamberlain, who was close by, arrested the arm of the assassin, and thus saved the "Son of Heaven." He perilled his own life by this act of devotion, and received in the elbow a wound which rendered amputation necessary. Now, had this crime been premeditated by some partisan of the rebels? or had the relatives of the Emperor, alarmed at seeing the sceptre in the hands of a mere youth at such a critical juncture, wished, for the sake of the dynasty, to remove their young kinsman by violence? This last supposition is the more probable. Regicide

is the crime of desperate causes; and it is very seldom that the representatives of progress—men who have really a fair prospect of the realization of their views—employ this detestable expedient to accelerate the triumph of their principles.

Eighteen mandarins lost their heads in consequence of this attempt; and every member of their families suffered the same fate. This is a terrible law of the Celestial Empire. Decrees very often smite criminals in the persons of their descendants.

A report was spread in China on the subject of this occurrence, that the Emperor's uncles were not strangers to the crime; and this report was not wholly disbelieved. Even the names of Mou-tchang-ha and Ki-in were mentioned. This was precisely the case of Burrus and Seneca, suspected of attempting the life of young Nero. It is more probable that the eunuchs of the palace were the accomplices of the odious attempt,—those degraded beings, who have always played an infamous part in the conspiracies of the court. On more than one occasion, revolutions in the Celestial Empire have been chiefly promoted by some individual of this abject class; who, while deprived of virility, are endowed with a treacherous energy, and in whom the passion of envy supplies the place of ambition.

The attempt on the Emperor's life found an echo in the insurgent provinces, where the fall of the

Tartar dynasty was proclaimed, to some extent, by the circulation of sapèques bearing the name of Tièn-tè. Sapèques called in the Chinese language *tsien*, are the current coin of the empire. They are small pieces of copper, zinc, and nickel, round and thin, like a French piece of twenty sous, and are pierced through the middle with a square hole, by which means certain definite amounts may be strung together. This coin is as ugly as the large French sou. A single piece is never worth more than a centime; and as the composition of which they are made is very liable to rust, they have often the dirtiest appearance imaginable. Nevertheless, these coins are the national money *par excellence*: there is no other currency; excepting ingots of gold and silver, which are totally without official mark. The sapèques are never adorned with medallions, but are only stamped with the name of the Emperor in whose reign they have been cast, — we say *cast*, because in China money is cast in a mould, not struck with a die. The law punishes with death the imitators of these wretched little coins: as was formerly the case in France. The practice of rewarding the informer is, however, not general in China: this is one of the refinements of European civilization.

The appearance of the new coin greatly perplexed the politic traders of Canton; who for a long time

doubtfully contemplated the seditious mark of the Pretender. They were perhaps of the opinion of a person who, having once been a politician, afterwards held a sacred office, and said, "I have a very easy method of discovering whether a sovereign is legitimate. I merely order a new piece of 100 sous to be placed before me, and the image which it presents is, in my eyes, the true Cæsar. To me the true Cæsar is always he that coins the money."

This method was convenient; but between two sovereigns, each of whom claimed the same authority, the theologians of the Celestial Empire were sadly puzzled. The man we have quoted would not have been embarrassed at all; he would probably have held out both his hands, and declared that both the emperors were legitimate alike.

In spite of their efforts, the insurgents had not been able to take possession of Kouéï-Lin, the capital of the Kouang-Si; but a great number of capitals of departments had fallen into their power. Lo-Ting-Tcheou and Li-Ning-Hièn had been taken by storm, and they had carried off an enormous booty. After the capture of these two cities, one of the rebel chiefs, Tchou-lou-tao, sent a flotilla manned by 6,000 men, to take Iu-Lin-Tcheou. The prefect and the general, Ou-lan-taï, were in this town. At the approach of the rebels, they attempted a strategic movement to intercept their passage; but in-

stead of suddenly attacking the enemy, they fell, quite unexpectedly, into an ambushade.

The action took place during the night, and the following day shone upon a melancholy scene. The Imperial troops, surprised by the rebels, had literally had their throats cut, and among the dead lay the unfortunate prefect of Iu-Lin-Tcheou. However, it is better for a Chinese official, civil or military, to fall in a struggle than to survive a defeat. The unhappy vanquished often anticipate the Emperor's sentence, and inflict the punishment of death on themselves. We have seen several examples of this barbarous stoicism. The governors of Lo-Ting-Tcheou and Li-Ning-Hièn obeyed that fatal prejudice which forbids most mandarins to await the arrival of disgrace.

It is difficult to reconcile this contempt of life with the cowardice displayed by the same men under other circumstances. It is the *prestige* of traditional authority that causes this miracle. The same individual who would tremble at the sight of a drawn sword, resolutely poisons or hangs himself, at the thought that the master who has elevated him will degrade him, or blame his conduct.

Towards the end of 1851, the triumphs of the rebels succeeded each other so rapidly that even the *Pekin Gazette*, ceasing to record the Imperial victories, began to set forth the advantages gained by the

insurgents. All the fortified towns were put in a state of warlike preparation, and the Europeans received letters from their correspondents in the interior, assuring them that at Hang-Teheou, Tchinh-Haï, and Ning-Po, all was ready for action. In the large cities, topographic plans of the insurrection were sold, in which were marked all the districts occupied, and all the towns taken by the rebels. These plans, which were published monthly, have been brought to Europe, and it is by one of them that we now follow the progress of the rebels. We shall call them *rebels* till the day when they enter the imperial palace of Peking. After that event we shall give them another name, for then, according to the political notions received in China, the rebel will be Hièn-foung.

On the 29th of September, a considerable body of insurgents encountered the Imperial troops in the district of Young-Gan. A conflict took place, and the *tigers* were routed. After this action, which was one of the most sanguinary throughout this war of skirmishes, the rebels followed up their advantages, and took by storm Young-Gan-Teheou, Houen-Mou, and Ping-Lo, the chief town of the department. The victors summoned the magistrates to recognise the sovereignty of Tièn-tè, and every one who refused to obey the summons was mutilated, or simply put to death. Even in this country, which the

civilized children of the West call barbarous, official dignitaries may be found who will remain faithful to their sovereign in the presence of triumphant rebellion, and who will rather die than violate their oaths.

The insurgents, now masters of the three towns, spared the inhabitants, who suffered no injury of person or of property. A proclamation by Tièn-tè urged them to live peaceably together; at the same time, allowing all who would not recognise his authority to retire whithersoever they pleased, and to take their property with them. A large number of peaceable citizens took speedy advantage of this permission, and went off, loaded with their most valuable effects. Unfortunately, in effecting this emigration, they fell into the midst of a troop of Imperialists, who, without taking into consideration the motive that had caused them to flee from the conquered cities, stripped them completely, and killed those who endeavoured to defend themselves. While suffering from this violence, these unfortunate victims of civil war reproached the Emperor's soldiers with cowardice before the enemy, and audacity in attacking defenceless people. "You are," they said, "mice to the rebels, and tigers to us."

In the meanwhile, Siu, who was still shut up in the environs of Kao-Tcheou-Fou, exhausted his strategic resources. He set a price on the head of

Tièn-tè's father, on that of the mysterious counsellor who everywhere accompanied the Pretender, and on that of Tièn-tè himself; offering 90,000 taëls to whoever should bring him these three heads in a sack, thus estimating each of these rebellious skulls as worth 20,000 taëls above the value set on his own. In spite of these brilliant offers, Siu saw no results. Despair then got the better of the viceroy of the two Kouangs. He felt ill at ease in the Kouang-Si, and urged the Emperor to allow him to return to Canton. A Chinese mandarin afflicted with *ennui*, and bowed down under the cares of his state, is capable of devising the oddest stratagems to get out of it.

Our mandarin, in a report which the official gazette of Peking was unkind enough to publish, declared to his master that the subjects of Doña Maria de Gloria, Queen of Portugal, were preparing an expedition against the Celestial Empire. He transformed the peaceful residents of Maçao into a troop of pirates ready to aid the insurrection, and wishing to conquer the provinces of the Kouang-Toung and the Fo-Kien on their own account.

It is plainly evident that this gigantic empire, administered by lying mandarins, and defended by cowardly soldiers, is in a state of dissolution. Symptoms of its approaching fall appear on every side.

On the right bank of the Tchou-Kiang, in the

front of those gardens of Fa-ti, so well known to Europeans, and which abound in knotted and stunted trees cut into the shapes of buffaloes and tigers, there arrived in the month of September 1851, twenty large junks, bearing 2,000 recruits from the district of Touang-Kouan, intended to reinforce the troops of the Kouang-Si. At the moment of setting sail, these mercenary troops refused to start, unless they received two months' pay in advance. The mandarins complied with their demands, and the undisciplined horde set off, accompanied by 1,000 volunteers and 900 regular troops, and taking with them twenty field pieces. But what could be expected from men of this kind? Like the bands of mercenaries who sold their services in days of yore, they were capable of going over to the enemy if their pay was a single day in arrear. This circumstance alone serves to explain the continual defeats of the Imperial army, and the no less uninterrupted progress of the insurrection.

In the mean while, the Emperor Hièn-foung, who felt his throne tottering, sought to prop it up by new acts of vigour, and had recourse to those detestable expedients which blind despotism employs in dangerous times. Prompted by terror and indignation, he punished without mercy the generals who were guilty of being beaten, and degraded the administrators of the provinces, departments, and districts, over which

the insurrection was spread. The *Moniteur* of Peking contained a long comment on the faults which the persons in question had committed; and every name was followed by a sentence of death, or at least by a degradation.

Sai-chang-ha—who, having first been prime minister, was sent as commissioner extraordinary of the Kouang-Si, and who, after the death of Lin, had been appointed by the Emperor, governor of that province—was lowered four degrees, because he did not succeed in suppressing the insurrection. Generals, who on the eve of an action had the misfortune to be ill, were also degraded; and Ou-lan-tai, the Tartar general of Canton, was included in the degradation. However, before the arrival of the Imperial decree in the Kouang-Si, Ou-lan-tai was fortunate enough to prove his bravery in a bulletin of his own. The decree, therefore, was revoked as far as he was concerned, and he was reinstated in his dignities.

Amid all these dangers and difficulties, the “Son of Heaven” passed much of his time in trifling amusements, surrounded by his favourites and a few courtiers; who were, perhaps, plotting his death. Strange to say, he amused himself in writing a poem on the lofty deeds of the Tartar general. We have read some of the poetic lucubrations of the young Emperor. They give evidence of a mind

which, having little invention of its own, uses the imagination of others ; every line awakening a reminiscence of the classic authors of the Celestial Empire : the Chinese Homers, the Ariostos of Pekin, furnished the imperial poet with most of his bombastic lines.

While the Mantchou sovereign was “ tuning his lyre,” as Delille says, what was the descendant of the Mings about? He was not composing an epic poem : he doubtless thought, and with reason, that an Emperor who had a throne to conquer or defend, had quite enough to do without writing dithyrambics. He wrote only in prose ; and he now published a new manifesto, in which, to a certain extent, he revealed his future policy. This important document roused the attention of the European residents of China, who generally have a sublime contempt for native politics. We give a fragment of this document, which was especially addressed to the Imperialists ; we shall afterwards give another proclamation in which the ideas of Tièn-tè are more clearly laid down :—

“ We shall not be alone in defeating you. The very air, by the infection which it spreads around you, warns you to retire. When my celestial virtue has triumphed, the country will become happy, and the governors will be virtuous as in the days of old. I perceive the standard set up by the celestial

council, and I have appointed a great general, after receiving his oath of humanity. If the waves rise and engulf all before them—if we ascend ramparts, and open for ourselves a pathway into citadels—I fear that you will have much trouble in saving the capital, and in preserving tranquillity in his majesty's palace.”

The attempts of the rebels against the city of Kouéï-Lin (which according to more reports than one they had taken, but which in reality they had not yet captured), was a frequent theme of conversation. This city was an important military post ; but it seemed that the insurgent chiefs did not care much for the military importance of the places which they occupied. With the exception of certain strongholds into which the Pretender retired, they abandoned all the *fous* and all the *hièns*,* after having levied the contributions required for the payment of their troops. This system of tactics resembles that of those barbarous chiefs whose great invasions are recorded by history. The insurgents advanced straight forward, gaining every day a position which they abandoned on the day following. It was evidently their intention to lay open a path

* A “Fou,” according to Sir J. Davis, is a city of the first, and a “Hièn” a city of the third rank ; though the above would lead us to suppose that the first and *second* ranks were intended.—J. O.

to the capital. With such a centralized government as China, the Mantchous will always hold the throne as long as Peking remains in their hands; but when the descendant of the Mings enters the imperial capital, the provinces which he has crossed, and not conquered, will recognise his rights and submit to his authority.

Having returned to Kouéï-Lin we will now give a short description of the city, which we shall have frequent occasion to mention in the course of this narrative. The capital of the Kouang-Si is built on the right bank of a large river called Kouéï-Kiang. This magnificent river, which flows from east to west, after frequently changing its name and receiving several tributaries, washes the ramparts of Canton, under the name of Tchou-Kiang, or the river of pearls. Kouéï-Lin is a walled city. The horizon is bounded on the north by magnificent mountains, the sharp summits of which resemble the points of an immense row of obelisks. At the foot of three slender peaks are a number of rounded hills, which seem to have fallen from their summits. These are covered with cinnamon trees, the fragrance of which pervades the atmosphere nearly all the year round.

The aspect of Kouéï-Lin presents many charms to a Chinese. The landscape abounding in freaks of nature is, in their eyes, endowed with singular beauty: those artists who paint impossible rocks,

create an imaginary vegetation, and admire in their gardens the monstrosities of Chinese art, are never weary of contemplating natural scenery, provided that their imagination can detect in it some strange image, some undefinable form. The tourists of the Celestial Empire contemplate the rocks of the Kouang-Si with a feeling similar to that with which certain individuals survey the fantastic forms assumed by floating clouds, insisting that they are peopled with images which merely exist in their own imagination.

One of these natural curiosities is on the borders of the river Kouéï-Kiang, in front of the city on the east. It is an enormous block of stone, the shape of which reminds one of a gigantic elephant. The Chinese call this rock Siang-Pi-Chan, or the "rock of the elephant's snout." The animal is half covered with bamboo; and bears on his back a round tower, with a double roof of porcelain, surmounted by winged dragons. One might almost fancy it to be one of those huge creatures, bathing amid the reeds in one of the rivers of India, and carrying one of those pavilions on which the king of Siam loves to ride.

The ramparts of the city are composed of bricks and large stones, cemented with clay. They are surmounted with battlements in good condition, and two rows of cannon are pointed from the embrasures. Towards the west, within the precincts of the city,

an immense stone, conical in form and resembling an immense sugarloaf, rises suddenly from the soil. This steep rock, which the Chinese call the "Isolated Wonder," is ascended by a path winding around it, and along which small oratories are formed at every step. The celebrated pagoda, in front of which are two tall masts, adorned with gay pennants, rises from its summit. A bridge of boats connects the suburbs of the city with the surrounding country; for the river flows at the foot of Kouéi-Lin, in much the same manner as the Rhone before Avignon.

It is asserted that Kouéi-Lin contains more than 400,000 inhabitants: but such statements do not appear correct to any one who has not seen a Chinese city. Such is the capital of the province which has been the cradle of the insurrection. We may add that Siu, with whose excessive prudence we are acquainted, has not endeavoured to shut himself up in this place, which the Chinese Government deems impregnable. Perhaps the same opinion has hitherto protected it against the rebels.

CHAPTER VIII.

A sanguinary scene—Policy of the insurgents.

IN the course of the year 1851, more than 700 unfortunate persons were executed at Canton. The severity of the mandarins seemed to increase in the same proportion as the extension of the insurrection; and every day some arrest took place, and some unhappy wretch, shut up in a bamboo cage, or shackled like a wild beast, was brought from the province of the Kouang-Si or the revolted districts of the Kouang-Toung. Generally they had not to wait for their sentence; since, in cases of insurrection, the superior authority of the province has a right to inflict capital punishment, and makes abundant use of this sanguinary privilege. An execution is a horrible thing in any country, but in China its horror is doubled by its attendant circumstances. We give here the letter of one of our friends, who had the melancholy curi-

osity to be present at the execution of fifty-three rebels of the Kouang-Si.

“On the 1st of May,” he writes, “I attended an execution with three of my friends. The street in which these frightful scenes occur, is situated, as you are aware, without the walled city of Canton, towards that part of the suburbs which lies to the south along the river. This narrow, dirty street, which is about 100 *metres* long and 15 wide, is called by the Europeans, the ‘Potter’s Field.’ All the houses on each side are in fact inhabited by workmen who make common services of porcelain, and those portable furnaces which you have often seen in the poorest houses, and in the floating residences on the river. For fear that a Chinese scholar like you may dispute names with me, I must tell you at once that this dismal place is called by the natives, Tsièn-Tze-Ma-Teou, or, the ‘Quay of the Thousand Characters,’ in allusion to the numerous signs which are seen there from the river.

“We arrived there at ten o’clock in the morning, and took our station in front of a shop belonging to a mender of old stockings. This was an excellent position to take a survey of the whole ceremony, and we remained there quietly till noon; at which time some soldiers and officers attached to the service of the mandarins arrived, to clear the street and thrust back the curious. As in Europe,

the persons who came to see the spectacle were the vilest dregs of the populace,—dirty, ragged people, with sinister countenances, who wandered about this ensanguined soil; where most likely they had already seen the execution of a number of their companions, and perhaps of their accomplices.

“In a short time the roll of the tam-tam announced to us the arrival of the whole procession. Mandarins of every degree, with the red, white, blue, or yellow ball, riding on horseback, or carried in palanquins, and followed by an escort of musicians, sbirri, and standard-bearers, alighted at a short distance from the place of execution. Contrary to their ceremonious habits, they arranged themselves in the dismal enclosure.

“Then arrived the criminals. They were fifty-three in number, each shut up in a basket, with his hands tied behind his back, his legs chained, and a board inscribed with his sentence hanging from his neck. You have often met in the Chinese streets a pair of coolies carrying a pig stretched out at its full length in a bamboo case. Well, just imagine a human being put in the place of the unclean animal, and you can form an idea of the fifty-three unfortunate creatures in their cages. When the cages were set down, they were opened and emptied, just as when a pig is turned out at a butcher’s shop. I examined these unfortunate wretches with attention :

they were worn out with hunger, and looked more like skeletons than living beings. It was evident that they had suffered the most dreadful privations. They were clothed in loathsome tatters, wore long hair, and the dishevelled tail attached to the crown of the head, had been reduced to a third of its usual length. They had evidently be longed to the insurgent bands, who had adopted the fashion of the Mings, and allowed all their hair to grow.

“Many of these unfortunate persons were very young: some were not sixteen years of age; while others had gray hair. Scarcely were they thrown on the ground pell-mell, when they were compelled to kneel; but the greater part of them were so debilitated from suffering, that they could not keep in this position, and rolled in the mud. An executioner’s assistant then picked them up, and arranged them all in a row; while three executioners placed themselves behind them and waited the fatal moment. You doubtless recollect those horrible figures whom we have often seen together in the *cortége* of the criminal judge of Canton—those figures dressed in a red blouse, and wearing a copper crown, adorned above the ears with two long pheasant’s feathers. Well! these were the executioners who now waited the signal with a rude and heavy cutlass in their hands. These enormous weapons are about two feet long, and the back of the blade is two inches

thick : altogether it is a cumbrous instrument, shaped like a Chinese razor, with a rude handle of wood.

“ A mandarin who closed the *cortége* then entered the enclosure. He was adorned with the white ball, and held in his hand a board, inscribed with the order for execution. As soon as this man appeared the frightful work began. The executioner's assistants, each clothed in a long black robe, and wearing a sort of head-dress of iron wicker-work, seized the criminals behind, and passing their arms under the shoulders of their victims, gave them a swinging movement, which made them stretch out their necks. The executioner, who was now in front, holding his sword in both hands, threw all his strength into the weapon, and divided the cervical vertebra with incredible rapidity, severing the head from the body at a single blow. The executioner never had to strike twice ; for even if the flesh was not completely cut through, the weight was sufficient to tear it, and the head rolled on the ground. An assistant then levelled the victim with a kick, for the corpse would otherwise have remained in a kneeling position. After three or four decapitations, the executioner changed his weapon ; the edge of the blade seeming completely turned. The execution of these fifty-three wretches only lasted some minutes.

“ When the last head had fallen, the mandarins

retired from the scene as silent as they had come. Seeing the highest provincial officers present at the execution of these unfortunate men, I was struck with the reflection that in all countries—horrible to say—the political scaffold has been elevated instead of degraded. After the departure of the mandarins, the executioner picked up all the heads, and threw them into a chest brought for the purpose. At the same time the assistants took the chains off the victims as they lay in a pool of blood. The heads were carried away, but the bodies were left on the place of execution.

“A lamentable scene then commenced. A troop of women with dishevelled hair approached the fatal spot, shrieking aloud, in wild disorder. These unhappy beings were endeavouring to distinguish their fathers, their husbands, and their children, among the headless corpses. It was a frightful scene to see them hurrying about, pondering, and constantly mistaken amidst these headless remains. This search continued all day, accompanied by a mournful noise; funeral dirges being mingled with cries and sobs. The women never ceased repeating that kind of chant common to all funeral ceremonies, and which was composed, it is said, in the time of the Mings. It is a sort of rhythmical plaint, in which the same words constantly recur. ‘Oh, misery! Oh, despair! My happiness is gone for

ever! Your kindness will no longer soften the bitterness of life! Alone and bereaved of all, I can only weep and die over your ashes!’ and so on.

“To these details, which I saw with my own eyes, I should add some others, which have been communicated to me by the Chinese. When the criminals left their prison, each was provided with a cake. This was one of those pies cooked by steam, and filled with sweetmeats, that you have often seen on the tables of mandarins.

“I asked the reason of this practice, and was informed that the criminal stomach was filled for two reasons. First, that the effusion of blood should not be too copious; and, secondly, that the soul, famished by too long an abstinence, might not torment those who separated it from its mortal tenement. I give you this explanation, that nothing may be omitted. The following particular statement is curious. It was given me by a man of letters, who stood by my side during the horrid spectacle. The execution did not take place quite according to rule. Generally the culprit is brought before a kind of altar, formed of stones brought from the eighteen provinces. This expiatory altar is raised on the day previous to the execution, and when all is over it is taken down. This custom—so thought my informant—is excellent. It inspires the criminal with feelings of con-

trition, because he seems to pay the penalty of his crime before all the inhabitants of the empire."

The mandarins not only employed means of this kind to suppress the insurrectional movement; they also endeavoured to turn the cause of the rebels into derision, by circulating among the people pamphlets filled with incredible anecdotes. In one of these satirical productions it was stated, for instance, that Tièn-tè had perished in an accidental conflagration of his camp, and that his wife had seized upon the government, having first assassinated her husband's brother. Now, in China, female rule is not allowed; and the Empress Ou-heou, the Elizabeth of the East, who seized the Imperial power and held it for more than twenty years, is always mentioned with horror. The prejudices of the Chinese are so obstinate on this subject, that they have effaced the name of the Empress Ou-heou from the list of sovereigns of the Celestial Empire; so that, to them, this disgraceful reign never existed at all. The idea of seeing the sovereign power in the hands of a woman fills them with indignation: although they are aware that it is a woman reigns over that western people which has subdued them, and that the English nation was never greater or more glorious than under the government of her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.

The Government lost no time in appealing to the purses of Canton, and by an Imperial decree,

“Complete Abundance” asked the opulent city for the sum of 1,000,000 taels. This loan is equitably divided in the following manner: the weight of 400,000 taels falls upon the mandarins, and that of the other 600,000 on the tradesmen. The latter say that, in point of fact, they will have to bear the whole burden, as the mandarins will continue to extort from them the 400,000 which should fall to their share. The political reflections of these unfortunate persons are as dismal as possible; but after a multitude of suppressed complaints, they end by opening their purses.

The generals charged with the suppression of the insurrection stood in great need of cash. The Viceroy of the two Kouangs, our intrepid friend Siu, still employed no other projectiles than ingots of silver. It was said that he remained shut up in Kao-Tcheou-Fou; and that, being blockaded by the rebels, he had offered them the sum of 300,000 taels if they would retire, and allow him to leave the city and proceed to Peking, where he would have the satisfaction of informing the Emperor that he had pacified the Kouang-Si. The rebels took no notice of his proposals; but always pressed forward.

After occupying Ping-Lo-Fou and Young-Gan-Tcheou, as we have already said, the rebels successively took possession of Ou-Hièn and Tchao-

Ping, which are situated, one to the east and the other to the west of the two first cities. With the exception of Kouéi-Lin, the city of the "Isolated Wonder," there was not a town, village, or hamlet, throughout the Kouang-Si, which had not submitted to the law of the rebels, and adopted the costume of the Mings. The Emperor, irritated by these fresh defeats, continued, in his own person, to stimulate the courage of his generals. He ordered Saï-chang-ha to retake Young-Gan-Tcheou within a fortnight; and that, in default thereof, the generals Hiang-ing, Ou-lan-taï, and Tièn-san, should lose their heads. This order of conquest—made after the fashion of the *Moniteur* of 1793, which Hièn-Foung had certainly not read—singularly aroused the zeal of the gallant captains, and on the 17th day of the 10th moon, they set out to recapture the city of Young-Gan-Tcheou. The insurgents, who did not expect them, advanced to meet the Imperial troops, whom they at first attacked feebly. However, in the middle of the action, they unmasked a formidable battery, the murderous fire of which swept away the troops of the unfortunate mandarins.

The taking of Young-Gan-Tcheou was followed by that of Ou-Tcheou-Fou in the province of Canton.

* Ou-Tcheou-Fou has previously been mentioned as situated in the Kouang-Si, and is so placed both in the map attached to this work, and in the one published by Sir John Davis.—J. O.

An eye-witness, who was present at this action, asserted that the insurgents proved to be divers bodies of troops, commanded by chiefs, who, though independent of each other, were all united by a common desire to overthrow the Tartar dynasty. This assertion was confirmed by the following proclamation, which was posted on the walls of Young-Gan-Tcheou, and threw a new light on the history of the insurrection. This important document was as follows :—

“Know all people, that China belongs to the descendant of the ancient dynasty: do not be appalled, ye students, freemen, artisans, and merchants, but remain each of you firm to his work. The fortune of the dynasty of Han is about to flourish once more, and the foreign dynasty of the Mantchous approaches its termination. This is a decree of Heaven, of which there can be no doubt. After a long union, division is to follow. In order that things may be securely established on the publication of the laws, our sovereigns have displayed their beneficence, and before prostrating themselves before the Supreme Being have always rendered assistance to the unfortunate. After having learned to adore God, they have laboured to save the people from calamity, have supported the weak, resisted the strong, and saved the villages from robbers. They did not act like the chiefs Tai-té-ou and others, who

stopped the junks on the rivers, pillaged and massacred the inhabitants of town and country, and then asked the mandarins for passports and safe-conducts to take them to a place of safety. When our princes, by the power of Heaven, entered Young-Gan, they extended their munificence around them, and looking upon the people as their own children, induced them to abstain from murder, and to take nothing without permission. They are just and impartial as a balance; but if any one refuses obedience, he will be handed over to the officers of the army. Our princes call upon the inhabitants of every district to surrender, if they would merit the reward due to voluntary adhesion. In the meanwhile they are now waiting the arrival of chiefs of the other provinces, that they may join their forces, and attack the capital of Peking; after which they will proceed to a division of the empire."

This proclamation, as far as the political ideas are concerned, is a paraphrase of that proclamation of Tièn-tè which we have not given entire. There is one predominant idea, namely, that of breaking up the empire. These men have perceived that countries so heterogeneous as those of which the immense empire of China is composed—separated from each other not only by long distances, but also by difference of customs—could not remain submissive to the same laws. A decree may indeed be passed that the

people of the north and the people of the south shall be governed by one code, but the human mind protests against this assimilation. A vast empire cannot remain free and compact except by federalization. Hence, although Tièn-tè is at Young-Gan-Tcheou, it is not he who speaks; but one of the feudatory kings yet to come. The proclamation is not dated from the second year of Tièn-tè, but from the first year of Tièn-kio.

This document not only shows us the intention of the chiefs, but to a certain extent initiates us into their plans. It tells us by what means they expect to acquire supreme authority. These skilful politicians are in reality not very anxious about the countries which they cross, and the submission of the provinces and departments, however they may call upon the inhabitants to submit. They are perfectly acquainted with the vulnerable side of the power which they assail, and against this they direct their attack. Their chiefs, they say, are waiting the arrival of the chiefs of the other provinces, that they may march with combined forces and take the city of Peking; after which they will proceed to the division of the empire. They know well enough that if once Peking is in their power, they are sure of everything else. Will the Emperor take refuge in one of the towns of the Tartar frontier, and there seek to reconquer his throne?

While we contemplate a plan so ably devised, we naturally ask how it was thus wisely and patiently matured. We ask how these chiefs, who sign in the name of royalty, are accepted without reservation by numerous armies, and what sanction their authority has received. In our opinion the whole affair has been admirably conducted, from the time of the first movement in Kouang-Si—a pilot balloon, which the rebels launched to test the undermined power of the Tsings—to the proclamation of Tièn-tè. This proclamation was inspired by the profoundest wisdom. To a people accustomed for ages to imperial rule, that is to say, to the infallible authority of one chief, it would be most injudicious to reveal at once the project of founding a federal empire. The men of letters were alone capable of comprehending this idea, too lofty for the apprehension of the multitude. It was, therefore, especially necessary to show that the future edifice had its key-stone like the edifice now existing. It was in the silence and in the shadow of the secret societies that this plan was conceived. Since the fall of the Mings and the accession of the Mantchous, clandestine associations—those intellectual laboratories of declining states—have been incessantly in operation. The most celebrated of these secret societies—the society of the three principles, or the Triad—commands a powerful organization. Throughout China, and wherever the

Chinese emigrate, members of this association may be found; and the people of the Celestial Empire can almost say without exaggeration, "When three of us are assembled together the Triad is among us."

Even in the form of the proclamation of Tien-Kio, it may be perceived that a new regenerative element has penetrated those obscure retreats where projects of national independence are formed—we mean the Christian element. The authors of the proclamation of Young-Gan-Tcheou talk of "decrees of Heaven." They have, they say, prostrated themselves before the Supreme Being; after having learned to adore God, they have laboured to save the people from calamities. These are forms of expression unknown to the idolaters of China, and foreign to the language of Catholics. The honour of introducing them into China belongs to the Protestants; and if we may trust report, it appears that a native Protestant holds an elevated rank, and exercises a high authority among the insurgents. This Protestant is, we are assured, a convert of Gutzlaff, the last secretary-interpreter of Hong-Kong.

M. Gutzlaff has now been dead some years. He was born in Pomerania, and quitted his native country very young. He did not in the least resemble the fair sons of Germany, whose florid complexion is kept up by draughts of beer. He was an intelligent man, endowed with a great aptitude for

acquiring languages ; and had no sooner entered a country than he spoke the idiom of its inhabitants. At the outset of his peregrinations he had been a Lutheran missionary ; next he entered the service of the Bible societies ; and, at last, by his great familiarity with the Chinese language, he obtained the situation of first interpreter to the English Government, a place to which splendid appointments are attached. If we can trust certain malicious informants, the Rev. Dr. Gutzlaff travelled for a long time, with a Bible in one hand and a yard measure in the other, distributing Bibles and selling cloth, on the most equitable terms ; and that, in this fashion, he went through Java, Siam, the Archipelago of Chusan, and the islets in the neighbourhood of Corea and Japan. Be that as it may, he has left us accounts of his travels, which, on the whole, are very pleasant reading.

M. Gutzlaff had the art of inspiring the Chinese people with the greatest confidence. He was of a middle stature, and tolerably stout ; his prominent eyes sparkled beneath thick lashes, which were overshadowed by long black and bushy eye-brows. His face, with features the reverse of angular, and its light olive complexion, seemed to belong to that variety of the human race which we call the Mongol. In his Chinese dress, he was so exactly like a native, that he could have gone through the streets

of the walled city of Canton, without being recognised.

One evening, during our stay in China, we spoke of him to the mandarin Pan-se-tchè, who was much attached to him, and one of us expressed his astonishment at finding in a European the characteristics of the Chinese race. The mandarin quietly replied—

“Nothing can be more natural. Gutzlaff’s father was a native of the Fo-Kien settled in Germany.”

This fact appears to us so extraordinary, that we should hesitate to relate it if Pan had not assured us that M. Gutzlaff himself was his authority.

At all events, whether his origin was Chinese or not, M. Gutzlaff perfectly knew how to adapt himself to the ideas of a people who are at once sensual and mystical. He founded in China, a sort of secret society called the “Chinese Union,” the object of which was the conversion of the Chinese to Christianity by the Chinese themselves. When it was first known that the insurgents had in several places burnt the Buddhist statues, and overthrown the pagodas, it was thought that a number of Catholics had joined the rebels. At a latter period the various Anglo-Chinese journals stated that a disciple of the artful Protestant missionary was the head of the band, whose zeal was displayed by the destruc-

tion of the monuments of idolatry. In time we shall know, perhaps, the name of the iconoclast, whose influence we have shown in the important document laid before our readers.

CHAPTER IX.

Chinese generalship—Insurrection at Hai-Nan—Insurrection in the Provinces of the Hou-Nan and the Hou-Pé.

THE Tartar general resolved to avenge the defeats that had taken place in the department of Ping-Lo. For this purpose he assembled the greater part of the troops, dispersed about the Kouang-Si, the Kouang-Toung, the Kouéi-Tcheou, and the Yun-Nan, and marched against the rebels with a force of 13,000 men. A Chinese army looks like a military array on the stage. The foot soldiers are dressed in red cassocks trimmed with white, having on the bosom and in the centre of the back a piece of white calico, on which the name of the regiment to which they belong, is inscribed in huge characters. They wear on their heads a conical cap, striped with various

colours, and are armed with a wretched matchlock. The horsemen, of whom there is a very small number in the Imperial army, are mounted on lean, ill-harnessed jades, and wrapped up in long blue robes. In this strange attire they look much more like Musselman women on a journey, than the Tartar heroes whom our fathers saw in the opera of "Lo-doiska."

In the midst of these grotesque soldiers, march the standard-bearers, holding a staff surmounted by a flag representing a chimera, a dragon, or some other fabulous figure. The drummers march at the head of the regiment. Numerous gongs are beaten in regular time, and the roll of the drum is mingled with the heavy sound of the metallic instrument.

The Imperial army encountered the rebels between two towns of the third order, called Ping-Nan-Hien and Tchao-Ping, on a very irregular spot, near the Kouéi-Kiang, the banks of which are bordered with sloping hills. The general deployed a portion of his troops in a small valley, and sent the rest to attack the insurgents in flank. While the soldiers were executing this manœuvre, the general, accompanied by his aides-de-camps, stationed himself in the central army, to direct the strategic movements. The standard-bearers and the drummers formed a double circle round this staff, and the

officers of each company placed themselves each behind his seventy-five soldiers.

To explain this arrangement, we ought to inform our readers that in the Chinese army the word of command is given, not with the voice, but with the sound of the gong. A certain innovator has proposed to introduce this method into the French army, but it has been judiciously settled that it would be impracticable in a country where the ears of the soldiers have not been trained to harmony. It is evident that to carry this musical arrangement into effect, the gongs and drums must always be within the reach of the staff officers. As for the other chiefs of the army, they stand behind their soldiers, because the latter are very apt to retreat without waiting for any word of command, and this position enables the officers to keep them at their post, or to kill them if they recede.

Silence is not required in the ranks: in fact, the contrary is the case. The Imperial soldiers advanced against the rebels, uttering horrible shouts; and the dismal roll of the gongs was echoed among the mountains. The insurgents seemed panic-struck at this revival of the siege of Jericho. They feebly defended the heights which they occupied, and, descending from their positions, gradually retreated to other points.

This game of hide-and-seek had already lasted

several hours, and the Imperialists, now weary, were on the point of abandoning the pursuit of the enemy when they debouched into a valley abounding in groups of those magnificent bamboos which form part of the wealth of China. The rebels flung themselves behind these barriers of verdure, as if to escape the fury of the Imperialists; when the latter formed the fatal resolution of pursuing them through the bamboo thickets. Scarcely were they entangled in these treacherous oases, than a large body of rebels came down from the mountains, preceded by upwards of sixty field-pieces.

The Tartar general, finding himself thus surrounded, gave the signal for retreat; that is to say, the gongs left off their martial roll and only sounded at intervals. It was too late. When Ou-lan-tai retreated to his camp, only half the troops obeyed the order. Of the rest, some had been killed, and the others had prudently gone over to the enemy.

Frequently in the course of this narrative we have given the name of "tigers" to the Emperor's soldiers without explaining the cause of a *sobriquet* so often applied. In the Celestial Empire these brave warriors have all sorts of animals painted on their bucklers, and the surname is derived from the circumstance that the figure of the tiger is more common than any other. All this seems very

ridiculous to us; but we have something very like it at home. In our own military uniforms we find traces not only of the tiger, but also of the wolf and other animals; the hair caps, and all those shaggy articles of dress with which we muffle up our grenadiers, take from us the right of laughing at the Chinese tigers: of whom, to speak the truth, we are sometimes mere imitators.

European troops, it is said, have borrowed another detail of military art from the Chinese. The Spaniards allege that the Portuguese introduced into their exercise the ridiculous command: "*Rostró feroz ao inimigo!*" and that on receiving this order the soldiers put on a fierce aspect, advanced with a war-like gesture, and showed their teeth to the enemy. If this story be true, the Portuguese were plagiarists. At the present day the poor *tigers* go to battle with menacing gesticulations, and make horrible grimaces.

The defeat of the Tartar general did not discourage Siu, the Viceroy of the two Kouangs, who remained shut up behind the thick ramparts of Kao-Tcheou-Fou. He swore by his long moustache that he would avenge the rout at Ping-Nang-Hièn; and for this purpose, he borrowed from the ancient history of the kingdom of Tsi, a stratagem which reminds one of the Trojan horse, and the foxes of Samson. Four thousand buffaloes were tied together, and

torches of resin were attached to their long horns. This troop was placed under the conduct of four thousand soldiers, and the expedition, the preparations for which had been a profound secret, set off one evening in the direction of the rebel camp.

According to this notable scheme, every buffalo, being thus transformed into a "fire chariot," was to commit fearful ravages, kill every one within its reach, and set fire to the enemy's camp. The horned battalion advanced at first, without meeting any obstacle; for the insurgents, warned of the stratagem, allowed the animals to pass along unimpeded. The Imperialists paid dearly for this procession by torch-light; for before they had reached the camp, the enemy, who had watched all their movements by the light of this splendid illumination, fell upon them unexpectedly, as they had often done before, and the usual scenes of carnage were renewed.

This bright invention of Siu's caused a sacrifice of more than 2,000 lives. Those who escaped slaughter were chased as far as the walls of Kao-Tcheou-Fou, where the Viceroy was quietly ensconced. This fact alone is enough to show us the state of the art of war among the Chinese. If the Anglo-Chinese press had been our sole authority, we should have hesitated to publish this account; but we have compared

the narrative of the *Friend of China* with authentic Chinese documents, and they both perfectly agree in all the details of this incredible story. In the eyes of the Chinese and Tartar warriors, the comical invention of Siu passes for a very ingenious piece of generalship.

Nevertheless, there exists among them a treatise on the art of war, which is highly esteemed. This classical work, which is in twenty-four volumes, is entitled "Ou-Pi-Tche," or a "Complete Treatise on the Art of War." Not only private individuals, but even civil mandarins below the third, and military mandarins below the fourth rank, are forbidden to read this book. In China a tradesman, a cultivator, or a man of letters, is not allowed to take any interest—even the interest of ordinary curiosity—in the art of war. The owner of such a book would be severely punished, if he held but a subordinate post in the hierarchy, or was a mere "man of letters." The booksellers are allowed to keep only one copy of the work in their shops, and when they sell it they are compelled to set down in a register the name and address of the purchaser,—just as is done in France, when poison is sold by a druggist. Certainly, if the work contains such fine things as Siu's contrivance, it is as well not to reveal them to the eyes of the vulgar.

Before they undertook the war against the Celestial Empire, the English obtained several copies of this treatise. One day, an American merchant at Canton communicated this circumstance to a mandarin of very high rank, when the latter struck his left hand with his fan, and exclaimed, "I am not surprised now that the red-haired barbarians defeated us."

We have already said that there were several symptoms in China of internal discomfort, and a tendency to dissolution. As we proceed in our narrative, new facts arise to confirm our opinion. The official *Gazette* of Peking stated, over and over again, that insurrectional movements had taken place in the island of Haï-Nan, in the Hou-Nan, and in the Hou-Pé.

The island of Haï-Nan lies to the south of the province of Canton. This is a possession almost as important as that of Formosa. All the tropical fruits grow there in abundance, and great quantities are exported to the principal cities of the empire. The Chinese have held Haï-Nan for many centuries, but have never completely subdued the native race, that inherits the mountainous districts in the centre of the island.

It is probable that the insurgents formed an alliance with this warlike race, and that they acted with regard to them as their brethren of the

Kouang-Si had acted with the Miao-Tze. The following fact confirms the supposition:—

After a great battle at the foot of the high mountains of Hai-Nan, a Tartar chief ventured to pursue the rebels into the narrow ravines of the “Mountains of a Hundred Fingers.” Ten days elapsed, but neither the soldiers nor their officer had returned. It was then resolved that an expedition should be made to learn their fate, and, after a long and dangerous search, the unfortunate captain was found nearly starved to death. He was the only survivor of his troop, and the rebels had abandoned him in this solitude, after cutting off his nose and ears.

The insurgents having found allies in the country, lost no time in occupying Kioung-Tcheou-Fou, the capital, and afterwards all the other towns of any importance. This *coup de main* in Hai-nan proves that the insurgents wished to secure a point whence to act afterwards upon the Kouang-Toung and the Fo-Kien.

The Hou-Nan and the Hou-Pé once formed a single province called the Hou-Kouang. Even at the present day, the two provinces are frequently known by the name of the Hou-Kouang, just as in France, we still use the name of Provence to designate the various departments, arising from a division of the former province; and in the course of

this narrative we shall often make use of the ancient denomination to designate the towns comprised within the limits of the two modern provinces. Hence, to trace the progress of the insurrection in the map, it is necessary to look for the points indicated in both the provinces, when it is not stated to which of the two they belong.

The entrance of the rebels into the Hou-Kouang produced a great sensation at the Court of Peking. The Imperial Government had hitherto lessened the importance of its defeats, and concealed as much as possible the uneasiness of its position. However, on hearing that the insurrection had extended to the Hou-Nan and the Hou-Pè, it uttered a cry of alarm.

An express was sent from Peking to Canton to communicate the disastrous news. The official messenger published the facts that the insurgents had effected a junction with 20,000 Miao-Tze, that they were marching upon the capital, and that Soung-Tao-Ting had been destroyed. While this news was scattering terror through Canton, the rebels took possession of Toung-In-Fou likewise. The Minister of War ordered the 10,000 men in the Se-Tchouan to march at once to Hou-Pé, and that all the disposable troops of the surrounding provinces should be directed to this point.

As the action of the rebels was chiefly centred in the north of the province of Hou-Kouang, we shall now give a topographical sketch of the country.

The Hou-Pé is one of the poorest provinces of the empire. It is, like the Kouang-Si, a mountainous country, but the temperature is much colder. The produce of the soil is analogous to that of the centre of France, consisting of corn, vegetables, and the finest gourds in the world. The mountaineers of the Hou-Pé live much like the mountaineers of France, residing, like them, in huts thatched with straw, and subsisting on a still more scanty nourishment. These poor people are frequently visited by famine, the constant attendant of violent changes of climate. Once it swept away a third of the population.

In this district, as in the Kouang-Si, the insurgents had for allies the poverty, and the warlike instincts of the people. When first it was learned that a portion of the population had risen in the ancient province of the Hou-Kouang, the first supposition was that this was a strategic movement on the part of the rebels of the Kouang-Si. This was a mistake. The insurrection in the Hou-Pé and the Hou-Nan, although the same in tendency as the other, was commanded by independent chiefs. As we have already had occasion to remark, the

troops, ill paid by the Imperial Government, readily passed over to the enemy. It was now learned that a detachment of the army, 6,000 strong, commanded by Ou-lan-tai, had joined the rebels with arms and baggage.

There was among the people such a disposition to aid the insurrectionary movement, that the Viceroy of the two Kouangs published a decree to prohibit the young men of the towns forming themselves into volunteer corps. In this document, which is ably drawn up, the Governor-General affirms that the Imperial troops are sufficient to resist the insurrection, and thanks the people under his charge for their excess of zeal. In reality, he knew what he was about. Experience had taught him that these improvised soldiers, when placed under the orders of the military mandarins, were eager to desert as soon as they were opposed to the enemy.

As if for the express purpose of disproving the assertion that it was the rebels of the Kouang-Si who had penetrated into the provinces of the Hou-Pé and the Hou-Nan, news now arrived that the chiefs in command at Kouéi-Lin had assembled round this capital all the troops at their disposal, for fear of being surprised by the insurgents, whose number daily increased. To these details was added the account of a new victory gained over the Imperial troops in the North of the Kouang-Si.

The progress of the insurrection in the Hou-Kouang was no less rapid than in the Kouang-Si; and it was learned that the towns of Tao-Tcheou and Kiang-Hoa were taken almost simultaneously without much resistance. A chief of the Kouang-Si, named Tai-ping-wang, then formed an alliance with the rebels of the Hou-Pé. This sort of confederation threatened many points at the same time; and several important localities—Lo-Ting-Tcheou, Houen-Yuen-Fou, and Ho-Che-Fou—fell into the power of the insurgents. In these three principal towns they found abundance of booty; as they seized the public treasure and the stores provided for the Imperial troops. According to their usual custom they respected private property, confining themselves to the spoliation of the functionaries, and a large appropriation of the public revenues. This conduct gained for them the sympathy of the inhabitants, who saw with the most perfect indifference the tragical end of the mandarins who had governed them, and who now, dreading the Emperor's wrath, hanged themselves in despair. It was now perfectly clear that, in proportion as the insurrection spread over the provinces, its action became more regular. The brigands of Kouang-Si had become neither more nor less than party-leaders, who respected the property of others, inspired their soldiers with notions of moral rectitude,

and sympathized with those who are the real victors in all political conquests—viz., those who have something to lose. However, this new development of the insurrectionary power was more and more menacing to the Emperor's throne.

CHAPTER X.

The Pretender and two official envoys—Confession and execution of Tièn-tè—New successes of the rebels.

WHILE the army of Tièn-tè commanded the country, the Pretender himself, surrounded by his household, his soldiers, and his guard, had established himself in a strong position, on the mountain of Tse-Hing, not far from the Kouéï-Lin.

The Governor of the Kouang-Si, finding that there was a favourable occasion for opening one of those negotiations in which Chinese diplomatists so greatly shine, resolved to send a kind of embassy to the rebel chief. This high functionary would willingly have pacified the country without bloodshed, and concluded the war by dint of those long subtle arguments in which the Chinese “men of letters” so much excel. We shall give what may be called the *procès-verbal* of the interview that took place between the Pretender and the envoys of the

Vice-Governor Tseou. This document, which has been translated from the Chinese, will show the reader the firm and cautious policy of Tièn-tè, the *prestige* which surrounds his dawning authority, and the attitude he assumes with respect to the Tartar Emperor.

“ Tseou, Lieutenant-Governor of the Kouang-Si, sent Han-heou, a man of letters of the first degree, and Tchang-fang-yeou, a man of letters of the second degree, with three other individuals, to Tièn-tè, on the mountain Tse-Hing, to induce him to make his submission.

“ Han-heou and his companions, fearing lest they should be at the appointed place at an unfitting moment, wrote a letter to Tièn-tè, to ask him on what day he would admit them into his presence, and resolved to await his answer, before they ascended the mountain. The answer having arrived, they advanced with their baggage; but before they reached the foot of the mountain, they were joined by a certain number of persons, who came to salute them and to act as guides.

“ When they had gone half-way up the mountain, they came to an outer wall, the lofty gate of which was guarded by troops, both within and without. They then went through three other gates, guarded in the same manner, and arrived at a fourth, where they were received by a dozen officers, dressed in

the fashion of the Ming dynasty, who, after having proclaimed the name and rank of each, advanced courteously, and invited the five visitors to enter the house set apart for strangers, where they were entertained with great magnificence.

“Their arrival was announced to Tièn-tè, who fixed an audience for the following day. In compliance with this order, they were, on the morrow, conducted by an officer through a fifth door, when a eunuch signified to them, on the part of the Emperor, that they must put on the costume of the Ming dynasty. Han-heou and the others did not dare to disobey orders, and accordingly put on the costume, which was brought them. When their toilette was ended, the eunuch conducted them to the steps of the Court, where they were received by Tièn-tè himself, who came to the foot of the steps, and led them to his residence, asking them to sit down, like guests on a visit to a friend. Tièn-tè then asked them for what purpose they had come; upon which Han-heou opened the conference, and set forth, in a very eloquent discourse, the commission with which he was charged. The others spoke in their turns, making use of the most specious arguments, and citing various examples to persuade Tièn-tè to make his submission, and thus to restore to the people that tranquillity of which the war had deprived them.

“When this discussion was ended, Tièn-tè said to them:—‘Masters, you misunderstand me completely. How can a prince submit to his own subjects? I am the eleventh descendant of the Emperor Tsoung-tching, of the great dynasty of the Mings, and I now rightfully levy troops in the hope of recovering my ancient territory. A rebellion was originally the cause that the race of Tsing was invited by Ousan-kouëi, minister of the Ming dynasty, to assist in overthrowing the rebel chiefs Tchang and Li. Here, however, they did not stop. They took possession of the country, and my ancestors, considering the service done by the race of Tsing in the war against the rebels, did not venture to expel them at once, but allowed them and their descendants to occupy the throne for 200 years, as a reward for their good conduct. You surely cannot say that this reward was insufficient. At present, strong in the justice of my cause, I am levying troops to recover the possessions of my ancestors. The race of Tsing ought to retire to their own country without resistance, so that each party may be in possession of its own territory. This course would bring repose to the soldiers and the people. Masters, you are still subjects of the Chinese empire, and you perfectly understand the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Can you have entirely forgotten your lawful prince, and remain contentedly the subjects of foreigners?’

“After this discussion, Tièn-tè ordered that Han-heou and his companions should be called by the name of ministers. He gave them a grand banquet, and entertained them splendidly for five days. At the end of this time the clothes which they had worn on their arrival were burned, and Tièn-tè accompanied them to the confines of the mountain, where he took leave of them with great affability.

“On returning to Kouéï-Lin, they related their adventure to the Governor. Tseou flew into such a passion, that it brought on a fit of illness, and for several days he could neither eat nor sleep.”

Immediately after this interview, the Pretender abandoned his retreat, and quitting the mountains, stationed himself in the plain. His presence was the signal of new calamities to the Imperialists, who, in many encounters, were beaten by the legions who accompanied the Pretender. These warlike bands took Lou-Tcheou, and advanced once more against Kouéï-Lin, which they intended to storm. The walls, however, defended by artillery in good condition, proved too strong for them, and they were forced to retire. On their retreat they set fire to the suburbs and burned the bridge, which crossed the river opposite the “Isolated Wonder.”

Kouéï-Lin was defended by the Tartar general Oulan-tai. While fighting on the ramparts, where they were attacked with fury by the rebels, he received

a ball in the knee. As the wound was considered very dangerous, and the medical science of China was deemed insufficient in so grave an emergency, an express was sent to Canton to ask the advice of Dr. Parker, minister of the gospel, interpreter to the American *chargé d'affairs*, and medical man into the bargain. The Doctor expressed himself perfectly willing to visit the wounded man and extract the ball, but his offer was not accepted, inasmuch as no foreigner can go into the interior of the country, without violating the laws of the empire. Ou-lan-tai, accordingly, set off for Canton to receive the attentions of Dr. Parker there, but the bad medical treatment which he had previously undergone, produced a mortification of the wound, and he died on the road.

Ou-lan-tai was one of the best generals in the Chinese army, which, however, by no means, proves that he was endowed with great military talent. He was a good master of that official kind of bragging, by dint of which the people of the Celestial Empire often get rapid promotion.

Shortly before his death, when the rebels had evacuated the city of Young-Gan, to advance to another point of greater importance, Ou-lan-tai lost no time in making a triumphant entrance into the deserted town, and sending a report, in which he boasted that he had taken it from the enemy.

There was no great harm in this ; the Court of Peking is accustomed to hear much greater falsehoods.

Shortly after the interview of Tièn-tè with the men of letters sent by the vice-Governor Tseou, a wonderful report was circulated. It was affirmed that the Pretender had been made prisoner, and that Siu, the Viceroy of the two Kouangs, had sent him to Peking, with a strong escort, shut up in an iron cage. At first, the tale was not received without hesitation ; in fact, it was considered a mere fiction. Soon, however, all doubts were removed, for the *Official Gazette* of Peking published a decree by which Tièn-tè was sentenced to undergo the extreme penalty of the law. According to the custom generally adopted in China, the decree was prefaced by a general confession, on the part of the accused. The contrite document was as follows :—

“ I am a native of Hang-Chan, in the department of Hang-Tcheou, and am thirty years of age. My father and mother are both dead ; I have neither brothers, sisters, wife, nor children. In my youth I gave myself up to letters, and I have undergone several examinations. Since, however, the examiners did not acknowledge in me any talent for composition, but paralyzed my efforts, I became a bonze. Shortly afterwards I quitted this position, to be examined again, but I was sent back as before. This filled my heart with resentment, and I carefully

studied works on military science, as well as the topography of the different provinces, that I might become skilful in war, and overthrow the Imperial Government. While I was a bonze, I lived in silence and retirement, studying how to render myself familiar with all the rules of generalship, as practised from the earliest times down to our own day. I thought that I could thus execute my plans with promptness, and take the empire by a mere turn of the hand.

“A few years ago, being still a bonze, I travelled into the Kouang-Toung, and passing through Houa, formed the acquaintance of Houng-siu-tsiuen and Foung-yun-chan, both men of letters of great talent, but both, like me, unfortunate in their examinations. They had traversed the two Kouangs, and had formed an association composed of the most determined members of the ‘Society of the Three Principles.’ Each of the initiated made a vow that he would live and die with the rest, and aid them to the best of his power. The number of adepts rapidly increased, and there was a growing fear that disunion would arise among them. Houng-siu-tsiuen was learned in magic, and the art of holding converse with devils, while Foung-yun-chan forged a history about a Heavenly Father, a Heavenly Brother, and Jesus, setting forth how the Heavenly Brother came down from Heaven, and how all those who wished

to serve the Heavenly Father might know where to find their greatest advantage; and adding that the Heavenly Brother, before his death, only occupied a small palace in Heaven, but that since he died for man, he has been seated in a large palace. By inflammatory words like these they have so bound to themselves the number of the association, that no one thinks of leaving them.

“ In December 1850, when their number and their power became great, I went to the Kouang-Si, where I saw Houg-siu-tsiuen; he had engaged many graduates of Kouang-Toung to begin the work of pillage, and attack the government. The members of the fraternity voluntarily followed these individuals, sacrificing to them their persons, their families, their property—in fact everything they had—so that there was money enough to purchase horses and enrol troops. From this moment their hopes increased, and they took the name of the ‘ Society of the Chang-ti.’

“ When I arrived at the Kouang-Si, Houg-siu-tsiuen called me his worthy brother, honoured me with the title of King Tièn-tè (celestial virtue), and took lessons from me in the art of war. He called himself King Tai-ping (grand pacificator); Yang was general-in-chief with the civil power, with the title of King of the East; Siu was lieutenant-general of the right wing, with the title of King of the

West; Foung was general of the advanced guard, with the title of King of the South; Wei was general of the rear-guard with the title of King of the North.

“Ministers were also appointed. Thus Che was appointed minister of civil affairs, and King of the Right Wing; Tsin was charged with the revenue department, and was King of the Left Wing; Oulaï and Tsang were generals of the guard; Tehou was appointed judge; and Tsang, Yu-sin, and Lo, were appointed lieutenant-generals. There were several other officers, whose names I have forgotten, who commanded some 300, others 100 men. If any individual turned his back in battle he was executed, and his officer was severely punished, while rewards and dignities were granted to those who obtained a victory. The Government troops killed a great many of our men. I called Houng-siu-tsiuen my elder brother, and our subordinates addressed us both as your majesty; otherwise we were always called by our proper name.

“On the 25th of August we took Young-Gan after routing the Imperial troops. Houng and myself mounted our palanquins, and installed ourselves in the official residence, which was called the Court, and in which no one was permitted to reside. Houng-siu-tsiuen derived all his military knowledge from me; but we did not always agree in our views.

I looked upon this place as not sufficiently important, and asked him why he gave so many individuals the title of king; moreover, he had great confidence in the practice of magic, although even in the remotest times no one ever attained the throne by that means. In addition to all this, he was given to wine and debauchery, and had with him thirty-six wives. At the bottom of my heart I desired his defeat and destruction, for without him I should have got the power into my own hands.

“At this period, all the battles were directed by Wei-tching, who, as a military man, was careful and indefatigable. He was endowed with great courage, and with 1,000 men was a match for 10,000 Imperialists. During the few months that we occupied Young-Gan-Tcheou, which we called our court, all our officers made reports on state affairs. A calendar was published under the direction of Young,* in which the intercalary moon was omitted. In this I took no part.

“When all communication with the city was impeded—when rice, gunpowder, and other stores, began to fail—the idea occurred to us, that as the members of our association were very numerous in the Kouang-Toung, and in the department of the Ou-Tcheou, we must take courage, and leave our prison (*sic*) to rejoin them. On the 7th of April, we planned

* Quære, Houng?—J. O.

a sally, and divided our forces into three bands. At eight o'clock in the evening Wei-tching set out with 6,000 men; and at ten o'clock Yang and F'oung set off also with 6,000 men, taking with him Houng-siu-tsiuen and his wives, with palanquins, horses, and baggage. At two o'clock in the morning Siu and I set off, with 1,500 men. When we were at a league's distance from Houng-siu-tsiuen's column, the Imperial troops attacked us; and as Siu had neither obeyed my orders, nor attended to my signals, we were put to rout: more than 1,000 men were killed, and I was made prisoner. It was I who ordered the eastern fort to fire, when we left the town, and set fire to the houses, in order to facilitate our sally.

“My real name is not Houng, but I adopted it when I contracted friendship with Houng-siu-tsiuen. I wore an embroidered dress, and a high yellow hat. The other kings had similar hats embroidered with red. The rest of the chief officers wore yellow embroidered aprons when they went to battle, and carried yellow flags. In the official palace I wore a yellow robe, but it was not through my own choice that I ascended the Imperial throne.

“This confession is authentic.”

In this document, which was probably composed by some Pekin man of letters, we may easily detect a perfidious intention to compromise the Christians.

The Chinese Union, the secret society founded by Gutzlaff, is principally mentioned as having furnished its contingent to the insurrection. To the present day the Chang-Ti alone—that is to say, the Protestants—are accused of having raised the standard of revolt. We do not know how far these insinuations are true; but it would be singular enough if we found the same phenomenon at the same time through the whole world; viz. that while the Catholic nations seem to be asleep in Europe, the Protestant nations are pushing forward, spreading, and occupying the largest place in this great globe. It is true that in the days of their religious fervour, the Portuguese and the Spaniards did as much as is now done by England and the United States.

The confession of Tièn-tè had produced a great sensation, and the particulars of his execution at Peking were discussed, when all of a sudden it was ascertained that the dead Tièn-tè was apocryphal, and that the real Tièn-tè was safe and sound among the mountains of Kouang-Si, where he continued to exercise his secret influence, and to watch the progress of the insurrection.

This political comedy had been played off by the ingenious Siu, who, having caught an insignificant rebel chief, had boldly passed him off as the Pretender, and sent him to Peking, with all the pomp due to Tièn-tè.

The rebels appeared at several points simultaneously, and the Imperialists always retired before them. As these marches and counter-marches are not very interesting we shall not name the places where they occurred.

About this time a fact, for the authenticity of which we do not vouch, greatly occupied the public mind. A report was suddenly spread that Tièn-tè had quitted his retreat, marched with his troops into the Hou-Kouang, and, having taken possession of the district of the Tchang-Che, had ordered the erection of a temple to the Supreme Being. This fact, we repeat, is not probable. If it had been true, there is no doubt the Catholics, sooner or later, would have joined the insurrectionary movement.

We must not omit to mention here a new manœuvre on the part of the cunning mandarins. We have already said, that on various occasions, they had endeavoured to alarm the Europeans with the consequences which might result to them from the triumph of the rebels. For this purpose they first spread the report that it was the intention of Tièn-tè to close the ports of China against the "barbarians," and afterwards affirmed that all his efforts were directed against Canton, and that he had sworn that, on the first day of the Chinese year, he would eat his dinner in that European port. On the con-

trary, everything in the conduct of Tièn-tè proves a deliberate intention to keep on the best footing with the Christian nations.

Instead of advancing towards Canton, the rebels have never shown themselves even in the province, except to sound the disposition of the people, and, in case of necessity, to secure a retreat by sea. Then, have we not ourselves a convincing proof that Tièn-tè is not hostile to Europeans or Christians? Among the great number of missionaries, who have spread to the very heart of the empire, there are many who reside in the Kouang-Si, and other provinces occupied by the rebels. Now, not one of these has suffered the slightest violence. We have not heard so much as a dark rumour on the subject since the commencement of the insurrection.

The reader will, perhaps, be of opinion that we exaggerate the personal importance of the descendant of the Mings, and that, like the generality of historians who sketch a political figure, we ascribe to the hero of our tale designs, calculations, and combinations, of which he never dreamed. In answer to objections of this kind, we need only refer to the documents which we have laid before the reader, and which, without doubt, emanated from the Pretender. After reading these, every one must agree with us that Tièn-tè is endowed with rare political

sagacity, indubitable superiority of intellect, and above all, with that energy, at once active and patient, which is peculiar to men trained under the shadow of secret societies.

CHAPTER XI.

Revolt in Formosa—The Lin family—The god Kouan—An aquatic assault.

WE said some time back that there is more resemblance between Chinese civilization and our own, than is generally supposed; in fact, the points of similitude are more numerous than the points of difference. This opinion has been held by many travellers, and above all, by those laborious Jesuits, who have even been reproached with too much partiality for the Chinese. Since those learned men left off writing, no one, except those who have pillaged them, has given a perfectly accurate description of the interior of China, or of the manners, ideas, and private life of the Chinese. The truth is that this country has suddenly stopped in the path of progress, and that, in certain respects, it is where Europe was three centuries ago. Hence, we often find among the people — a people at once

polished and barbarous—facts which to us seem incredible,—acts of puerile and savage solemnity.

The following anecdote was related at Canton in the month of June 1852:—

Two rebel chiefs, Houng and Ki, made between them the oath of blood—that is to say, they swore to live and die together, fighting for the same cause; and for this purpose, putting off the Tartar dress, and putting on the austere costume of the time of the Mings, they went to a desert place on the sea-shore, where, in the presenee of some friends, the elder of the two opened a vein in the hand of the younger, and received in a cup the blood which flowed from the wound. He then handed over the sharp instrument to his friend, who performed a similar service in return. After this operation the blood of the two friends was mixed with a small quantity of water, and the whole was poured into one of those metal cups which are used at marriage ceremonies. Houng and Ki then drank the sanguinary mixture alternately till the last drop was gone. From this moment the blood was supposed to flow in their veins, and they were bound by a tie which they could not break without infamy. Perhaps on this account they made use of the nuptial goblet, like a bridal couple, who are to hold all things in common.

While the Orestes and Pylades of China thus

cemented their friendship, they conceived the idea of spreading the insurrection through the island of Formosa, and set off, followed by a large number of partisans.

The island of Formosa is situated to the south-east of the province of the Fo-Kien, and is the largest Chinese possession, independent of the Continent. This island has always been a focus of rebellion. Being but half subdued, it has often, and sometimes for many years, throw off the authority of the mandarins. The celebrated corsair Ko-chin-ga succeeded in making Formosa a snug little independent kingdom; but the Chinese, with the aid of those irresistible projectiles, which they employ so efficaciously in all their wars, finished by demolishing the usurper.

For a long time the soil of Formosa has been turned to profitable account by the Chinese, especially those of the Fo-Kien, who have surrounded the shore with magnificent plantations of the sugarcane. However, the interior of the country, like the mountains of Hai-Nan, is peopled by an unsubmitive race, who to this day have resisted the decrees of the Emperor and the authority of the mandarins.

The Chinese Government maintains a numerous garrison at Formosa, and it is here that the most warlike soldiers are trained.

It is well known that the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire feel great horror at the thought of leaving their bones far from the "Land of Flowers." On this account the Government, to free those whose trade is death from the dread of being buried beyond the limits of their country, causes all the soldiers who die in the island to be taken to Emouï (Amoy). We have, with our own eyes, seen the tombs of those deceased heroes who died in defence of the sugar-plantations of Formosa. They are modest tombs, shaped like a horse-shoe, and symmetrically constructed on the perfumed hills of Emouï, where they are shaded by the undulating leaves of the magnolia, by the plumeria, whose scarcely opened flowers fall like flakes of snow, and by the fragrant mimosa, the yellow tufts of which embalm the air. Here every one has his place in a common enclosure, which is, as it were, a bee-hive of death, where every one peaceably reposes in his solitary cell.

The rebels proceeded to a point in the island, and had no sooner arrived than they found allies among the natives. Hai-Nan and Formosa do not occupy a large space in the vast map of China, and the loss of these possessions would take but an imperceptible fragment from the crown of the "Son of Heaven;" but they are looked upon as military posts of great importance, inasmuch as they respectively command

a view of the coasts of the Kouang-Toung and the Fo-Kien, and those who occupy them can impede the junks on their passage to the north of the Empire. Again, if the turbulent people of the Fo-Kien rose in conjunction with those of Formosa, they would, without further aid, form an army, against which the Tartars would struggle with difficulty.

The result of the attempts made by Houng and Ki is as yet unknown. The only news is, that they were fortunate in their first engagements with the Imperialists, but this is not sufficient to make us prejudge future events.

As we have already said, the Chinese keep their best troops at Formosa. This country is to China what Caucasus once was to Russia, and the Punjaub to British India. Here the Chinese soldiers receive their military education; but it must be confessed that the school has not turned out any celebrated generals.

The insurgents of the island of Formosa, like those of the Kouang-Si and the Hou-Kouang, wear a red turban, fastened by long metal bodkins, which pierce the knotted hair gathered up at the back of the head. This is the real Chinese head dress. When the French ladies turn up their hair *à la Chinoise*, they adopt a fashion, which is not at all that of the present empire, but is an exact imitation of the Chinese fashion two hundred years ago. The style,

which the insurgents have lately revived, is several centuries old.

The three provinces of the Hou-Nan, the Hou-Pé, and the Kouang-Si, were still occupied by the insurgents. Siu had prepared a new expedition, and a grand battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Lo-King-Chan. As usual, the *tigers* were defeated; the general who commanded the Imperial army lost more than 1,500 men, and thought himself very lucky in escaping the pursuit of the enemy.

Danger became so pressing in the Hou-Kouang that the viceroy of that ancient province, now the Hou-Nan and the Hou-Pé, levied a force of 4,000 men at his own expense, and devoted a sum of 200,000 taëls to the costs of the war. In spite of this patriotic devotion, and the energetic measures of the high functionary, who had given such a noble proof of his devotion, the insurgents pursued their invasive march into the Hou-Pé, where they secured the post of Kouang-Fa. They next advanced upon Young-Tcheou-Fou; and afterwards, Houang-Cha-Ho and Tchouen-Tcheou fell successively into their hands. No act of violence marked their passage; but at Kia-Ho, on the extreme frontier of the Hou-Nan, the insurgents were followed by a band of robbers, who committed numerous depredations. This isolated fact, to which many parallels may be found in epochs of internal struggles, and of war

civil or foreign, cannot be laid to the charge of the leaders of the revolt.

Hitherto the progress of the insurrection had been one continued triumph; but at last this series of unparalleled successes was interrupted by a few reverses. The rebels, attacked at Tehao-Tcheou-Fou by the Imperialists, lost more than 200 men in the engagement, while an equal number remained prisoners in the hands of the enemy. Some days afterwards they were again defeated at Young-Tcheou-Fou; and about the same time they received a check still more terrible. Their flotilla chased the enemy's fleet, directing fire-boats against the Imperial junks. During this manœuvre the wind changed suddenly, and their own vessels were consumed by the flames. Soon, however, the insurgents were amply revenged. They took Kouëi-Yang, in the Hou-Nan, by storm, and acted as if they were in an enemy's country. All the public buildings were burned down, ten mandarins were beheaded, and all the principal inhabitants were forced to pay a heavy contribution for the preservation of their lives and property. The Lin family alone were obliged to pay 200,000 taëls into the treasury of the insurgents.

The Lins are the most powerful family in this rich district.

In every one of the eighteen provinces of the Chinese empire there are several families so ancient

that our Montmorency, compared to them, are but nobles of yesterday. Their internal hierarchy is altogether patriarchal. Three or four generations live under the same roof, obedient to the will of a revered grandsire; they bring the fruit of their labour to a common stock, and thus accumulate great wealth. These families are often mentioned in the Imperial edicts as affording examples of the highest virtues, and they always command the greatest respect.

We have just said that, in these patrician houses, every individual brings the fruit of his labour to the common stock. To explain this peculiarity it is necessary to state that, by a prejudice contrary to ours, a man who lives on his income is much less esteemed in China than one who lives by his labour. To avoid the blame attached to indolence, even the richest persons make a point of exercising some liberal profession, and do not disdain manual labour. Thus a person whose father and brother write comments on Confucius, paints screens and fans.

The exactions of the rebels were doubtless caused by the vigorous defence made against them; at Ping-Gan, where the garrison offered no resistance, the insurgents were content with the trifling sum of 50,000 taëls; after receiving which, they retired and proceed to Yen-Tze-Che. After their departure the

garrison quietly resumed its duties, and things resumed their ordinary course. The only difference was, that the inhabitants found themselves with 50,000 taëls less in their pockets.

In the month of September 1852, Tièn-tè, with all his court, and with that devoted guard which never quits him, established himself in the town of Hing-Gan, situated in the North of the Kouang-Si, at a short distance from Kouéï-Lin, and on the frontiers of Hou-Nan. He was thus only a few leagues from the ingenious and prudent Siu. Notwithstanding this alarming proximity, the Viceroy did not abandon the position he occupied. It seemed as though a sort of truce had been tacitly agreed upon between the insurgents and the Imperialists, for they both kept their respective positions without risking an engagement. There is no doubt that the insurgents had considerable forces at their disposal, since Siu did not attempt to dislodge the Pretender from his central position.

Hing-Gan is a walled city, smaller than Kouéï-Lin, but admirably situated. Its occupation placed Tièn-tè, as it were, in the very heart of the insurrection. By the way of the Kouang-Si he could communicate with Hai-Nan and Formosa; and at the very entrance of the Hou-Nan, at a short distance from Yang-Tze-Kiang, was the route which would sooner or later conduct him to Nankin, and

perhaps to the capital of the Empire. Moreover the position he assumes as the Agamemnon of the insurrection, obliges him to practise the greatest caution. "The King of Kings" can, indeed, direct the various movements of his army, but he avoids taking any part in the action. The descendant of the Mings could not expose his sacred person to danger without risking the safety of his cause. Here lies the difficulty of all political edifices that depend on one key-stone. If any accident loosens this stone, the whole structure falls to pieces. Tièn-tè understands this so well that he has never been seen near the place of danger. When a battle is over, the "kings," his future vassals, send him their high officers to communicate what has passed.

In the mean while the project of forming a federal empire became more and more manifest.

We have already seen that Tièn-tè, in his interview with the envoys of the Governor of the Kouang-Si, expressed himself formally on this subject. "The Tsings," he said, "ought to retire into their own country, without resistance, and the people would recover their tranquillity." He did not deny the services which the Tartars had rendered to China, and he spoke of Hièn-foung as "his Majesty,"* hoping,

* This expression does not occur in the *procès-verbal* of Tseou's envoys, but in the fragment of Tièn-tè's manifesto, contained in Chapter VII.—J. O.

perhaps, that the latter would one day recognise his sovereignty. Constant to this scheme of federation the rebels of the Hou-Nan, concentrated at Houéi-Yang and Yang-Hing, proclaimed a new royalty, dating from the first year of Ming-Ming. The monarch thus enthroned unfurled his banner, and set the royal seal at the foot of his decrees. According to ancient usage, the Government is carried on by ministers: three Koungs, nine *Kings*, twenty-seven Tchou-heous, and eighty-one Ses.*

The power of the new king is absolute, but there is nothing in his acts to show that he denies the right of the descendant of the Mings, as his suzerain. The successes of the insurgents in the Hou-Nan became more and more rapid: they occupied the greater number of the chief towns of departments, and after a contest which lasted five days, took Kia-Ho-Tcheou and Y-Tchang.

The emissaries of Tièn-tè were spread throughout the provinces. One of them arrived at Canton; coming into contact with the officials, and even with the agents of the European governments, to whom he made known the progress of the insurrection. Through him it was ascertained that the rebel army, 80,000 strong, was assembled at Kiu-Tcheou-Fou, in the Hou-Pè; that it was commanded by generals

* These are Chinese titles of nobility; the word "King" in this list being not English but Chinese.—J. O.

of equal power, and that the kings of Chinese Attica were deliberating whether they should descend the Yang-Tze-Kiang as far as Nankin, whence they would ascend towards the Se-Tehouan.

This intelligence caused the adoption of new fiscal measures to strengthen the sinews of war. The mandarins levied on all the inhabitants of the empire, a supplementary tax equal to the tenth part of their incomes. At the same time the *Pekin Gazette* stated that the Emperor had taken 3,000,000 taels from his own private purse, to contribute to the expenses of the war. This example did not, in the slightest degree, excite the patriotic generosity of individuals; and even the agents of the Government were not forward with their cash, but rather confined themselves to protestations of devotion, and enthusiastic prayers. The vice-governor of the Kouang-Si transmitted to his sovereign, in the form of a report, the following account of a vision, which filled his soul with courage and hope. The curious document is as follows:—

“Tseou-ming-ho, Governor of the Kouang-Si, presents this memoir on his knees, entreating his Majesty to recognise by new titles the protection afforded to the empire by certain deities.

“Since this dynasty has governed the empire, the majestic energy of the god Kouan* has been dis-

* This is a deified warrior of ancient times, especially adored by the present dynasty for his supposed assistance.—J. O.

played in a very remarkable manner, and the emperors have successively decreed to him honours, erected temples, and offered sacrifices. Lately, when the city of Kouéï-Lin was attacked by rebels, I respectfully visited his temple at critical moments, burned incense before him, and entreated him to save the lives of the people. Now it happened that within a week after a prayer of this kind, twenty-five pieces of cannon, cast by the Mings, were found behind the pagoda. The cannon proved to be of great strength, and have aided us much; for the greater number of the rebels left on the field of battle were slain by them.

“On different occasions we learned, through the spies sent by the rebels, and also through our prisoners, that whenever the rebels pressed too close upon the city, they saw a red light shining above it, and a horseman who incessantly brandished his sword. The horse was gigantic; the guards who surrounded the mysterious personage were far above the ordinary stature, so that the sight of them alone was sufficient to terrify the rebels and make them yield.

“I am informed, moreover, that on the 13th of the third moon, when the night was dark and rainy, at the fourth watch, the rebels sent down upwards of fifty junks behind the rock called the ‘Elephant’s Snout,’ hoping that the obscurity of

the night and the noise of the rain would conceal their approach, and that they would thus be able to effect a landing. It happened, however, that their progress was stopped by a violent wind from the north, and a horseman armed with a brilliant cuirass appeared on the surface of the waters, encouraging the Imperial troops to advance and repel the rebels. At the same moment, amid the darkness of the night, suddenly appeared an enormous shining lantern, inscribed with the words 'Great Happiness.'

"I now reflect that whereas, when the rebels were beaten before the town, our soldiers were all near the embrasures of the wall, the horseman who appeared to the rebels brandishing his sword amid a red light, could not be any other than the god Kouan, who thus visibly came to our aid. When, again, our troops repulsed the rebels and destroyed their vessels, it could not have been one of them who galloped on the water as on *terra firma*. Indeed the words which appeared on the lantern in the air allow of no doubt that this was the spirit of the god of 'Great Happiness.'

"Under different dynasties, this god has granted favours, which the sovereigns recognised by new titles of honour. In the twentieth year of Taoukouang (1841), the image of the god was carried in procession on account of a terrible drought.

which afflicted the province, and by this pious act gentle and abundant rains were obtained. The Emperor, to whom the fact was related, wrote the following words with his own hand, and sent them to be hung up in the middle of the temple: 'The assistance we have received has been as vast as the goodness of the god.' Now, therefore, that the rebels have been happily repelled, and hide themselves for shame, I dare to ask your Majesty whether it would not be right to testify our gratitude to the god Kouan, 'King of Great Happiness,' by adding some new titles to those he bears already. By this expedient, fear and respect will be everywhere diffused, and the country will enjoy endless repose.

"I have consulted with the Imperial Commissioner, the Prime Minister Sai-chang-ha, and also the Governor-general Siu, who joined with me in this petition."

Notwithstanding this happy omen the Imperialists were defeated at every point, and the insurgents successively occupied the district of Ho-Tchang-Tsan, fifteen leagues from Tchao-Tcheou-Fou, Tai-Lin, Tao-Tcheou, and Kiang-Hoa. However, in the midst of this monotonous series of victories and acquisitions, an exhilarating event occurred, an account of which we borrow from the official journal. The rebels having taken Tao-Tcheou, the Imperial troops became much enraged, and swore that they

would recapture the city, or exterminate its defenders. For this purpose an army of 40,000 laid siege to Tao-Tcheou, and a great number of warriors courageously mounted the walls. A sanguinary contest ensued, and the *tigers* killed 3,000 insurgents, and made 100 prisoners; but without being able to enter the city. After this defeat, the besieged fled, panic-struck, behind their ramparts, and there remained. No provocation could induce them to renew the contest. The *tigers* then raised round the city a wall twenty feet thick, in which there was but a single opening; after which they turned the course of the Tao-kiang, so as to inundate the town. The official journal unfortunately omits to tell us the result of this aquatic manœuvre. Probably the Pretender's troops got off with a little wetting, and the rats were the only sufferers in the besieged town; in which case rats for the first time would have been the victims of tigers.

The year 1852 closed upon these disasters. Wherever the Imperialists had opposed the rebels, they had been almost invariably beaten, and the insurrection was evidently spreading like the Yellow River when it bursts its dykes. The Emperor punished the generals and high functionaries for the defeats they had suffered. Sai-chang-ha was recalled to Peking; and, in company with the viceroy

of the Hou-Kouang, and the under governor of the Hou-Nan, was, by virtue of a decree, summoned before a state council. These officers were threatened with degradation, and perhaps with capital punishment. Such is the mode of procedure adopted by the Court of Peking; the "Son of Heaven" compels the mandarins literally to take the words "Conquest or Death" for their motto. Siu was appointed to succeed Saï-chang-ha as Imperial commissioner in the two Hous, and was succeeded by Y in the viceroyalty of Canton. We do not give the decree ordering the degradation of Saï-chang-ha, having already given a specimen of the kind by inserting in our third chapter the Imperial decree by which Mou-tchang-ha and Ki-in were degraded. Suffice it to say that the governor and vice-governor of the two Hous were accused of the defeat of the Imperialists in the city of Kiang-Hoa, on the 24th July, and of Young-Ning on the 29th of the same month. The crime for which the Emperor punished them, was that of disobedience: he had ordered them to conquer, and his order had not been executed.

CHAPTER XII.

The regatta of Tchang-Cha—The descendants of Confucius—
How to make money—Ou-Tchang and Han-Yang.

THE Emperor Hièn-foung, cast down by so many calamities, summoned back to office the old servants of his father. Ki-chan and Ki-in, his great uncles, were the first reinstated in their functions. Ki-chan had incurred the anger of the old Emperor for having acceded to the propositions of the English, and Ki-in had been high in favour during the same reign, through accepting the very treaty which had caused the fall of his kinsman. The disgrace of the latter, it will be remembered, was of recent date; Hièn-foung removed him from his councils because he showed too much favour to the "barbarians." A mandarin named Hin-gan, whom Tao-kouang had degraded for being too progressive in his views, was appointed prime-minister in the place of Saï-chang-ha. But while the young Emperor recalled these intelligent and faithful men, who might, perhaps,

have re-established his tottering throne, he did not change his policy.

In no country in the world is there ever more than a certain number of men whose political value is universally recognised; and whatever the government may be, it is compelled, by the law of self-preservation, to apply to these men for assistance. This the young Emperor perceived; but when he re-established the former ministers, it was only to make use of their names. Far from asking their advice, he sent them into remote provinces. The very terms of certain decrees, which were promulgated by the young "Son of Heaven" after this measure, are sufficient to reveal his real sentiments. We see that the monarch entertains against the "barbarians" feelings which nothing can conquer—not even the services which the "barbarians" may be called upon to perform.

The rebels laid siege to the capital of the Hou-Nan. This city, which is called Tchang-Cha, is situated on the river Siang, one of the tributaries of the Yang-Tze-Kiang. The Siang flows from an immense lake, which is a sort of boundary between the Hou-Nan and the Hou-Pè. It is a fine river, with limpid waters, constantly furrowed by innumerable vessels. Tchang-Cha, whose battlements are reflected on the glassy surface of the stream, is backed by mountains covered with trees half way

up, and terminating in peaks as black as basalt. This city was considered important as far back as 500 years before Christ. About this time, a celebrated man named Chèn-yuèn was drowned in the blue waters of Siang. He was, probably, some fresh-water sailor, a predecessor of the *canotiers* on the Seine. His countrymen, afflicted at his death, proclaimed him genius of the stream, and established regattas in his honour. From these remote times to the present day, the nautical *fête* has been celebrated on this spot every year, on the fifth day of the fifth moon, with undiminished splendour. The privileged vessels which take part in the sport, are without parallel in the world. They are small, long, narrow boats, representing all the fantastic animals devised by the imagination of the children of the Celestial Empire. Some have the lengthened form of serpents, and are winged like antediluvian reptiles. Others have the shape of chimeras, with long teeth, and a tail armed with darts; while others, again, resemble the dragons of the pagodas, with their scaly backs shining like bars of metal. These fantastic boats are richly gilt, and are painted inside green, red, or blue. They literally fly across the waters, each impelled by the force of twenty rowers. The *fêtes* generally last for three days.

Tchang-Cha is, however, not a mere place of amusement. It is also a commercial and military

city of great importance. The insurgents besieged it with great activity; and the garrison, losing all courage, was about to surrender, when our friend Siu revived the spirit of the soldiers. He came at the head of some fresh troops, who bravely repulsed the enemy, and forced them to raise the siege. The city, however, had suffered greatly from this attempt. The enemy's artillery had demolished a portion of the walls, which it must be confessed might easily have tumbled down in the time of peace at the mere sound of gongs and petards. The insurgents then proceeded to Yo-Tcheou, which they took without striking a blow, and where they levied a contribution of 1,000 taels. But, what was much more important, they took 200 junks which were lying off this town, and sailed up the river as far as King-Tcheou-Fou, where they intrenched themselves and secured their booty.

The whole of this expedition was conducted by the insurgent general, Tai-ping-wang, one of the most determined chiefs in the army of Tièn-tè. This was the general who wrote upon his banners two lines, which would literally be *mille pieds* in our prolix language, but which they compress into twenty syllables. The lines are as follows:—

“We three thousand brave men, courageous as tigers, will straight proceed to tread down the enclosed land of Yeou-ién.

“The dragon will fly to the fifth nine, and cause the days of Yao and Chun to revive.”

Every Chinese inscription is so far like the Apocalypse, that it cannot be understood without a comment. The following is an explanation of the above lines: “The three thousand brave men, courageous as tigers,”—this is a hemistich from the ancient Kins*—“will straight proceed to tread down the enclosed land of Yeou-ién,”—that is, they will go to Pé-tcheli, where Peking is situated. “The dragon will fly to the fifth nine,” is an allusion to the cabalistic number in the treatise on “Changes,” relating to the flying dragon in the heavens. Translated into our vulgar tongue, the whole, put together, signifies that the Emperor Tièn-tè will quit his humble residence at Young-Gan to visit the Palace of Peking.

The *Moniteur* of the Empire, notwithstanding its habitual taciturnity, registers facts with extreme gravity. It contained the information that the viceroy of the Kouéï-Tcheou had represented to the Emperor that he could not send recruits into the Hou-Nan because the country was filled with armed rebels. The province of the Kouéï-Tcheou is situ-

* The Kins, or “Kings” as they are generally spelled in England, are five canonical books, ascribed to Confucius. Of these, the Ye-King, which treats of the *changes* in nature, is the last.—J. O.

ated to the west of the Kouang-Si, and is a country still poorer than the cradle of the insurrection. The authority of the mandarins has always been strongly contested by the inhabitants, who are much more like their neighbours, the indomitable Miao-Tze, than the Chinese. The mandarins of the Kouéï-Tcheou habitually say of the people under their rule that they are a detestable race, who will never understand the merit of obedience. The industry of this country corresponds with the rude character of its inhabitants. Mines of various metals are worked, and the poppy is cultivated.

The inhabitants of the Kouéï-Tcheou are like those European peasants who set a few tobacco plants under the shelter of rocks in some nook unknown to revenue officers, and then carry on an illicit trade with the prepared leaves. From the secret produce of the Kouéï-Tcheou is prepared an opium which is quite as good as that of Patna, Malwa, and Turkey. China at this moment presents a singular spectacle to the world. She is ruining herself by vain attempts to prohibit the introduction of a drug from foreign countries, which she could produce in enormous quantities in her own country at a cheaper rate, and of an equal if not superior quality.

The number of the *Pekin Gazette* which contained the report of the viceroy of the Kouéï-Tcheou stated that the mandarin of Hio-Kouang in the Chan-

Toung had been killed by rebels. The Chan-Toung is situated more than 200 leagues from the insurgent provinces, and is a country which much resembles the mountainous districts of Savoy and the French Alps. Lofty oaks grow on its heights, while chestnut trees and dark-leaved walnut trees border its fields. Family estates are separated from each other by hedges of hawthorn and sweet-briar. The sober and laborious inhabitants of the Chan-Toung have not the warlike spirit of the Miao-Tze, and it is difficult to see how a population so peaceable could have been induced to join the insurrection.

It was in the Chan-Toung that Confucius was born. Well-authenticated descendants of the philosopher *par excellence*, are still found in the province, amounting at the present time to several thousands. The direct heir has the title of duke, and of all the hereditary nobility of the empire this is the most sacred. A fief has been granted to this family, and for more than 2,000 years it has lived apart from political commotions, always honoured and respected by the numerous dynasties which succeeded each other on the throne. One of the last numbers of the *Pekin Gazette* contained a letter from the Duke Koung-fan-hao, thanking the young Emperor for sending him the poems composed by his father Tao-kouang. In fact, the descendant of the great man corresponds with the Imperial family as an equal. To

preserve the respect of the people and the affection of the sovereign, the heads of this family have always abstained from taking part in public affairs. They are contented with peacefully superintending their fief, and governing their numerous vassals, who are nearly all related to them. The existence of this powerful family may afford matter for serious reflection to us of the West. The descendants of the divine man of China have been surrounded for twenty centuries with universal veneration; the respect which is felt for them has been transmitted from generation to generation in the country which owes its civilization to their glorious ancestor. With us infant nations, the origin of some princely families comparatively modern may be readily found, but we should in vain seek for the direct heirs of the majority of our great men: in fact, we scarcely know where their ashes repose.

We have known in our time a descendant of the Chinese Socrates. His name was Tchao-tchang-ling, and he was assistant mandarin to the imperial commissioner Ki-in during the labours of the mission extraordinary of France in China. He was a Han-Lin* academician, well versed in the learning of his own country; and the representatives of European interests could perceive that he was a profound diplomatist. At the same time truth obliges

* The Imperial College at Peking.—J. O.

us to state that he was too much of a pettifogger and very ugly.

The symptoms of rebellion were now terribly strong in all directions. In the midst of the general embarrassment, the imperial treasury became exhausted, and the minister who superintended the outlay of the public money uttered a wail of distress, and denounced this scandalous fact to the Emperor. It was found impossible to make the mandarins who commanded the insurgent provinces render an account of the money confided to their charge. They merely replied that they required 700,000 taels to support the costs of the war. The number of soldiers on the lists concocted by the mandarins amounted sometimes to 40,000, sometimes to 100,000 men: that is to say, to a number that always varied according to circumstances, but which in every case was three times larger than the effective force assembled under the Imperial flag.

However it is the fate of the Chinese Government to be always cheated. The "Son of Heaven" is the best robbed man in his dominions: the ministers rob him, the military officers rob him, the inspecting mandarins rob him: in fact, there is an organized system of pillage in which everyone seeks to enrich himself at the expense of the State.

According to official documents published by the Government, the general costs of the war amounted

to 18,000,000 taels, that is to say, to 75,000,000 francs (3,000,000*l.*), in a single year. In this financial difficulty all the mandarins hit upon new plans for raising money. One of them, Hou-tin, head of one of the departments of the board of war, proposed to the Government a monopoly of the opium-trade. A similar project during the reign of Tao-kouang caused the fall of the minister who dared to propose it: the old Emperor's indignation was so great that he had at first resolved to put the audacious minister to death. But times were now changed: Hièn-foung, notwithstanding his hatred of opium-smokers, listened with respectful attention to a plan which promised to replenish his coffers; so alarming was the rapidity with which these were drained. Although nothing is yet decided, it is probable that before long Hièn-foung will consent to this reform. He is aware that before engaging in a desperate struggle with the European merchants and the Chinese smugglers, the best policy of the Government will be to establish a monopoly of the drug. As a pendant to this measure, the official *Moniteur* of the empire makes a curious statement of the means which the State has at its disposal for increasing its resources. We give this list; since it will show far more clearly than any remarks of ours, the vices which have crept into Chinese administration. It will be seen that Hièn-foung, under the pressure

of circumstances, far from seeking to elevate the morals of the nation by a bold and honourable measure, has recourse to a wretched sale of honours and dignities. He encourages neither the inspirations of patriotism, nor generous acts of devotion, but he panders to a puerile and contemptible vanity: as if an empire had ever been saved by money, at such a crisis. The list is as follows:—

“The Emperor having charged the Comptroller of the Imperial Household, the Ministers of the Cabinet, the Members of the Council, and the Board of Revenue, to consider the means for raising money to support the war against the rebels, these high functionaries have drawn up the following project of law, which received the sanction of the vermilion pencil.

“1. The princes, the nobles, and the high functionaries, both civil and military, are called upon to contribute, each according to his means.

“2. The academicians of the Imperial family will be authorized to purchase government situations.

“3. The academicians and the censors are at liberty to buy the offices of judges, treasurers, and intendants of provinces.

“4. Every titular holder of an office can, in consideration of a certain sum, be exempted from completing the time which he would regularly be bound to devote to the duties of the situation.

“ 5. The district intendants and the prefects can, in consideration of a sum of money, be exempted from the regular obligation of returning to Peking, when their term of office has expired.

“ 6. The cabinet secretaries can, in consideration of a sum of money, be exempted from the five years of service regularly required before they can obtain promotion.

“ 7. All functionaries in the capital, who have passed the examination of the first degree, and are waiting for appointments, can obtain them by purchase.

“ 8. All functionaries can purchase honorary titles for a relation, during absence caused by sickness, mourning, or otherwise.

“ 9. A son can purchase for his father a rank superior to his own. This was not allowed under the old regulations.

“ 10. Functionaries who have been dismissed can recover their rank by purchase.

“ 11. Functionaries who have retired can recover their rank by purchase.

“ 12. Functionaries can purchase titles for their relations.

“ 13. All those who have the degrees of Kiu-jen, Kouang-souen, and Kièn-souen,* can purchase their admission into the royal college of Peking.

* Academical degrees.—J. O.

“14. The peacock’s feather can be obtained by purchase.

“15. All the mandarins of the first or second rank, who have been degraded, can recover the ball by purchase.

“16. All public functionaries condemned to exile or other punishment, can obtain a dispensation for money.

“17. Every functionary transported to I-Li for any crime, can obtain a dispensation for money.

“18. The Government will consider the pecuniary rewards given to the troops by private individuals as so many loans to itself, and loans may also be effected by commercial paper.

“19. The money deposited in the Neï-ou-fou is to be sent to the army as a reserve fund.

“20. The Government will issue paper-money, as in the times of the troubles caused by the barbarians (the English), on the banks of the Tehe-Kiang.

“21. Three months will be allowed for collecting arrears of taxes.

“22. Offices of exchange will be established on account of the Government.

“23. Public tenders will be received for the farming of the gold and silver mines in the Je-Hol, in the provinces, in Eastern Turkistan, and in the I-Li.”

“*Pekin Gazette*, 12th Nov. 1852.”

In this absurd document the English are still styled "barbarians:" the offensive appellation is applied by the sublime Emperor to a nation from whom his agents will soon have to beg aid and protection. This reveals to us the true sentiments of the present representative of the dynasty of the Tsings.

Towards the end of February, some merchants who arrived at Chang-Hai from Sou-Teheou-Fou affirmed that the rebels had sailed down the Yang-Tze-Kiang, and had taken Ou-Tchang-Fou, the capital of the Hou-Pé. This city contains more than 400,000 inhabitants. It is built on the right bank of the Yang-Tze-Kiang, near the mouth of the Han, one of the tributaries of the "Son of the Ocean."*

On the left bank of the Han, opposite to Ou-Tchang, rises the city of Han-Yang, with immense suburbs on the right bank. The windings of the gigantic river water the plain; in the centre of which are situated three large cities. The declivities are planted with willows and bamboos. At intervals, in the midst of green clumps, are seen light scaffoldings, upon which whole families are perched. These are the aërial residences of the fishermen. More fortunate than their fraternity of the sea shore,

* This is the interpretation of Yang-Tze, the termination Kiang signifying river.—J. O.

these fresh-water fishermen gain their livelihood almost without toil. They cast into the river a net stretched on a wooden frame with a long handle, by which they are enabled to guide it; they draw it in, with the aid of a capstan, several times a day full of fish.

About a league to the north of Ou-Tchang, rises a small eminence which commands a view of the windings of the two vast rivers, and of the three commercial cities. One of our friends, an intrepid traveller, who had the opportunity of admiring this scene, has communicated his impressions in these terms:—

“I was never weary of contemplating the course of the two rivers, which seem to twine about the three large cities like azure ribbons. The Yang-Tze-Kiang is really an inland sea, upon which porpoises disport themselves as on the surface of the ocean, and which bears the largest vessels on its rapid stream. The Han, although not so large as the river into which it flows, is nevertheless a noble stream, with brawling waves like the Durance, where great commotion also prevails. The Chinese vessels are certainly the noisiest in the world. Every moment gongs are struck and petards are fired. Only imagine the terrible uproar produced by a combination of 5,000 or 6,000 junks! Across the almost boundless plain, the clang of metal and the explosion

of powder would reach my ear like the confused hum of an enormous bee-hive.

“On reading these words: the ‘combination of 5,000 or 6,000 junks,’ you doubtless smile with incredulity. It is generally admitted that Chinese travellers, when they estimate the riches and population of this country, always count by thousands, like the vendors of nails; however, I really think that I am below the truth. I yesterday saw at anchor, before Ou-Tchang, more than a thousand barks, loaded with salt. To this port is brought all the produce of China, and all the manufactured articles sent to the Celestial Empire from Manchester, Liverpool, and the United States.

“The point of junction where the Han flows into the ‘Son of the Sea’ is called by the natives Han-Keou or the mouth of Han, and the Chinese consider this the most commercial city of the empire. Han-Keou is situated 250 leagues from the sea, but the river is navigable throughout for the largest vessels. On reaching the point of junction, the junks, which have hitherto travelled together, divide themselves into two parties, one of which stops at Ou-Tchang, while the other goes up the Han. These vessels vary in aspect, according to their trade; and if my nautical education were more complete, I would describe every variety of the heavy, old-fashioned craft, with masts bedecked with ribbons and flags,

loaded with the celebrated teas of Moning, much in request among Europeans,—with the woods of the Kiang-Si,—with the porcelains of Yao-Tchang-Fou, —with the cloths, the cotton goods, the cutlery, and even the smuggled opium of the ‘barbarians:’ for wherever a large trade is carried on, there is sure to be a good number of smugglers.

“The aspect of Ou-Tchang, Han-Yang, and Han-Keou, surrounded by waters which make the wealth of the empire circulate into its very centre, is really most imposing. Pagodas, nine stories high, rise amid the houses, and the floating forest of masts presents a triple rampart of pikes decked with yellow, red, and blue flags.

“The imagination of a European can easily realize the cities with their curved roofs; the barks perpetually crossing each other, and decorated like our vessels on gala days; the sailors and the populace with plaited hair, and broad bamboo hats: in short, all the minor details of this scene, which is at once comic and picturesque. But what the home-bred sons of our country can *not* realize is the enormous plain, watered by rivers as fruitful as the Nile, and covered with trees and houses; and the three twin cities, larger than Marseilles and Lyons, and only separated by a river, which the strongest rowers can only cross after many hours of hard pulling.”

This description, which sets forth in a lively manner the impression made upon a traveller by the sight of a strange country, will show the reader that the taking of Ou-Tchang by the rebels was a most important event. To the details already given we should add the fact, that near this city in the Kiang-Si, on the borders of the lake Po-Yang, which communicates with the Yang-Tze-Kiang, there is one of the best defended strongholds called Kieou-Kiang. If it were really true that the insurgents occupied Ou-Tchang, they would lose no time in taking possession of the military city; whence they could proceed to Nankin without impediment. However, the reports relative to Ou-Tchang had as yet nothing positive or official about them, and the Chinese, English, and American merchants refused to give credence to statements which, if true, would seriously affect the interests of commerce.

CHAPTER XIII.

Decree respecting the taking of Ou-Tchang—Siu poisoned—
Punishment of the Europeans by the Chinese.

WHEN the news of the taking of Ou-Tchang-Fou, the capital of the Hou-Pé, was first spread about the empire, the mandarins, and even the Europeans, declared that the intelligence was false. Soon, however, a proclamation by the Emperor put a sad end to their incredulity. Hièn-foung announced to his people the recent victory of his enemies, and explained it after his own fashion. This document is a melancholy proof of the young Emperor's ignorance, and shows plainly enough that his own military knowledge is not superior to that of his generals. This curious specimen of the "Son of Heaven's" strategic science is as follows:—

"This day (29th January 1853), a despatch arrived from the Commissioner Siu, announcing that the rebels have occupied the provincial city of Ou-

T'chang (capital of the Hou-Pé). We cannot express the whole measure of our indignation. General Hiang-young fought with the rebels to the east of the city, and was victorious; but as the western side of the city is on a level with the lake, and the gate Ouang-Tchang and others were open, the rebels took advantage of this circumstance, and by means of a subterraneous mine, which blew up on the fourth of this moon (Jan. 12), they dispersed the garrison, and took possession of the town.

“In a preceding report Siu stated that Ou-Tchang was in fit condition to sustain a siege; and now, after an interval of a few days, he declares to us that Ou-Tchang has been taken by the rebels. Is he not aware that in war there is a great difference between things that can be put off, and things that require immediate action? His report is like that of a mere dreamer. Siu loitered on the road between Tchang-Cha and the Hou-Pé. The Commander-in-Chief, Hiang-young, although he arrived in time to gain a victory, could not at once attack the strong position of the rebels and put them completely to rout. He also is slow in action, and no less culpable than his colleague. The moment for the extirpation of the rebels has arrived. If we put to death Commissioner Siu and General Hiang-young we should only extricate them from their difficulty; therefore, while we deprive Siu of the

dignity of Governor-General of the two Kouangs, and of the peacock's feather with two eyes, we allow him to retain his offices as High Commissioner and Provisionary Governor of the Kouangs. General Hian-young is degraded, but he will be allowed to fulfil his duties, till he has given signs of improvement.

“The provincial city of Ou-Tchang is the residence of the Governor and other grand mandarins. With what promptitude has it been taken by the rebels, and how deeply do we feel for the calamities it endures!

“We regret that we have not employed fitting persons, and that our people have not been delivered from this wicked horde. The troubles of the South deprive us of sleep at night, and of all desire to eat. We have already appointed the Governors-General of the two Kouangs and Ki-chan to be High Commissioners, and each of these will head a powerful army to exterminate the rebels. The Governor of the Chen-Si and the Kan-Sou, and the Governor-General of the Se-Tchouan, have received orders to unite their forces, and proceed to exterminate the rebels in the Hou-Kouang. We order them to act in perfect harmony, to prevent the rebels from ravaging the land, and to restore peace to the country. We hope that their operations will be speedy, and that they will spare no trouble.

“As for the authorities of the provincial city of Ou-Tchang, we command Siu to submit to us a true report of all that concerns them.—Obey this.”

The Official *Gazette* also contains a decree by which the young Emperor summoned to his standard the troops of the “Kirin” and of “Love.” These soldiers belong to the nomadic tribes who live in tents, and whose existence is a sort of perpetual march. Like armies on a campaign, they carry all necessary articles about with them, pitch their tents as occasion serves, and raise their camp on the slightest hint from their chiefs. Their manners have been described in a very interesting work by MM. Huc and Gabet; and as every one has read the *Voyage au Thibet*, we abstain from giving even a rapid sketch of the aspect of the wandering tribes visited by the two travellers.

After appealing to the ruler of his most intrepid subjects, the young Emperor terminated his proclamation with this frightful picture of the evils already caused by the rebellion.

“Since the army first commenced its operations, whole years have passed. The afflicted districts of the Kouang-Si are not relieved, and the Hou-Nan has been reduced to ashes. Lately the spirit of rebellion has burst forth in fresh places; and disorder prevails in Ou-Tchang and Han-Young. The districts through which the insurrection has passed have been

trampled under foot; and although the capitals of Kouéi-Lin and Tchong-Cha have been preserved, the miseries of those of my people who have been driven from their homes are beyond all description."

On receiving these documents, the authorities of the Kiang-Nan and the Kiang-Si were panic-stricken. Every town was put in readiness for a siege, the houses adjoining the ramparts were pulled down, and a vigorous defence was prepared. At the same time all the troops yet at disposal in the North and South of the empire, were ordered to march upon Nankin, and levies *en masse* were made in all the cities of importance. Circumstances of this kind serve to show the scantiness of the military resources at the disposal of China. At Chang-Hai, for instance, one of the posts open to the Europeans, the mandarin commanding the troops could not collect together more than one hundred regular soldiers and one hundred volunteers. Nevertheless the town contains more than 200,000 inhabitants; and has, besides, a large floating population, entirely composed of the sailors of the Fo-Kien, Cochin-China, and the Kouang-Toung: a set of vagabonds ready for anything. Probably these rascals expect to take part in the campaign under more favourable circumstances.

To give an idea of the morality of the maritime

population of Chang-Hai, we will cite a fact of which we were eye-witnesses. The Ou-Soung, a noble river, flows beneath the walls of the city, which are almost concealed beneath a forest of masts. One day we were in an European boat, winding our way through the multitude of vessels, and admiring the commercial activity of the port, when we suddenly saw a large piece of wood fall from a bark which, with the aid of a favourable breeze, was going rapidly down the stream. Another bark immediately put off from the shore and darted like an arrow upon the waif, while the crew of the first bark furled their sail, and rowed with all their force to pick up their floating property. The marauders were, however, too quick, and secured the wood before the current had brought it within reach of its lawful owners. A conflict now ensued, in which right did not get the better of might, so negotiations commenced, and the article in dispute was at last restored on the payment of a certain sum. When we expressed our indignation at this act of piracy committed in broad daylight, our attention was called to a number of barks on both banks of the Ou-Soung, similar to the one which had effected the capture; and an Englishman said to us:—

“Those are the sailors of the Fo-Kien, who are on the look out all day long, carefully watching every vessel great and small, and calculating how

they can carry off part of the cargo. This is a lucrative trade; and taking one year with another, the rascals get a handsome livelihood without running any risk."

"But why do not the Chinese give chase to these pirates? A few fast boats and a hundred soldiers would be quite sufficient."

"That would make matters still worse," was the reply: "the soldiers would certainly be in collusion with the thieves. Peaceable folks would be doubly pillaged."

Nothing could be more true. The Chinese, who set little value on the profession of arms, pay military service very ill, and the persons who take up the profession, and who are nearly all born in the central provinces, are generally desperadoes, who have no other alternative than that of putting on the red coat, or attacking passengers on the highways, that is to say, on the rivers and canals. The Chinese who come in contact with Europeans are so well aware of their military inferiority, that the inhabitants of Chang-Hai, that is to say, the wealthiest, have raised Frank *corps*, to guard their persons and property. Moreover, considering the elements of which these troops are composed, it is to be feared that, when they are perfectly organized, they will only form a reserve for the insurgents.

Since the commencement of the troubles, the

pirates have re-appeared on the coasts of the southern provinces, and even in the heart of the Yang-Tze-Kiang. The mandarins, seeing that there was no chance of resisting them with the Imperial navy, took into their pay a certain number of Portuguese *lorchas*, which they ordered to exterminate their enemies. The *Filhos de Macao* (sons of Macao), the descendants of the heroic adventurers of the fifteenth century, have undertaken the destruction of pirates. The Chino-Portuguese subjects of her Majesty Donna Maria, are the police of the Chinese coast, somewhat in the style of those brave adventurers who, during the great wars of Italy, sold their services sometimes to the Pope, and sometimes to the Emperor. In the eyes of the Chinese, those poor Portuguese vessels, badly armed and manned with indifferent sailors, are formidable machines of war. It must be owned that the sailors of Macao will go out in nearly all weathers, while it is the custom of the Chinese never to raise anchor, except when the sea is calm, and the weather is favourable. In reference to this peculiarity, we find in the *Moniteur* of Peking, a report from the admiral of the Fo-Kièn, which is a charming specimen of *naïveté*. This commander of the naval forces sets forth to the Emperor, that he has been denounced by the Governor and Vice-Governor of his province, for neglecting to chase the pirates, and he makes the

following excuse:—"The sea was so rough, and the wind was so high, that none but robbers would venture to sail. A person that would have dared to pursue them on the ocean, could have had no regard for his own safety." The Emperor, we grieve to add, had the bad taste to degrade this prudent admiral.

A short time after the insertion of the decree announcing the taking of Ou-Tchang-Fou, in the *Moniteur* of Peking, a melancholy report was spread at Canton. It was said that Siu, in despair at finding himself disgraced again, had poisoned himself. The fact, however, was told with circumstances which somewhat consoled us as to the consequences of this act of despair. He had poisoned himself, it was said, with gold-leaf! The story was literally as follows:—

Chinese toxicology is, at any rate, on a par with the military science of the Imperial generals. When a great man wishes to kill himself, he takes an ounce of gold-leaf, makes a ball of the almost imponderable sheets, and swallows the precious pill. According to the physiologists of the Chinese empire, these balls, when once lodged in the stomach, become undone of their own accord, and spread over the internal coats, as if they had been laid on with the hand. The stomach, thus gilt, ceases to perform its functions, and the mandarin, after dozing for a few hours, expires of suffocation.

We strongly recommend this method to all despairing sybarites.

The Emperor once more visited his functionaries with a heavy hand. The mandarin of Chang-Nan was degraded for not seeing to the defence of the city, under his administration; the major-general and the colonel of Pao-Cheu, in the Hou-Kouang, for not being at their post in the hour of battle. Ki-chan was sent as an imperial commissioner to the two Kouangs, and our old friend Ki-in was charged with a special mission into the Kiang-Si, and took with him Houang-gan-toung, as his aide-de-camp.

On reading these names in the Official *Gazette* of Peking, we offered up hearty prayers for the two diplomatists. They were men of loyalty and honour, at least so far as these qualities are to be found in a Chinese. In a country of administrative corruption, and mistrustful tyranny, they have hitherto suffered only transient disgraces. May they be able still to maintain their position amid the perilous honours which surround them!

From time to time the journals recorded some acts of patriotism and devotion. Some mandarins gorged with wealth submitted to their share of the loss, and gave up a portion of their corrupt earnings to the public treasury. In the number for the month of March, we read that the Vice-Governor of the Kiang-

Si, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Je-Hol, each laid down, on the "altar of his country," as they said of old, the sum of 3,000 taels, and that a Tao-Taï* of the Kouang-Si had followed their example, giving 10,000 taels in his turn. However, these acts of devotion find few imitators. The feeling of loyalty strikes no chord in the bosom of the masses, and amid those hesitations which precede all revolutions, it is easy to perceive that the real sympathies of the majority of the people are not in favour of the Mantchou Emperor. The rulers are aware of this alienation of feeling, and instead of endeavouring to arouse the barbarous patriotism of their countrymen, as in the time of the English war, they begin to look for foreign assistance. Hièn-foung, like Ferdinand of Spain, applies to another people to secure his throne. The old despotism of Asia appeals to the magnanimity of England and the United States. The following is the petition addressed by the Tao-Taï of Chang-Hai to all the representatives of the Christian nations residing in those parts of China which are opened to European commerce.

"Ou, appointed by the Emperor provincial judge, intendant of Sou-Tcheo, Soung-Kiang, Tai-Tsing, &c., &c., gives notice :—

* The Tao-Taï is the intendant of a circuit, a subdivision of a province.—J. O.

“I, the intendant, have just received a despatch from the Governor in reply to a report which I sent to him. I had told him in my letter that the war steamers of your honourable nation had not reached Chang-Hai, but that they were expected in the course of the first ten days of the present moon. I also said that there was only one ship of war belonging to the great English nation, and that this would not be sufficient to suppress and exterminate the rebels.

“To all this the Governor made the following reply :—

““It appears that the rebels have already reached Kiu-King and Ngan-King, capital of the Ngan-Houei, carrying trouble and disorder wherever they go. All the foreign vessels lying along the banks of the Yang-Tze-Kiang, in front of the cities and market-towns, have fallen into the hands of the rebels, and although their forces have been attacked by our great army, marching from the Hou-Nan and the Kiang-Si, the main body of them has succeeded, by means of the vessels, in effecting a passage to the east. Our troops have impeded them at several points, but, in consequence of the breadth of the river, have not been able to stop them entirely. Our grand army, coming by land from various districts, could not be united at once, while our ships of war could not closely pursue the enemy, and hinder their progress ;

the rebels have consequently become more and more stubborn and audacious. The lorchas sent by the intendant of Chang-Hai, although successful in various encounters, were not sufficiently numerous to resist them; and the rebel ships are now before the city of Nankin, which is in the greatest danger. If we do not attack them immediately on their arrival, we shall have a difficulty in hindering them from spreading in all directions. The intendant is, therefore, requested to consult once more with the consuls of the different nations, and to ask immediately that the war-ship now at anchor off Chang-Hai (this was the English steam-ship *Lily*) might be sent to attack the rebels; he will then ask that the war-steamers whose arrival is now expected, may be collected together, and exterminate the rebels; so that these detestable enemies of the Chinese Empire may altogether vanish. If the consuls do this, not only will his Majesty the Emperor be deeply sensible of the service rendered, but the mandarins and the people will be grateful likewise; and when peace and tranquillity are universally enjoyed, all will reap reciprocal advantages by pursuing their various occupations without impediment. If, on the other hand, we wait the advance of the great army towards the East to combine in exterminating the rebels, the assistance will be too late for the urgency of the occasion. I request, therefore, that the agent

may make his arrangement as speedily as possible, for I am awaiting the result with the deepest anxiety. I shall on my part also write to the plenipotentiaries of the different nations.'

"When I received the above despatch I reflected that the provinces of Hou-Nan, Hou-Pé, Kiang-Si, Ngan-Houeï and Kiang-Nan are those which have a commercial connection with Chang-Haï. However since the rebels of the Kouang-Si spread over the Hou-Nan about a year ago, and thence invaded the Hou-Pé, Han-Keou, and several other places of commercial importance, have been so much disturbed that the merchants have been interrupted in their business, and have not ventured on any new enterprise. The rebels now direct their steps towards the east, going down the course of the Kiang, intending to carry disorder into Nankin, and, if their progress is not intercepted, all commerce will be at an end.

"In conformity with the above despatch which I have just received from the Governor, it is my duty to give notice of it to the honourable consul, praying him to take the matter into his consideration, and to let the ships of war that arrive at Chang-Haï, together with the one which is stationed here for the defence of the port, proceed immediately to Nankin, and act in concert with the *lorchas* already there, employing their united forces to attack the rebels,

and swearing to exterminate these frightful brigands so as to satisfy the feelings of the people and favour the interests of commerce. I also request that the honourable consul will write to hasten the arrival of the expected vessels of war that they may sail up to Nankin, sweep these vagabonds from the face of the earth, and give tranquillity to the whole of the country. The authorities and the people of China will be obliged to you in the highest degree, and I the intendant shall be obliged to you also. I urge you to give all expedition to this affair.

“ An important communication. The 7th of the 2nd moon of the 1st year of Hièn-foung (16th March 1853).”

Only a few days before this date the Emperor Hièn-foung, in a document which we have already given, called the English “ barbarians.” We now find his officials politely addressing the representatives and *honourable* consuls of the *great* British nation. Nevertheless, however expressions may be changed, we know that things are the same at bottom. The terrified mandarins do not speak as suppliants. We should say, on the contrary, that they address the people of the West with certain set forms of command. They boldly ask them to join the mercenary *lorchas*. Instead of putting the *lorchas* under the direction and orders of those whose assistance they implore, they treat the latter like

the *condottieri* picked up in the peninsula of Hiang-Chan.

When the English and American plenipotentiaries received this communication they proceeded to Chang-Hai. Did they comply with the request of the mandarins, and did they oppose the progress of the insurgents? This is not probable. But if such were indeed the case, the "Son of Heaven" would at once imagine that the people of the West were among his tributaries. And afterwards no doubt Hièn-foung would draw up a proclamation to announce to the world that his troops had conquered the rebels with the assistance of the nations recently subdued who had acted like good and faithful subjects. The Chinese are cunning folks, and if in the character of suppliants they have implored the assistance of the Christian nations, it is because they have found a number of maxims in the *kings*, or in Confucius, to show that it is a duty—in fact, a law of nature—to assist one's neighbour. But under the influence of their incurable presumption, and of that pride which is with them an organic disease, they have attempted, by the use of ambiguous phrases, to impose upon the bulk of the people, so as to make them believe that if the nations of the West at their desire marched against the insurgents, it would be a mere act of vassalage.

CHAPTER XIV.

The five kings—Organization of the insurgent army—A word about Nankin.

WE have not yet given any details respecting the chiefs of the insurrection, and the organization of the rebel army. The Chinese documents which previously came under our inspection contained no precise information on the subject; but now the rebels have reached the richest provinces of the empire, namely, the Kiang-Nan and the Kiang-Si, information pours upon us in abundance.

We shall not repeat here what we have already said respecting Tièn-tè, on the strength of popular rumour. Fame first enlightened us as to this personage; and though her voice is generally deceitful, her information perfectly accords with that which we have since received.

We are now, therefore, going to make the acquaintance of the General-in-chief and his four

predatory colleagues. Houg-sieou-tsiuèn, who takes the title of Tai-ping-wang, or "King grand pacificator," is a man of tall stature, with a face bronzed by the sun, and of a bold, confident aspect. He is about forty years old; his beard and his hair are already gray; and he is said to be endowed with great courage. Although his accent betrays a Canton origin, no one knows his real name, or in what district he was born.

Hiang-tsiou-tsing, or Toung-wang, that is to say, the "King of the East," is a man of five-and-thirty. He is short, and pitted with the small-pox, and his scanty moustache stands bristling on his upper lip. Hiang-tsiou-tsing speaks with remarkable facility, and is very accessible to all his subordinates. No one knows from what country he comes; it is only known that he is married to the eldest sister of Tai-ping-wang.

Siao-tcha-kouéi, or Si-wang, "King of the West," is the Achilles of this pleiad of kings. In every engagement he shows himself regardless of personal safety, always fighting in the foremost ranks, and directing his troops with a precision which gives evidence of superior knowledge. His figure is graceful, his countenance is animated, and there is nothing of the Mongol type in his oblong face, except the distension of the nostrils and the obliquity of the eyes; he does not wear

moustaches. This man, who is one of the most gifted of the party, is not more than thirty years of age. They say he is married to the youngest sister of the "King-pacifier."

Foung-hièn-san, or Nan-wang, that is, "King of the South," is a man of letters, of the province of Canton. He has gone through several public examinations, and has gained degrees. He is thirty-two years old, and is said to be much beloved by his fellow students, who consider him endowed with great talents. He does not wear the moustache, and his features still have something youthful in their character. Even amid the agitated life of a camp he lives as much in retirement as possible, to pursue his literary studies.

Wei-tching, or Pé-wang, the "King of the North," is the Ajax of the insurrectionary army. He is very tall, and has the dark complexion of a Malay, so that his black moustache forms but a slight contrast to his brown skin. He is only twenty-five years of age. His physical force and his intrepidity have given him a high position among the insurgents, and it is said that he is a native of the Kouang-Si.

Such are the five kings, whose united armies now act in concert. They are all young; and have all resolved to sell their lives dearly in case of defeat. A large number of functionaries and officers sur-

round these sovereign chiefs. We shall only mention here the two prime ministers, who are assuredly destined to play an important part, if the insurgents gain their end. The prime minister, Foung-je-tehang, is thirty-seven years of age. In person he is short and thin, while his mind is subtle and fertile in resources. It is known that he was born in the province of Canton.

Tche-Ta-Kaï, the second minister, is extremely ugly. He is very thin; his complexion is the colour of soot, and his long neck supports a bony face, with a head rising to a point. He is a man of letters; and it is said that he is the author of most of the proclamations lately published—a circumstance which might lead to the supposition that he is a Chang-ti—perhaps a Member of Gutzlaff's union. After the ministers, come the high officials of the army. It will be seen at a glance, that the kings have not been lavish of titles or decorations. They are soldiers in active service, and do not yet think of arraying themselves in empty names.

The dignitaries are divided into three classes, the title of "excellency" being bestowed upon all. The dignitaries of the first class wear yellow scarfs, and their hair, which is never touched with the scissors, is hidden under a silk handkerchief. Those of the second order wear red or green scarfs, and the piece of stuff round their head is of the same colour.

There is, besides, a body of propagandists, who wear these articles red and black. These go about the towns preaching the holy war, circulating insurrectionary tracts, and receiving the oaths of the initiated. The oath is thus worded, "May those who are not heartily united with us be swept away by cannon, hewn to pieces by the sword, or hurled into the depths of the ocean!"

The proclamation by which they invite the people to revolt is probably the work of the Prime Minister. It is couched in these terms:—

"Heaven especially favours virtue, and all men are naturally endowed with a certain talent. In the remotest times a suitable exterior was highly esteemed, and the greatest importance was attached to music and ceremonial forms. But these rats of the desert who have crept into our palaces, and taken possession of our houses, have not followed the rules of Yao and Chun* in the Government of the empire, but have forced human beings to put on the appearance of animals deprived of human reason! Those who study the works of Confucius and Mencius rarely attain official dignities by their examinations, while those who bring forward pecuniary arguments get the highest posts. I among

* These are the last two of the very ancient if not mythical personages, called the five sovereigns, and they are generally held up as patterns of virtue.—J. O.

the rest, have kept my name concealed to the present moment, imitating the philosopher Tchouang-tze, who resided at Po-Hai, the patriot Lieou-chang who lived in retirement at Han-Houa, and the sage Heou-yeou, who remained hidden from Yao, concealing himself at Ko-Chan. My ancestors were subjects of the Mings; and during the 200 years which have elapsed since their fall, they have had nothing to do with the Tartar dynasty. I myself, not wishing to receive any appointment granted by the Mantchous, have led a life of privacy until, seeing how you were oppressed by this tyrannical Government; remarking how rapacious functionaries and magistrates grind you down in defiance of every principle of right and humanity; observing moreover that you, the people, are shut out from mutual affection, and the practice of virtue, inasmuch as great and small are all involved in a perpetual contest for gain; reflecting, lastly, that the black-haired race has no one on whom it can rely to escape from the oppression under which it groans—for all these causes, I say, I have brought my brave warriors into the field, and furbished my sword and spear, and now uniting our efforts in the defence of right, we have unfurled the standard of virtue with the determination that we will not eat our breakfasts until we have overthrown the Tartar dynasty.

“We adore with respect the Supreme Lord, im-

ploring him to extend his protection to the people, and on all our projects. All the movements of our army have but one end, that of the destruction of tyrants, after the example of Tching-tang and Ou-wang.*

“ You Tartars, who have neither wise councillors, nor profound politicians, nor courageous generals, nor good soldiers, you have bound the nobles and the aged men to enrol their neighbours, and have forced the brave villagers to arm for your defence. In the time of the ancients a standing army was employed to protect the people, while you, on the contrary, force the people to become soldiers.

“ You often complain that you do not get enough, and yet when our troops make the slightest advance you leave the people unprotected, and are the first to take to your heels. Know then that we have made up our minds to march to the East, and that when we please we can raise the wind that will waft us to the Eastern shore. We possess all that intelligence and courage that Heaven inspires, and how is it you Tartars do not understand that it is time to scrape

* The overthrowers of the Shang dynasty in the person of the tyrant Chew-Yang. The third or Chew dynasty was founded by Ou-Wang. The earliest dynasty, that of Hea, was founded by Yu, surnamed the Great, of whom all sorts of miracles are narrated. These incidents form the subject of one of the classical books of Confucius.—J. O.

together your scattered bones, and light up slices of bacon (*sic*) to give signals of your terror? Why do you not imitate Yu and Kouéi, who settled their differences amicably? If you are so blind as not to see the precursory signs of the new empire, we have only to give a hint to our troops, and they will rush with one accord to the summit of our hopes, cutting through every obstacle that may be raised in their path. When you find neither security in your citadel lined with iron, nor repose in your palace inlaid with pearls, of what avail will be your useless repentance?"

The author of this proclamation is a revolutionist of the modern school; but he is at the same time a follower of the *preux chevaliers*, swearing that he will not eat on a table-cloth, that is to say, take his breakfast, till he has overthrown the tyrants. However, amid all these chivalric eccentricities, the spirit of Christianity is always discernible; it is a worshipper of the Supreme Being who speaks.

The military organization of the insurgents reminds one of the Roman centuries and decuries. The lowest officer is a sergeant, who has twenty-five men under his orders. Four sergeants or a hundred men are commanded by a lieutenant. A company is composed of four hundred men, and four lieutenants under a captain. A regiment comprises

four companies, and a general has the charge of four regiments, each of which has a colonel.*

In this army there is an administrative corps and a special corps, answering to our artillery and engineers. The officers are distinguished by the colour of the scarf and their head-dress. The mass of the troops does not wear a uniform, so that the rebels are only recognised by their long hair and the tunic simply crossed over the chest. The organization of the whole body is perfect.

Above all these soldiers, officers, high dignitaries, ministers, and kings, is the supreme chief, the Emperor Tièn-tè. It is said that when Tièn-tè came to Keou-Teou-Chan in the Hou-Nan, all the feudatory kings, with the "King Pacificator" at their head,

* This division does not exactly correspond with the regulations of the army of the Tae-ping dynasty, as extracted by Dr. Medhurst from a pamphlet furnished by Sir George Bonham. According to the pamphlet, the army is divided as follows:— Over every 5 men is placed a corporal, the lowest officer; 2 sergeants are placed over every 5 corporals or 25 men; these carry a flag $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad. A centurion presides over every 4 sergeants, or 104 men, and carries a flag 3 feet broad. Next senior is the leader of a cohort, of whom there is 1 to every 525 men; his flag is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad. Above him is the commander of a legion, who commands 5 cohorts or 2,625 men; his flag is 4 feet broad. A brigadier-general commands 5 legions, consisting of 13,125 men; his flag is $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad.— J. O.

received him kneeling. On this occasion he held open court, and there were banquets in the Homeric style. More than a hundred oxen were killed, hundreds of pigs were roasted, and during three whole days festival followed festival in the districts recently conquered. After these solemnities, Tièn-tè returned with his intimate councillor into that impenetrable retreat, in which, when the crisis arrives, the destinies of the empire will receive their solution.

Religious hymns, attributed to the Pretender, were distributed throughout the army. These sacred songs, which were intended to kindle the enthusiasm of the soldiers, contained some Christian phrases and some images which were entirely Pagan. The editors of an English journal state that they are in possession of a collection of these poems, remarking also that the last empress of the Ming dynasty was a Christian; that she was baptized by the name of Helen, and that for a long time she corresponded with the Pope.

In the midst of this great movement there is no end of pamphlets and apocryphal documents. In the names of the four Kings—of the East, West, South and North, a species of homily is circulated which is redolent of ultra-methodism. It appears impossible to us that four kings laying their heads together—even four kings of China—could have produced anything so turgid and tiresome. How-

ever, as one of our leading journals has inserted some fragments of this document, we think we are bound to insert it entire.*

“ Yang, king of the East, and general-in-chief, and Siao, king of the West, and also general-in-chief, of the dynasty Tai-ping, re-established in the Celestial Empire by the grace of God, jointly publish this proclamation to show that they have received orders from Heaven to exterminate the wicked, and save the people.

“ According to the Old Testament, the supreme Lord, our heavenly Father, created in the space of six days, heaven and earth, mountains and seas, men and things. The supreme Lord is a spiritual, invisible, omnipotent Father, knowing everything and everywhere present. There is not under heaven any nation which does not know his power.

“ On referring to the reminiscences of past times we find that since the creation of the world the supreme Lord has often manifested his displeasure. How is it then that you people of the earth are ignorant of him still?

“ On the first occasion the supreme Lord displayed his wrath by causing a great rain to fall forty days and forty nights, which caused a universal deluge.

“ On a second occasion the supreme Lord mani-

* Vide Supplementary Chapter.—J. O.

fested his displeasure, and brought Israel out of Egypt.

“ On a third occasion he displayed his tremendous majesty when the Saviour of the world, the Lord Jesus, became incarnate in the land of Judea, and suffered for the redemption of the human race. And of late he again showed his wrath, when in the year *ting-yeou* (1837) he sent a celestial messenger whom he appointed to slay the infernal bands. Moreover, he has sent the celestial king to take the reigns of empire into his own hands and save the people. From the year *meou-chen* (1848) to that of *sin-hai* (1851) the supreme Lord has been moved by the misfortunes of the people who were entangled in the snares of the Evil One. In the third moon of last year the great Emperor appeared, and in the ninth moon Jesus the Saviour of the world manifested himself by innumerable acts of power, and by the massacre of innumerable numbers of the ungodly in many pitched battles. How then can these children of hell resist the majesty of Heaven?

“ How, we add, could the wrath of the supreme Lord be otherwise than kindled against men who worship corrupt spirits, who give themselves up to unclean actions, and thus deliberately violate the commandments of Heaven? Why do ye not wake, all ye inhabitants of the earth? Why do ye not

rejoice to be born in a time when you are permitted to witness the glory of the Most High!

“ Since you fall into an epoch like this, where you will have the surpassing peace of heavenly days, it is time for you to awake and be stirring. Those who fulfil the will of Heaven shall be preserved, but those who disobey shall be torn in pieces.

“ At this moment the diabolical Tartar, Hièn-foung, originally a Mantchou slave, is the sworn enemy of the Chinese race. More than this, he leads our brethren to adopt the habits of demons, to adore evil, to disobey the true spirit, and thus to rebel against the Most High. Therefore Heaven will not suffer him any more, and men will not fail in their resolution to destroy him. Alas! body of valiant men as ye are, ye appear not to know that every tree has its roots, every brook its source. You seem as though you wish to reverse the order of things, for while running after the least advantage you so turn about that you serve your own enemies, and being ensnared with the wiles of the Evil One, you ungratefully rebel against your rightful Lord. You seem to forget that you are the virtuous students of the Chinese empire, and the honourable subjects of the celestial dynasty, and thus you easily stray in the path of perdition without having pity on yourselves.

“ And yet among you courageous men there are

many who belong to the Society of the Triad, and have made the compact of blood that they will unite their strength and their talents for the extermination of the Tartar dynasty. After so solemn an engagement can there be men who would shrink from the common enemy of us all?

“There must now be in the provinces a great number of resolute men, renowned men of letters, and valiant heroes. We, therefore, call upon you to unfurl your standard, to proclaim aloud that you will no longer live under the same heaven as the Tartars, but seek to gain honour in the service of the new sovereign. This is the ardent wish of us who are his generals.

“Our army, desirous to act upon those feelings of kindness, through which the Most High is pleased to spare the life of man, and to receive us with a kiss of compassion, have shown clemency on our march, and have treated all with mercy. Our generals and our troops observe the greatest fidelity with respect to the rewards due to the country. These intentions are known to you all. You ought to know that since Heaven has brought before you the true sovereign to govern the people, it is your duty to aid in establishing his dominion. Although our diabolical enemies may be counted by millions, and their crafty plans by thousands, they cannot resist the decrees of Heaven.

“To kill without warning is contrary to our feelings; and to remain in a state of inaction without attempting to save the people would be contrary to humanity. Hence, we publish this proclamation, urging you, O people! to repent in all haste, and to awaken with energy. Adore the True Spirit, and reject impure spirits; be men for once and cease to be imps of the devil, if you wish for length of days upon earth, and happiness in heaven. If you persist in your stupid obstinacy, the day of destruction will arrive, as well for the precious stones as the pebbles, and then you will vainly gnaw every finger in despair, but it will then be too late to repent.”

The following is another proclamation which the rebels distributed about Hou-Kouang. This work, which is a true political sermon, has all the good and bad qualities of its class, as well as that particular stamp which distinguishes the elaborate productions of the Celestial Empire.

“Kouo, the great General-in-Chief of the forces, now in possession of the territory, in the province of the Hou-Pè, publishes this proclamation:—

“When we reflect upon the origin and fall of empires, we see that when a power loses the affection of the people, the time of its dissolution is at hand; and when we endeavour to account for the favour or the wrath of Heaven, we see that every power endowed with virtue, is gifted with a constant

increase. During the last two hundred years, the Mantchou dynasty of the Tsings has been distributing official dignities in the most irregular manner, taking no account of the complaints of the nation. But the Emperor, Tièn-tè, by one single outbreak of his wrath, has restored peace to the people. Attacking the oppressor with a bold front, and silently investigating those doctrines which cause dynasties to flourish, or to fall, he has levied an army for the defence of that which is just and right. He has taken pity on you devoted students and virtuous inhabitants of the Hou-Kouang, giving free vent to his most kindly feelings, and he has begun the massacre of greedy functionaries and corrupt magistrates, not setting any limits to the work of carnage. You, now, students and people, who have resolved to make common cause with the Emperor, Tièn-tè, do not let anything shake you in your determination. Those among you who are possessed of fortune, ought to contribute according to your means, to the support of the troops, and those who are poor, ought to select the strongest and youngest among them, to increase the ranks of our army. Whoever can make a civil or military mandarin prisoner, shall receive ten thousand pieces of money as a reward, and whosoever shall bring the head of a mandarin shall receive three thousand pieces. Lest any one should have the audacity to disobey our orders, we

declare we are resolved to deliver up to pillage all contumacious towns. The object of this proclamation is to prevent all from having occasion for regret, when repentance is too late.

“The first year of Tai-ping, of the dynasty of the late Mings, the sixth day of the third moon (23rd April 1852).”

As the pieces of money promised by Kouo to the mandarin-hunters, are only *sapèques*, we see that the price set on the head of a high functionary, is very low. A red ball,* in good healthy condition, is valued by the rebels at fifty francs, and the head of a blue ball is only valued at three pieces of one hundred sous. We may easily see that it is more profitable to chase wolves on the Alps and in the Ardennes, than to chase mandarins in China.

After taking possession of the capital of the Hou-Pé and the larger towns connected with it, the rebels went down the Yang-Tze-Kiang, and successively occupied Kieou-Kiang, Gan-King, and Ou-Hou.

* These remarks will be best elucidated by stating the degrees of rank signified by the balls on the caps of the mandarins. The ranks are nine in number, and the order of colours beginning with the highest is as follows:—1. Plain red. 2. Flowered red. 3. Transparent blue. 4. Opaque blue. 5. Uncoloured glass. 6. White glass. 7. Plain gilt. 8. Gilt, with flowers in relief. 9. Gilt, with engraved flowers.—J. O.

On receiving intelligence of these events, the Governor-General of Kiang-Nan proceeded to Nankin at the head of all the troops he could collect together, and ordered all available forces to concentrate themselves on the threatened capital. Along the Yang-Tze-Kiang, the functionaries and rich traders were panic-struck; the mandarins prepared for the defence of the towns, and the cautious merchants of Sou-Tchcon and Tchen-Kiang, little heeding the defence of their country, fled as fast as they could, taking their wealth with them. In fact, there was a general *sauve-qui-peut*. In the mean while, money and food became scarce; the price of gold reached an enormous height, and the price of rice was trebled. The rebels, turning the panic to their own advantage, seized all the merchant ships on the river; and thus, with a formidable fleet and an army of 50,000 men, the five kings appeared before Nankin.

This city, which contains more than 500,000 inhabitants, was in the time of the Mings—that ancient dynasty which Tièn-tè professes to represent and wishes to restore—the capital of all China. The space enclosed within its walls is at least three times greater than that of Paris, but large cultivated spots are found in the midst of its streets, and grass grows upon the quays lately bordered by a triple row of vessels.

Nankin is situated on an immense plain, intersected by canals as numerous as those which traverse the human body. In the midst of fertile fields, innumerable rivulets and streams of navigable water are perpetually crossing each other. The banks are planted with willows and bamboos, with straight stalks and dark foliage. It is on the plains of the province of Nankin that that yellowish cotton is grown, which, when woven, is exported in such enormous quantities. Here also is reaped the greater part of the rice which is consumed throughout the empire. The Kiang-Nan, or province of Nankin, is the richest jewel in the crown of the "Son of Heaven."

Nothing in Europe can give an idea of the fruitfulness of this province — neither the plains of Beauce nor the plains of Lombardy, nor even that richest of lands, Flanders. In the Kiang-Nan the fields are covered with crops twice a year, and produce fruit and vegetables without cessation. On the borders of the arable land the most delicious vegetables in the world are produced. The *pè-tsaï*, a cabbage, which is between a lettuce and the *cabus*, bitter mustard, water-melons, potatoes, and the hundred species of haricots produced in the Celestial Empire.

We have been fortunate enough to sit under the shadow of the orchards which border the Ou-Soung.

one of the numerous veins which fertilize the province of the Kiang-Nan ; we have plucked with our hands those pulpy jujubes which travellers often take for grapes ; pomegranates with transparent grains ; monstrous peaches, by the side of which the finest kinds of Montreuil would appear like wild fruit, and diospyros as large as tomatos. We have seen scarlet pheasants and their brethren with mother-o'-pearl plumage running freely about the furrows.

This province maintains 28,000,000 inhabitants ; ten times as many as Belgium, ten times as many as Holland, and rather more than the whole of France. Nevertheless, our worthy countrymen, who fancy that our nation is the most rich and powerful, also imagine that their country is the most populous in the universe.

Nankin is built in the water. It is a city like Rotterdam, surrounded by fertile marshes and waters abounding in fish. Towards the south the river suddenly widens, and forms a kind of lake scattered over with innumerable islets. Here, under clumps of trees, are hidden the villas of the mandarins. In these mysterious retreats they conceal from the envious glances of the vulgar their aviaries stocked with pale birds, reared in the cages of Sou-Tcheou-Fou, that city of delights of which a Chinese proverb says, " In the other world there is paradise ; in this there is Sou-Tcheou-Fou."

These poetical women, these Aspasiae of the East, compose charming verses in their own *naïf* and impassioned language; but the jealousy of their masters only allows them to sing their compositions on these echoless banks. On the indolent waters of the lake, as well as on the more rapid waters of the river, sail the most elegant vessels in the world. Thousands of junks bear to the extremities of the Empire all the produce and manufactures of the country.

We have already said that Nankin has declined from its ancient splendour. The ramparts of the old city form so vast a circuit that from the summit of the hills the eye cannot distinguish the ruined walls. The modern city, which nevertheless contains 500,000 souls, looks like a mere village compared to the immense city whose boundary walls are alone left standing.

In the centre of the modern city stands that tower of nine stories, which is almost as familiar to the citizen of Paris as the yellowish web out of which he makes his summer pantaloons.

The pagoda of nine stories is an old monument of the time of the Mings. We shall give a description of it in the course of this narrative. It is before the walls of Nankin that the five united kings are now encamped. Troy is thus defended by a formidable garrison. But old Priam is dead, and Hector is at Peking!

CHAPTER XV.

Proclamation of the Empress—Disgrace of Siu.

WHILE the Imperial armies were everywhere defeated—while symptoms of rebellion were manifest in the central provinces, and Kiang-Nan was invaded, the Emperor Hièn-foung astonished the world by a great political act. He seated by his side a young lovely woman, and called upon her to share the weight of his power. It seemed as though he wished to check the approaching storm by the enchantments of beauty. This was the only act of progress performed by Hièn-foung since the commencement of his reign. Hitherto, like other barbarian kings, he has employed no auxiliaries but cunning and force; but now he obtains the support of a young, graceful creature, in whose heart sentiments of mercy may be supposed to dwell. This action of Hièn-foung is the more remarkable, in-

asmuch as it is not calculated to flatter vulgar prejudice. The corrupt people of the East, accustomed to look upon women as inferior beings, would hardly like to see the Imperial sceptre in fair hands. The brain of a Chinese of the lower orders is incapable of understanding that a lady of high extraction might perhaps modify a weak and violent mind by her gentle influence, and thus avert impending calamities.

The Emperor thought it his duty to announce his determination to his subjects by a special manifesto, and the *Official Gazette of Peking*, the *Kin-Sin-Pao*, the *Moniteur* of the eighteen provinces, heralded the Imperial edict by a "leader" on the subject. We give both these remarkable documents, and first the article from the Chinese journal:—

"Marriages and births are events that belong to private life, and the Emperor is not bound to communicate them to his subjects. The people has no occasion to rejoice because his Majesty is pleased to introduce a woman of surpassing beauty into his sanctuary. The same thing may be said of the birth of a child; for since his Majesty has the right of appointing his successor, so that he can not only select the one among his children whom he considers most worthy to reign, but even a man of merit who is no relation to him whatever, the nation can take no interest in the birth of a prince,

who perhaps will not be his father's successor. But the case is altered when the Son of Heaven resolves, after the example of some of his glorious ancestors, to give the woman he has married a place by his throne, and to elevate her to the rank of a reigning empress. He, therefore, proclaims this happy event to the world, that the world may know who is the virtuous woman whom he has deemed worthy to share his throne. For this reason his Majesty has communicated his will to the nation. The people would have been made aware of this event long ago, but before declaring it, the Son of Heaven was obliged to wait till the first period of mourning for his illustrious father had expired. On the morrow of the 7th of the first moon, the Board of Rites will officially register in the annals of the Empire, and announce by placards of yellow paper, and in the Mantchou language, his Majesty's proclamation, that no person throughout the country, whether in the towns or in the villages, shall be ignorant of the event."

This article was followed by the Imperial manifesto. This document we have translated with the greatest care, and have afterwards collated our work with the translations of the same document made by the Europeans resident in China, especially by an historian of the insurrection who has preceded us—we mean, Dr. Macgowan, member of the Missionary

Medical Society, a zealous and erudite man, who enjoys a high reputation in China, particularly in Ning-Po, where he has resided for several years:—

“The Emperor, by the will of Heaven, and the perpetual revolution of the world, says :

“Even as in nature we see the earth obey the laws of the heavenly bodies, to whom the earth itself is nevertheless of essential importance, so do we learn from the Canonical Books, that good Emperors have availed themselves of the assistance of exemplary Empresses. For example, the excellent Ngo-tai, wife of the renowned Emperor Chun, and the worthy consort of the great Yu, perfectly fulfilled all their domestic duties, and, moreover, set examples which were highly edifying to the whole empire.

“Absorbed day and night by the vast occupations belonging to the inheritance with which Heaven has entrusted me, through the medium of my pious ancestors, I have need of an assistant actuated by the same spirit as myself. Niu-lou-kou is a lady of honourable extraction, whose excellent disposition is highly esteemed within the precincts of the palace, where the natural goodness of her heart, and her exemplary character, is shown by the scrupulous exactness with which she performs her domestic duties. Following the examples of antiquity, she does not shrink from washing fine or even coarse linen with her own hands. Frugal and amiable,

kind and gentle, she deserves to enjoy every kind of happiness. We therefore desire that she be clad in the Imperial costume, and be at the head of the ladies of the six pavilions. In conformity with ancient usage, I shall respectfully communicate this event to Heaven, to earth, to the manes of my ancestors, and to the tutelary spirits of the territory and of the harvests, on the seventh of the first moon—the day on which she will be seated by us on the Imperial throne. Then, also, it will be officially registered in the archives of the empire, that the virtuous and worthy lady Niu-lou-kou, is constituted Empress. From that date she will reside in the palace of the Nenuphars, and will aid us in our administration in the perfumed precincts of her apartments.

“May she be as happily fruitful as she is rich in virtue.

“On this joyous occasion, it is our wish that the following favours be granted.”

(Here follows a long list of favours, granted chiefly to ladies, and remissions of the punishments incurred by official crimes.)

The new Empress having been solemnly proclaimed, the members of the Imperial family, the ministers, and the high dignitaries of the empire, offered at the feet of their young sovereign the expression of their respectful devotion. In China,

the men cannot be received by the women, and hence the following ceremonial forms were observed. The whole assembly proceeded to the throne-room, four of the principal functionaries bearing a canopy of yellow brocade, under which was placed a small bound book. When the visitors came to the Imperial seat, they all fell on their knees, as if Hièn-foung was present, and smote their foreheads three times against the ground. The chief of the eunuchs then introduced the Emperor, who was no sooner seated than the President of the Board of Rites took the book from under the canopy, and, accompanied by two assessors, advanced to the foot of the throne. The three dignitaries then fell on their knees again, and the President of the Board of Rites read with a sonorous voice the compliment which the academy of Han-Lin had composed in honour of the Empress. After which they retired, their duties to their young mistress being now duly performed.

In the afternoon, the princesses of the blood royal, the princes, the wives of the ministers, and of the high dignitaries, repeated the same ceremony in the presence of the Empress herself. The Empress was seated on her throne, and the ladies knelt before her, striking their foreheads only once against the ground. After this, the grand mistress of the palace presented to her the complimentary address which had been read in the morning to the Emperor, written

on a large sheet of paper adorned with beautiful paintings. On the same day, the new Empress published an edict, in which she declared that she granted special favours to all the old women in the empire. This custom has existed in China from time immemorial. Youth and beauty, loaded with honour and power, bestow alms upon poor and laborious age. The donation consists of a few measures of rice and some pieces of stuff; and distributed over the whole of China, represents more than 1,000,000 taels, charged upon the Imperial purse. We should add, that it is only women of more than seventy years of age, who participate in the largess.

The proclamation of the Empress is a charming episode in the Chinese Iliad. We unwillingly quit the subject to return to the narrative of executions, disgraces, battles, and Imperial edicts.

Our friend Siu was now hurled from the summit of his greatness. When the news reached Canton, a friend of the Viceroy secretly gave warning to his lawful wife, so that the prudent lady had time to put all the most valuable effects in a place of safety. Therefore, when, on the following day, the agents of the Government proceeded to the sequestration of all his property, fixed and moveable, they found the palace stripped and the coffers nearly empty. The disappointed agents at once opened the Viceroy's

harem, and set at liberty those trembling doves who were cooing through the ebony and ivory bars of their aviary. As for Siu, some affirmed that, after another defeat, he had committed suicide; others that he had been beheaded, which would have justified the omen that attended his departure from Canton; others, again, who perhaps knew him better, whispered that he had gone over to the rebels. We shall not stop to inquire which of these suppositions is the true one; we only hope, for our own part, out of gratitude for the amusement that the Viceroy has afforded us, that the last report may be confirmed. In that case, his head would, at any rate, be least in danger.

The Tao-tai of Chang-Hai, more European in his views than the rest of the Chinese, purchased some American vessels to arm them against the rebels, and was supplied with cannon by the merchants of Macao. The Emperor, too, hearing that the insurgents had taken possession of every junk they had met, issued a decree, the substance of which we may express as follows:—

Art. 1. Whoever takes the fleet of the rebels shall retain it as his own property; all the wealth with which it is loaded shall belong to him, except the powder and the arms.

Art. 2. Whoever burns the fleet of the rebels shall be liberally rewarded.

Art. 3. Every individual who has slain one or two chiefs with long hair, will have deserved well of his country.

This decree was followed by another official document, in which the Emperor recommended the offering up of prayers to the goddess Kouan-in, that she might grant a favourable wind to the boats laden with grain, which the southern provinces send every year as a tribute to the "Son of Heaven."

From the seat of war no certain intelligence was received. A single letter from the environs of Nankin, affirmed that a conspiracy had burst forth in that city, and that the conspirators, caught in the fact of incendiarism, had been slaughtered to a man. The same letter mentioned a battle fought with Tai-ping, in which the Imperialists, after being beaten at first, were at last victors. A Tartar general, named Tchang-king-se, having arrived at the head of 4,000 fresh troops, completely changed the face of affairs, the 4,000 Tartars killing 9,000 rebels: that is, two and a quarter each. This battle in two acts lasted four and twenty hours, adds the narrator; they fought without eating or drinking—a fact which, by the way, appears somewhat unlikely to any one who knows the hearty appetite of the children of the Flowery Land. But such are the extravagant reports which the mandarins spread abroad after every disaster.

A defeat of the Imperialists is immediately followed by a bulletin announcing a complete victory. The Tao-tai goes even further than his colleagues. In a special proclamation, he promises a victory at an appointed day and hour; and it is only a wonder, that this brave "blue ball" did not prepare a bulletin, with the report of the action in advance.

We may add that the incidents we have just narrated as belonging to the fight with the general Tchang-king-se, have no official character, and that we have only narrated them, that we may be guilty of no omissions, and to show how much uncertainty prevails as to the real state of things, and how little confidence is to be placed in reports which the Government has an interest in diffusing. An ordinary Chinese lies often, very often; a mandarin lies always. Two facts were ascertained beyond the reach of a doubt, namely, that the insurgents were before Nankin, and that danger had become so pressing, that the agents of the Chinese Government placed near the scene of events, had been forced, in spite of their antipathy to the Europeans, to apply to them for assistance in the end.

CHAPTER XVI.

Taking of Nankin—Imperial edicts—Insurrectionary proclamations—Attitude of the Europeans—Progress of the insurrection.

NANKIN is in the power of the insurgents! The victorious army of the Pretender has entered the ancient capital of the empire, and there is now an emperor in each of the two rival cities, Nankin and Peking! We do not yet know the details of these events, but we can at once foresee their importance. One of the persons best acquainted with China, Sir John Davis, thus appreciates the result of such a movement:—

“To an European fleet this city would be one of the most vulnerable parts of the empire, as the canal opens into the great river, a little below the city, towards the sea. To blockade at once the mouth of the canal and of the Yang-Tze-Kiang could scarcely fail to distress the empire; especially

Pekin, which is fed by supplies from the southern provinces.”*

These lines, written above twenty years ago, were to some extent prophetic. When the glorious countrymen of Sir John Davis stationed themselves before Nankin, and were thus masters of the mouth of the canal, the mandarins humbly made submission and sued for peace; they clearly saw that the soldiers of her Britannic Majesty had secured the keys of China, and that they could easily starve the Emperor in his own palace.

It must be owned, however, that a Chinese army is much less formidable to native soldiers than an European one, and that under present circumstances they have to deal with enemies whom they can fight with equal arms. Moreover, the insurgents have now not only the Imperial *tigers* to dread; but they have a still more implacable foe in the atmosphere which they breathe. Our European arms triumph over everything, even the delights of Capua; but these hordes, picked up at hap-hazard on a march more than 300 leagues in length, cannot feel the same sentiments of duty. These men, recruited among the inflammable populations of the Kouang-Toung, the Kouang-Si, and the Hou-Kouang, and joined by thousands of semi-savage Miao-Tze, ex-

* The passage is from the very instructive work, “The Chinese,” published by Sir J. T. Davis in 1836.—J. O.

cited by privations and trained to cupidity, will not be able to struggle against the seducing dangers that encompass them. The severe discipline which the united kings have imposed upon their troops, has triumphed over the cunning of Siu and the valour of Ou-lan-tai; but it will, perhaps, prove impotent against the delights of the Kiang-Nan.

We have tried to give an idea of that fruitful soil; we have briefly described that rich country, where there is no exception to universal cultivation and production. No exception, we say; for even the rivulets which disperse the vivifying waters through the fields are not unproductive spaces. The soil beneath the waters is cultivated, and the current rocks the large leaves of the *nelumbium*—of which both the root and the fruit are eatable—or shakes the slender stalks of the *cyperus esculentus*, or the *trappa bicornis*, both of which produce excellent food. We have now to become acquainted with Nankin, the rival of Sou-Tcheou-Fou—Nankin, the city of learning and of pleasure.

According to the estimation of a Chinese, nothing is beautiful, nothing is good, nothing is graceful, elegant, or tasteful, but what comes from Nankin or from Sou-Tcheou-Fou. Being essentially a people of *routine*, we French have only one city which gives the tone and sets the fashion; the Chinese have two. The “fashionables” of the Celestial

Empire are divided into schools, one of which belongs to Nankin, the other to Sou-Tcheou-Fou, and we know not which of the two rivals is triumphant. As for Peking, the city of the Government, it has no voice whatever in matters of taste and pleasure, but merely enjoys a monopoly of *ennui*. Nankin is the residence of the *litterati*, the men of science, the dancers, the painters, the antiquaries, the jugglers, the physicians, the poets, and the courtezans of celebrity. In this charming city are held schools of science, art, and—pleasure; for here pleasure itself is at once an art and a science. Malte Brun asserts that in this learned city there are even an *Institut* and an academy of medicine. None but a geographer could spread such a calumny; at Nankin there is neither an academy nor academicians.

The idle rich of every part of the empire go alternately to Sou-Tcheou-Fou and Nankin. In these two cities they pass their days in the *ateliers* of painters, or the closets of *savants*, who, like us, are possessed with a mania for gossiping; go to applaud the actors of renown, and wind up the evening in the company of poets and courtezans. The Kiang-Nan is to a certain extent the Italy of China, where the great business of life is love and poetry. Parents bring up their daughters to profit by their charms. Sometimes they sell them to rich mandarins, sometimes they turn them loose into the world, with

their pretty faces and their talents, through which they become nearly the gayest women in the empire, always followed by a troop of lovers with full purses. The women of Nankin are not only the handsomest, but also the most elegant women in China.

At Canton, the mandarin Pan-se-tchèn had two doves of Nankin in his harem. They were about seventeen years of age, of slight and graceful figures, like that of a young girl of thirteen; their features were childishly delicate, and they resembled those dolls which the artists of our *journaux de modes* give as specimens of French ladies. Their long, black, silken eyelashes, which seemed drawn towards the temples, almost concealed their small sparkling black eyes, while their narrow mouth was like a line drawn with carmine. One had her feet compressed, the other wore hers in their natural state; and beautiful they were: with such feet as those one ought to walk without shoes, or put on slippers of glass! These young girls wore round their heads a narrow band of black satin, adorned with pearls, garnets, and emeralds. They were crowned with flowers of lan-hoa, which emitted a most penetrating odour; and their hair, which was completely surrounded with this fragrant garland, terminated in a top-knot. Their faces were as white as milk: in China ladies paint *white*, and these were so completely white-washed that they positively

resembled the fantastic figures which cover those screens and fans in which appear a swarm of young flying girls—the voluptuous visions of the artists of the Kingdom of Flowers. The girls had been very carefully educated. They made verses, which they sang, and accompanied themselves on the *lin*, a sort of primitive lyre with eight silken strings, which vibrate softly on a long sounding board of ebony inlaid with ivory. This is the piano of the Celestial Empire; a modest instrument, differing widely from that noisy machine which is often so overpowering in our saloons at the touch of the most delicate fingers.

Such were the young Nankin girls whom we saw, and those travellers who have had the privilege of penetrating the Elysium of China give descriptions which accord with ours. All the canals of the artistic city are covered with elegant boats steered by females, and in the centre of these is a pavilion securely closed. This is the habitation of young girls similar to those we have just described. All the furniture of these floating boudoirs is made of wood, black and polished as marble, inlaid with silver or ivory. Porcelain seats and cane couches are distributed about the superb cabin. The Chinese have a decided taste for aquatic amusements, and never feel their enjoyment complete unless they are afloat. Hence these luxurious boats are inhabited

day and night by persons who eat, drink, smoke, and sleep in them. For people of inferior opulence accommodation of less magnificence is provided; but no one is really poor in this soil, which is always productive—under that glorious sky which is all radiant with light—or along those canals which flow beneath the shade of the bamboo, and are perfumed by the *olea fragrans*.

Hitherto the insurgents have made numerous recruits on their route; now they have reached the wealthy Kiang-Nan, they will gain adherents; but no more accomplices. Revolutionary attempts, whether for good or evil, have this unfortunate privilege, that they attract all kinds of desperate characters who expect that a change will bring some improvement to their condition; while on the other hand, in those favoured countries where comfort is generally diffused, an insurrectionary army seldom gains many followers. Hence the rebels, though they probably command the sympathy of the masses, must henceforth only reckon on the effective force of their troops, and will have to combat with energy not only the Peking soldiers who are sent against them, but also the enervating influence of the focus which they have reached.

We shall now pass in review the events which have taken place during the last months of the present year. The first document which we read in the

Moniteur of Peking is an imperial decree relative to the death of Siao-tchao-koueï, who took the title of Si-wang, or King of the West. According to the report of one of the generals, the rebel chief had been killed by the explosion of a cannon, and the Emperor ordered that his corpse should undergo a retrospective punishment. In the same decree the magnanimous sovereign informs his subjects that several unfortunate prisoners have had their hearts torn out alive, as offerings to the manes of the warriors who died fighting in defence of the Imperial power. We give this decree entire, remarking that there is about it a tone of barbarity which is not likely to enlist the sympathies of civilized countries in favour of the despot of Peking. Such decrees can only be dictated by the ravings of impotent rage:—

“ It seems, according to the report of Tchang-léang-ki, that the rebel Siao-tchao-koueï has been killed by an explosion. This man, considered one of the most eminent and audacious among the rebels, had taken the title of King of the West. When, some time ago, Lo-ou and some others were made prisoners, they said that the rebel in question had been killed by the explosion of a cannon at Tchang-Cha, and that his body was buried at Lao-Loung-Tan. On this information his body was dug up, and its identity being established, it was cut into

pieces to serve for an example. Lo-ou and his companions, to the number of six, had their hearts torn out, still palpitating, and these were offered to the manes of the officers and the soldiers who died in the battle.

“ The rebels Houng-sieou-tsuèn and others, who have carried disorder into the provinces of the Kouang-Si and the Hou-Kouang, are filling up the measure of their guilt. Besides the aforesaid Siao-tchao-koueï, one Weï-tching, another famous chief of the insurgents, has come to a premature end at Tching-Tcheou, through the agency of invisible beings. Another, named Che-ta-kai was killed by our soldiers in his flight to Ho-Se; and, according to the testimony of the rebels, Houng-yun-chan has vanished, without anyone knowing whither he has gone. None are left now but Houng-sieou-tsuèn, Yang-sieou-tsing, and a few others, who trouble the province of the Hou-Pé. Those who are forced to follow them are mere flocks of birds in the train of a few conspirators.

“ The chief officers of the army, and the governors of provinces, are hereby enjoined to publish proclamations in order to engage the troops, the villagers, the magistrates, the nobles, and the people, to combine their efforts for the extermination of this impure race. As for those who have been forced against their will to follow the rebels, it is decreed that if they seize some of these malefactors,

and bring them to our camp, they shall be not only pardoned, but liberally rewarded. At the present moment the grand army is assembled together like a mass of clouds collected from all parts for the destruction of the rebels. These miserable wretches have filled up the measure of their wickedness; they are hated alike by gods and men, and cannot long escape the punishment they deserve. Respect this."

This document is followed by another, redolent of retrospective humanity. Young Hièn-foung, in his letters of pardon, declares that the officers who fled before the enemy at the battle of Yo-Teheou, having died of a mortal sickness, he pardons their crime! But there are other documents betraying the uneasiness with which the omnipotent Emperor is now visited. He distributes throughout the empire prayers addressed to Heaven; and these acts of contrition plainly show the anguish of the Court of Pekin. It is in the following terms that Hièn-foung implores the Supreme Being:—

"Filled with dread and apprehension, I humbly entreat Heaven to pardon my offences, and to spare my unhappy people. May all the officers of the court and the provinces awaken the better feelings of their hearts, and devise the best means of averting from the people the calamities by which they are now afflicted. The students and the people of every

locality should also unite their efforts to check the enemy and speedily destroy these monstrous rebels. They will thus enjoy endless peace and prosperity under the benignant protection of Heaven, while we and our officers shall be equally animated with feelings of respect and gratitude. We desire that the Board of Rites and the high authorities of each province shall engrave this decree and publish it on yellow paper, that our intentions may be known throughout the world."

This public confession—this official "*meâ culpâ*"—is not sufficient to solace the heart of the monarch; he declares to all his subjects that he will pass a night at the altar of Heaven. But, as if he doubted the protection of the gods he invokes, he avails himself of this occasion to preach treachery, and advise murder in the interest of his throne:—

"On the seventh of the second moon (March 21st), I, the Emperor, shall pass the night at the altar of Heaven, and shall pray with fervour for the peace of my subjects, who, from the commencement of the rebellion to the present time, have endured heavy calamities in the provinces of Kouang-Si, Hou-Nan, and Hou-Pé. I am also in deep affliction on account of the thousands of people who perished in the city of Ou-Tchang; and I most bitterly reproach my officers, who, instead of preventing these calamities

by efficient measures, took flight as soon as the rebels made their appearance.

“In the time of the Emperor Kia-king there was a rebellion in the Hou-Kouang, which lasted many years; but the people did not flee: the courageous villagers united and defended themselves. Would it not be better now to give money to the brave villagers, to prevail upon them to assemble in arms, than to take away what they have already got?

“Those who follow the rebels do not act from their own free will. If they return to us, we must receive them well, for they are my * subjects. All the millions that have been lavished,—have they not been expended to save my people? Wait till my troops have surrounded and destroyed the rebels; and then, assuredly, you will have tranquillity. If any one of those who follow the rebels, kills their chief, he shall not only be pardoned but liberally rewarded.

“I have frequently reproached myself, and I have prayed to Heaven to pardon my sins, to save my people, and not to let them suffer any more on my account. May all future calamities fall upon my head alone.”

Hièn-foung, however, understands the danger of his position. He feels that what is most hated in

* This transition from the plural to the singular is not unfrequent in the Imperial documents.—J. O.

him, is his Tartar origin, and he makes some attempt to obtain pardon for this fault. Scarcely do the soldiers of "Kirin" and of "Love" set foot on the Chinese territory, than he addresses them with severity, recommending them to observe the strictest discipline, to be moderate in their demands, to respect property, and to treat as brothers the inhabitants of the provinces through which they have to pass. However, the antipathies of race are stronger than Imperial proclamations; and hence the Imperial troops take no heed of their master's recommendations. The official *Gazette* of Peking severely blames the General Foung-chèn, commander of the troops of Kirin, who has behaved in China as though it were a conquered country. He levied contributions on his route; made extraordinary demands for horses, carriages, and provisions; and—unlucky symptom!—delayed his march for several days, on the plea of sudden indisposition. The Emperor, by degrading this officer, appeals anew to concord and good feeling; but this fresh exhortation will be no more efficacious than the last.

The troops of "Kirin" and of "Love" form a portion of those soldiers of the eight banners who once inspired the Chinese with so much terror. These regiments were at that time valiant hordes led by intrepid chiefs, as sober and as much inured to fatigue as the camels of their vast deserts. It

is to be feared that they are now enervated by the effeminate habits of China. In the orders given to these select *corps*, we read with surprise that, after every day's march, two days of rest are allowed. Can it be that at this urgent moment, when, perhaps, the destinies of the Tartar dynasty may depend on a forced march, it is necessary to economize the strength of the soldiers? Hièn-foung is exposed to two dangers equally formidable,—the hatred of the Chinese nation, and abandonment by his natural defenders, if these should feel dissatisfied.

There is one thing which the Emperor does not economize at all,—that is, the blood of his generals. The unfortunate Siu has been beheaded; he has been punished for not being a man of genius: for not having been able, with cowardly soldiers—the dregs of the garrisons—to form, at a moment's notice, troops equal in valour to those who took the Smala or conquered the Punjaub. The unlucky omen of Canton proved to be a providential warning. We ought never to laugh at those poor animals which are shut up in a tiger's cage, for sooner or later the terrible beast kills his companion,—often without anger, and because the natural instinct to kill has been awakened within him. Sai-chang-ha has also been condemned to death; only his misery is prolonged for several months, the Emperor having ordered that the execution shall be deferred till after the autumn

assizes. This order proceeds from a very ancient custom. All executions in China take place in the autumn months, except those on account of political crimes; for in such cases all seasons are alike. An elaborate philosophical discussion, not altogether foreign to our subject, would be required to explain the motive of this Chinese arrangement.

Thus, in the last extremity, the acts of the Emperor may be reduced to these heads:—prayers and supplications addressed to old deities, deaf and powerless; condemnations, executions, and constant appeals to the basest passions—to treachery and murder.

While Hièn-foung is thus perpetually losing ground, slipping back into the ruts of the past, and giving way to fury and dejection by turns, the insurgents pursue their determined course with that calmness and perseverance which are the surest signs of strength. They publish new proclamations, in which they depict the hateful rapacity of the mandarins, the sufferings of the people, and the imbecility of the young monarch, a captive in the midst of eunuchs, women, and courtiers. In one of these compositions, which are full of spirit and genuine enthusiasm, they make an appeal to old patriotic sentiments, and urge their fellow-countrymen to throw off the foreign yoke, and restore the national dynasty. This manifesto is followed by another of

still greater importance. The rebels endeavour to inspire the different interests with confidence, and to repudiate all connection with those plunderers who in every revolution seem to start from the earth, that they may fish in troubled waters, under the shelter of a cockade or a flag. This document is too important, and contains too much valuable information as to the real character of the insurrection, to be withheld from our readers :—

“Lieou, the chief who founds the dynasty and tranquillizes remote districts, having been specially charged to promulgate peace in the Kiang-Nan, publishes the following proclamation :—

“An Imperial order having charged General Yang and myself to console the people and to punish the guilty, we find that our cause spreads in every direction with the utmost rapidity, and with irresistible power. But while we have beheaded greedy magistrates and corrupt officers, we have done no harm to honest people. It is nevertheless to be regretted that before the arrival of our troops the smugglers of salt, and the malefactors of every district, took advantage of the occasion to commit acts of plunder and violation. Our General-in-Chief has already sent an especial messenger to look out for these robbers, to seize them and behead more than a thousand of them, in order to give an example to the rest.

“Having learned that a great number of these marauders are still dispersed about the country in the Kiang-Nan, and that they plunder the citizens who retired with their property into the farms and villages situated at a distance from the towns, we have, consequently, despatched a large number of disciplined troops, that they may inquire at every place where our army is expected, whether any depredations are committed there, and likewise ascertain the names of all individuals guilty of such crimes. When the chief town of the district is taken, the accuracy of these reports will be tested, and if the crimes are proved, the inhabitants of the guilty villages will be utterly exterminated, without distinction of age or sex. The feelings of clemency with which I, the Commissioner, am penetrated, will not allow me to put any one to death without due warning. For this reason, I publish this proclamation beforehand, wishing that every one may duly regulate his actions, and resist the promptings of his cupidity, unless he would be exterminated like the inhabitants of the two villages to the west and the north of Ou-Hou. As for you, inhabitants of towns, you ought not to leave your towns in disorder, so as to run the risk of being plundered. When our army arrives, you have only to write on your doors the word ‘Obedient,’ and if any one of our soldiers causes you annoyance, he

shall be immediately beheaded, as an example to the others.

“Issued in the second moon of the fourth year of Tièn-tè.”

Human actions resemble each other in every country; and in spite of the distance which separates us from China, several of our readers will smile at finding in the above proclamation some striking points of coincidence with certain acts of our revolutionary episodes. The protection specially promised to all who will write “Obedient” on their gates, and the anticipatory sentence of death passed beforehand against robbers, forcibly recall to our minds an epoch too recent for its memory to be effaced. However, the peculiarity of the document is the proof it affords of the inexorable discipline which reigns in the camp of the insurgents; for, in the records of the Chinese army, the repression of certain excesses is a thing unknown. The commanding officer says to the soldier, “Tremble and obey,” and he does, in effect, tremble and obey; but only on condition that his vices and depredations shall be winked at. A Chinese army on a campaign treats friends and enemies with most perfect impartiality, plundering all alike.

If the repression of the depredations of the Chinese army is to date from the era of the feudatory kings and the Emperor Tièn-tè, they will

have deserved well of their country by this act alone. But this is not the only reform the Pretender hopes to accomplish: while he bides his time to effect radical changes, he comes forward as the restorer of the ancient good faith and administrative probity — as the inexorable judge of corrupt and corrupting mandarins. To a certain extent, he gives guarantees of administrative probity already. When a district is occupied by the insurgent army, those who supply the troops are paid with debentures, which will be duly honoured by Tièn-tè, when he has taken the public treasury. Moreover the revolutionary chiefs have paid particular attention to the dangers to which weak and defenceless creatures are exposed. They no sooner arrive at a town than they erect houses of refuge for young females, and write over the door this very positive notice: “This place is sacred to young girls; whoever has the audacity to cross the threshold with any evil purpose will be beheaded.”

However, in our eyes, these are not the most significant portions of the insurrection. Of late the agents of Tièn-tè have circulated a document to which we especially direct the attention of our readers:—

“The object of this proclamation is to call upon you all to expel the Mantchous at once, wherever they are found, and to await the establishment of our court at Nankin, where those who pass

their examinations with credit will receive degrees proportionate to their merit. Let the barbarians of other countries remain at a distance for a while, until, after the due submission of the empire, we publish a proclamation respecting commerce. As for the stupid priests of Buddha, and the jugglers of Tao-se, they must all be put down, and their temples and monasteries must be demolished, as well as those of all the other corrupt sects.

“Let every one tremble and obey!”

Every phrase of this remarkable document has a political value, the import of which we must define. First, these intelligent rebels would have it known that they are not brutal destroyers; they set forth the elements of their new organization, and they announce that, to recruit their administrative force, they will open public examinations, at which every one shall be classed according to his merits. In the second sentence, they advise the Europeans to adopt the principle of non-intervention, and to keep apart from a contest in which they have no interest at stake. Lastly, they address the “stupid priests of Buddha,” the “jugglers of Tao-se,” and the other “corrupt sects,” to inform them that their temples will be demolished, and their religion suppressed.

Who, then, is the author of this curious proclamation? Is he a disciple of Confucius, or a member of the Chinese Union of Gutzlaff. It is impossible

just now to obtain any certain information on this point, and we must remain in a state of uncertainty as to what is meant by "other corrupt sects."

All that we can ascertain is that the insurgents, with regard to certain points, are sure to keep their word; and unless we are greatly mistaken, one of the classic "wonders" which we were taught to admire on hearsay in the days of our childhood, is falling beneath the hammer of the iconoclasts. The Buddhist temples of China suffer in their turn from an eruption of the barbarians; the rationalistic *sans culottes* of the Celestial Empire lay their hands on the works of art which a poetic and fertile superstition raised from the earth. These glorious monuments, and among them the porcelain tower of Nankin, are already tottering on a base undermined by rigid reformers. We might say that all nations throughout the world undertake to confirm this melancholy truth, that the victories of ideas are purchased by the heaviest sacrifices—by the destruction of the most remarkable *chefs d'œuvre* of the human intellect. Man knows only one method of fighting against the past, namely, by overthrowing those harmless stones that have been raised by the inspiration of the idea against which he contends. As the threats of the insurgents are likely to become matters of fact, let us cast a glance at the pagoda of Nankin—that relic of the past, whose elegant fabric

will probably soon scatter its fragments over the ground. This beautiful monument has been described to us in these terms by one who has seen it with his own eyes, and touched it with his own hands :—

“The tower of Nankin is the magnificent complement of the pagoda Pao-Ngan-Se. It is of an octagonal form, and not less than seventy metres* in height. At a distance it appears entirely white, but on approaching it we can discern the variety of colours and gilding with which it is covered. A large pedestal of rough hewn marble is the base of the monument, round which it forms a broad landing-place, which is reached by some ten steps. The large hall, which serves as the ground floor to the temple, is about a dozen or fifteen metres in depth, and about eight metres in height. Above this hall rise successively nine floors, each seven metres high, and separated from each other by a series of roofs or cornices, which project to the extent of a metre, and form those angles curved upwards, which characterize Chinese architecture. An incommodious staircase inside the edifice leads to its summit, and on every floor is a room of less diameter than that below it. The bulk of the monument is of common brick, and its thickness is four metres at the base, and two and a half at the summit. The outside of the walls is covered over

* A metre is equal to an English yard.

with plates of common white porcelain, joined perfectly together. In the lower floors the porcelain is merely adorned by a few stamped ornaments, of no great depth; but in the upper floors are seen a number of niches, in which are placed statuettes and idols, apparently gilded. In the middle of the hall on each floor is an altar, dedicated to Buddha. The spire which surmounts the tower is ten metres high. It is composed of a strong stem, round which a broad spiral piece of iron is twisted, and terminates in a large ball, which is said to be of solid gold. The height and peculiar brightness of this tower cause Nankin to be recognised at a great distance; and it has served as a beacon to the first English and French ships-of-war that ascended the Yang-Tze-Kiang."

When we reflect that the men who thus loudly and deliberately proclaim their intention to attack this noble work—to overthrow a monument which is famed throughout the whole world, and which generations admire by instinct—are not barbarians, reason is astounded at the anomalies presented by the human mind. Indeed, not only are the destroyers *not* barbarians, but there are *savants* among them who pride themselves on their reputation as men of taste. When, as conquerors, the rebels entered this city of Nankin, which they have probably *unpoetized* by the destruction of its "wonder," they wished to prove themselves worthy to

inhabit the Athens of the "Flowery Land," and they posted on the walls of this city of art and letters a proclamation in verse to dissipate the fears of the inhabitants. This pompous production would be ridiculous enough in France, but in China it proves that the insurgents are not without tact and taste. Those who aspire to reign by their literary accomplishments, and to establish a court in the most learned city of the empire, are bound to prove that they themselves are learned, and can appreciate the delicacies of language and the refinements of art.

Ye people, this announcement is to set your minds at rest,
 And hinder you from fleeing to the East and to the West.
 The hearths and altars of the Mings—that dynasty sublime—
 Have been usurped by Mantchou hordes until the present time.
 But now we hurl the Tartars down, and raise the Chinese
 throne,
 The greedy crew of magistrates shall perish every one.
 Our deeds are surely virtuous, when Heaven we obey,
 So do not, O ye people, to vain alarms give way.
 Since first our mighty force began to penetrate the land,
 Upon the honest citizen we ne'er have laid a hand.
 The ashes of our ancestors are in your neighbourhood,
 And urged by their example we protect the just and good.
 Against the robbers of the place all due precautions take,
 And do not waste your courage for the vile oppressor's sake.
 At Houang-Tcheou and at Han-Yang many valiant warriors
 fell,
 Because the hardy peasants for their tyrants fought too well.

But though a hundred millions should oppose us in our course,
As dust by wind is scattered, we shall dissipate their force.

When the Kiang-Nan and the Chang-Toung shall at last sub-
missive be,

You shall all enjoy the blessings of a long tranquillity.

To these few words of warning you will now attention pay,

Nor be by disobedience nor by terror led astray.

We do not know any of the details connected with the taking of Nankin. The only ascertained fact is, the occupation of the city. At Chang-Hai, however, some dark rumours have been spread. It is said that the insurgents assembled together four hundred Tartar women in a public building, on the pretence of marrying them to some Chinese, and then roasted them alive by setting the building on fire. It is also affirmed that the Mantchou officials have been subjected to the most dreadful tortures. We doubt the truth of these reports, and think they are only calumnies invented by the mandarins, in the hope of awaking in the hearts of foreigners feelings unfavourable to the insurgents.

The Imperial functionaries now remain isolated in the midst of the people; they feel that they have lost all hold on the sympathies of the nation, and they seek to prolong their existence by means of European intervention. For this purpose the Tao-Taï of Chang-Hai has invented and cir-

culated this proclamation; which, it is affirmed, was posted against the walls of Sou-Tcheou-Fou.

“Lo, commander of the land and sea forces, and the general charged with the pacification of the Eastern districts and the subjugation of the Mantchous, and Houang, commissary-general and member of the council of war, publish together this proclamation:—

“On the 22nd of this moon (31st March), our Emperor established the seat of his government at Nankin, having exterminated the Mantchou robbers, without leaving so much as a dog or a fowl. The Chinese officers, Lou-kièn-yng (Governor of the city) and his adherents, having made their submission, our Emperor has not done any injury to a single individual of the people. In a few days our grand army will be at Sou-Tcheou, Soung-Kiang, Tchang-Tcheou, and Tchèn-Kiang. The inhabitants of these districts should be aware that our superior officers, who are deeply versed in astrology, have ascertained that the Great Bear is now in its apogee over Kiang-Nan, and that the star Venus is at the altitude of Soung-Kiang. The ignoble foreigners of Chang-Haï are not worthy to be regarded as men; and it is difficult to affirm that there will be no fighting even at Chang-Haï. The inhabitants of Tchang-Tcheou and of Tchèn-Kiang have nothing

to fear; but the honest folks of Sou-Tcheou and Soung-Kiang (the district in which Chang-Hai is situated) will retire a few hundred *li* into the country, if they desire to be safe. The subjects of the preceding dynasty are the children of the new Emperor; we, therefore, ought to give them timely warning to take care of themselves. When our Emperor has definitively established his government, we shall publish a special proclamation to recall the people to their homes, and to urge them to resume their usual occupations, as well as their studies for the literary examinations. Let every one impress these orders on his mind.

“Published in the fourth year of Tièn-tè, on the 24th of the third moon (2nd April).”

The foreign residents, who have long been acquainted with Chinese duplicity, perceived at once that this production was a forgery, and the treacherous act did not lure them into any imprudent manifestations. The Chinese, however, are consummate masters in the Punic war of lying and slander. They spread a second net for the barbarians; and this time obtained at least the appearance of success.

The mandarins are convinced that, if the Christians remain calm spectators of the combat, the Tartar dynasty will fall. They have, therefore, long sought

to compromise the foreigners in the eyes of the insurgents; and now, with the aid of commercial cupidity, they have partially obtained their end. We have already said that the Tao-Taï of Chang-Hai had enrolled under the yellow flag some *lorchas* of Macao, and had purchased a vessel of an American firm. This vessel is an old *receiving-ship*, called the *Science*, and belongs to the firm of Russell, who have not sold but let it to the Tartar agent, at the monstrous rate of 50,000 piastres per month. When this old vessel sailed up the Yang-Tze-Kiang towards Nankin, the emissaries of the Tao-Taï gave the rebels to understand that the foreign residents were lending their assistance to the Imperial authorities. There was, at once, a great commotion in the insurgent camp; menaces were uttered against the foreigners, and the insurgents swore they would be revenged for this abandonment of a neutral policy—the only policy suitable to foreigners.

Unfortunately, an unlucky coincidence increased the fear of the insurrectionary army; and, to a certain extent, justified its exasperation. Mr. Marshall, the American plenipotentiary, prompted by an inopportune curiosity, took it into his head to sail up the river in the *Susquehanna* steamer. The rebels, perceiving the long streaks of smoke issuing from the funnel of the American steamer, fell into a violent rage; they seized, it is said, the Governor of

Nankin, whom they had spared hitherto, beheaded him, set his head on a bamboo, and planted this horrible trophy on the ramparts of the city, as a bloody defiance to the barbarians.

This crime was the only result of the unlucky expedition of Colonel Marshall, who returned to Chang-Hai, saying, that he had been obliged to turn back on account of the *Susquehanna* drawing too much water. The foreign residents, on receiving this intelligence, dreaded the consequences of the expedition of the *Science*; but it was ascertained that this unfortunate vessel had run aground off Tchen-Kiang-Fou, and had been abandoned by the crew.

Under these difficult circumstances, a man of great courage and resolution offered to proceed to the camp of the insurgents, and ask the chiefs how they were disposed towards the Christian nations. Mr. Meadows, the interpreter of the English consulate, set off alone on the 9th of April; intending either to go to Sou-Tcheou-Fou, or by way of the Imperial canal to visit the generals of Tièn-tè at Nankin. This act of devotion on the part of Mr. Meadows is one of the most interesting episodes of the insurrection. Hereafter, we shall certainly have an account of his interview with the insurgents; but while we are awaiting the result of his courageous undertaking, we may state that there is not a man

worthy of the name, who ought not to offer up prayers for the safety of the brave English interpreter.

In the mean while great uneasiness is felt at Chang-Hai. These complications plunge the foreign residents into a state of the most cruel difficulty; but far from being cast down, the heroes of this industrial community unite together for the common safety, and with that tact which is the characteristic of men of superior race, they dexterously avail themselves of every circumstance to secure the future safety of their little colony. For this purpose they surround their factories with a wall of defence, around which they dig a deep moat, and mark out a line of fortification; thus shielding the territory of the Christian nations from all danger of a sudden attack. Certainly, a noble spectacle is presented to the world by this little group of merchants, who, isolated amid a crowd of enemies, rely only upon their own energy to defend themselves.

Although all interest is now chiefly centred in the eastern extremity of the empire, we receive letters from Canton, Macao, and Hong Kong, which are full of curious details. Our correspondents are unanimous in blaming the imprudent conduct of the American plenipotentiary, the speculation of the firm of Russell, and even the expedition of the Portuguese mercenaries. They think that these

individual acts will be productive of harm to foreigners; and that Tièn-tè will be revenged on all the residents for the faults and impolitic cupidity of a few. Moreover, our correspondents, who but a few months ago described the insurrectionary movement as a mere act of bravado of no importance, have suddenly changed their opinion. Tièn-tè is now, in their eyes, the chief of a national revolution, which nothing can restrain.

The Kouang-Si, which was supposed to have been freed from the rebels, has once more fallen into their power; and in the Kouang-Toung, the department of Kouéi-Tcheou, and the city of Lei-Tcheou-Fou, opposite Hai-Nan, are occupied by their troops. While these things are going on at the gates of Canton, the population of this large city loudly proclaims its sympathy with the new dynasty; and prays with all its might for the overthrow of the Manchous. These sentiments are so popular in this province, that the magistrate of Ho-Ping-Hein, and a colonel of the Imperial troops, have been assassinated by the people, because they attempted to oppose the departure of a convoy with ammunition for the insurgents. In all the great cities hatred against the Tartars is openly displayed under the very eyes of the mandarins. The young men of fashion join the opposition by cutting off the tail, and adopting the costume of the time of the Mings. In fact, the

revolutionary impetus is so strong, that even those of our friends who are least favourable to the insurgent cause, begin to regard the overthrow of the throne of Hièn-foung as an established fact.

CHAPTER XVII.

State of parties in China—Is Tièn-tè the legitimate descendant of the Mings?—Prophetic rebuses.

THE preceding pages were written when the Hong Kong journals of the 22nd of April reached us. One of the Anglo-Chinese papers states, that on the departure of the schooner *Iona*, from Chang-Hai, on the 12th of April, there was a current report in that city that the Imperial troops had driven the insurgents out of Nankin. Notwithstanding the authority of the journal which contains this intelligence, we do not believe it is correct. The reasons for our disbelief are these: the number of the paper which contains the details of the defeat of Tièn-tè's generals also tells us that the Tao-Tai of Chang-Hai has published a proclamation to inspire the people of his district with fresh courage. In this official document he said that General Kouan-

young was at Tan-Yang, and that he expected, on the 12th of April, to fall upon the rebels, and make short work with them.

On the other hand, according to the letters received from the camp of the united kings, it was asserted that the Tartar troops had invested the new conquest of the insurgents, and that a general action was to take place on the above date. The correspondent of the *China Mail*, while furnishing us with this intelligence, explains a Chinese custom which does infinite honour to the chivalrous feeling of this people, but of which we did not suppose it capable. A general action does not often take place in China, excepting a rencontre has been agreed upon by the belligerent parties.

Now, if the attack on Nankin took place on the 12th of April, the result of the battle could not possibly have been known on the same day at Chang-Hai, which is eighty leagues distant from that celebrated city. In China, electric telegraphs are not as yet known, and even carrier pigeons are not employed in the Imperial service. It is just possible that the battle may have taken place before the day in question, but even in that case we do not believe that the victory of the Imperialists has been so complete as is asserted. The affairs of the Pretender are now in such a prosperous way, that the success of his cause has nothing to fear from the loss of a

battle. It would require a series of unprecedented reverses to ruin his hopes.

The insurrectionary army comprises two elements, which cannot be annihilated by the mere turn of a die; one is the personal character of the soldiers; the other is the spirit by which it is animated. The Tartar soldiers cannot destroy the former at a blow; while the spirit and intelligence of the rebels makes them superior to the principles upon which the power of Hièn-foung is based. Tièn-tè has recruited his partizans among the most intrepid and turbulent populations of the empire, and a considerable number of the officers in command are from Canton. These formed a portion, for the most part, of the intrepid and undisciplined bands which, during the opium war, signalized themselves by their hatred against the "barbarians," and who once dared, almost unarmed, to attack the English soldiers in front; rushing upon a battalion with such fury, that they forced it to form itself into a square, and even then they precipitated themselves on this living wall, bristling with steel, determined, if possible, to break it. But at this moment a miracle took place like those which were seen by the Homeric heroes; a thick cloud enveloped the two armies, and the combatants, thus become invisible, ceased to destroy each other. On the following day, when the storm had passed over, the Chinese proceeded *en*

masse towards the point which the English had occupied the evening before; but the latter had changed their position during the night. The *guerillas*, therefore, finding no enemy to fight, remained in the full conviction that their valour had frightened away the English; and, since that time they have incessantly celebrated this great feat of arms in the language of the gods, and also of the barracks.

However, the chiefs have picked up some notions of the European art of war, and are perfectly capable of resisting, not only the best troops of the empire, but also the Tartar troops. Nor is this the only advantage on the side of Tièn-tè's soldiers. Not only is their military education superior to that of the *tigers*, but they have also been prepared by a gradual and somewhat traditional initiation, for the work they are now performing. To make ourselves understood, we must revert to the secret societies of China; and as in such cases we prefer relying on a competent authority, we borrow from the former Governor of Hong Kong, Sir John Davis, what he has written on the subject:—*

“The fraternities which are most dreaded by the Government of China, are those secret associations,

* “The Chinese,” vol. ii. p. 14.—J. O.

under various names, which combine for purposes either religious or political, or perhaps both together. Of the first description, the sect of the 'Water-lily' (a sacred plant), and that of the 'Incense-burners,' are both denounced in the seventh section of the Shing-yu ; and with them is confounded the Roman Catholic worship, under the same prohibition. The present weak state of the Government renders it particularly jealous of all secret societies, as well as cruel and unrelenting in punishing their leaders. But the chief object of its dread and persecution is the Triad Society, of which some description was given in 1823, by Dr. Milne. The name seems to imply that when *Heaven*, *Earth*, and *Man*, combine to favour them, they shall succeed in subverting the Tartar dynasty.

“ In October 1828, a paper, of which the following is an exact translation, was found in the Protestant burial-ground at Macao, by a gentleman in the company's service, who, understanding the meaning of it, sent the production immediately to the mandarin of the district, with whom he happened to be acquainted, and who entreated that the matter might not be made public, as he should be severely punished for the mere discovery of such a seditious paper within his district :—

“‘Vast was the central nation—flourishing the heavenly
dynasty,
A thousand regions sent tribute—ten thousand nations did
homage,
But the Tartars obtained it by fraud, and this grudge can now
be assuaged.
Enlist soldiers, procure horses—display aloft the flowery
standard ;
Raise troops and seize weapons — let us exterminate the
Mantchou race.’

“‘Dr. Milne’s account of the *Triad Society*, whose nature and objects he took some pains to investigate, is so curious as to deserve particular notice. The name of this association means ‘The society of the Three united,’ that is of Heaven, Earth, and Man; which, according to the imperfect notions and expressions of Chinese philosophy, imply *the three departments of nature*. There is a well-known Chinese cyclopædia, arranged under these three heads. In the reign of Kia-king, about the commencement of the present century, the Triad Society, under another name, spread itself rapidly through the provinces, and had nearly succeeded in overturning the Government. In 1803 its machinations were frustrated, and the principal leaders seized and put to death; the official reports stating to the Emperor that ‘not a single member of this rebellious fraternity was left alive.’ But the fact was otherwise,

for they still existed, and with a view to secrecy, adopted the name which they at present bear.

“ The objects of the association appear at first to have been allied to something like Freemasonry, and to have aimed simply at mutual aid and assistance; but, as the numbers increased, their views degenerated from the laudable ends of reciprocal benefit to violence and robbery, the overthrow of government, and the acquisition of political power by the expulsion of the Tartar dynasty. In foreign countries, as at Batavia, Singapore, and Malacca, the real or pretended branches of the association exist, and their objects are mutual defence, as well as plunder and other dishonesty. They engage to defend each other from the attacks of police-officers, and to assist members of their society in escaping from justice. If any one feels himself injured, the others take part in his quarrel, and help him to revenge himself. Still, the *professed* design is merely benevolent, as appears from their motto, which is a distich, with this meaning :

“ ‘ The blessings mutually share,
The woe reciprocally bear.’

“ The management of the combination is vested in three persons, who are denominated *ko*, elder brethren, in the same manner that Freemasons style each other ‘ brother.’ Of their internal discipline

Dr. Milne could obtain little information. The society's regulations are said to be written for greater security on cloth, which in any emergency may be thrown into a well or otherwise concealed for a time.

“ The ceremony of initiation is said to take place at night. The oath of secrecy is taken before an idol, and a sum of money given to support the general expense. There is likewise a ceremony called ‘Kouo-Kiao,’ ‘passing the bridge,’ which bridge is formed of swords, either laid between two tables, or else set up on the hilts, and meeting at the points in form of an arch. The persons who receive the oath take it under the bridge, and the *yé-ko*, or chief brother, reads the articles of the oath, to each of which an affirmative response is given by the new member; after which he cuts off the head of a cock, which is the usual form of a Chinese oath, intimating, ‘ Thus perish all who divulge the secret.’ Some of the marks by which they make themselves known to each other consist of mystical numbers, of which the chief is the number *three*. Certain motions of the fingers constitute a class of signs. To discover if one of the fraternity is in company, a brother will take up a tea-cup, by its cover, in a particular way with three fingers, and this will be answered by a correspond-

ing sign. They have a common seal,* consisting of a pentagonal figure, in which are inscribed certain characters in a sense understood only by the initiated.

“Except in their dangerous or dishonest principles the San-ho-hoëi bear a considerable resemblance to the Society of Freemasons. They even pretend to carry their origin back to remote antiquity, under another name. The members swear at their initiation to be fraternal and benevolent, which corresponds with the engagement of the freemasons. Another point of resemblance is in the ceremonies of initiation, in the oath, and the solemnity of its administration. These are so striking as to merit the attention of such as deem the history of Freemasonry worthy of investigation. Dr. Milne goes on to observe that the signs, particularly the use of the fingers, as far as is known or conjectured, appear to bear a resemblance. ‘Some have affirmed,’ says he, ‘that the great secret of Freemasonry consists in the words *liberty and equality*, and if so, certainly the term *Hiong-ti* (brethren) of the Triad Society may be explained as implying the same idea.’”

* This is curiously rendered by MM. Callery and Yvan,—“*Il s'ont un dieu,*” &c. In their version of the above extract, which is here reproduced from the book itself, the expressions, with which Sir J. T. Davis vituperates the rebels, are generally softened.—J. O.

Sir John Davis might have added that the forms used by the society of the United Three have to some extent penetrated the ordinary habits of life. Thus at Malacca, Singapore, and Java, when a European has a transaction with the Chinese, and suspects their integrity, he obliges them to make their contract while he cuts off the head of a cock in their presence. There is no instance that an oath made in this form was ever violated.

Now, the armies of Tièn-tè are almost wholly composed of members of the three associations of which Sir John Davis gives us an account; and which are now united by a common hatred against the Tartar dynasty. Nevertheless their opposition would have remained latent for ages, if two circumstances had not led to a violent outburst of their feelings.

When the English commenced their expedition against China, the Government attempted to kindle the popular passions, and create a national movement fatal to foreigners. For this purpose it encouraged popular assemblies, sent hired orators into the chief towns on the coast, who preached the holy league with a vigour worthy of our own barbarous times. The success of this expedient surpassed the hopes of its projectors; the people swore to defend the empire in its integrity, and shouted aloud for arms; and China had her armed clubs,

and her authorized democratic meetings, without anything of the kind being suspected in Europe.

However, British valour soon calmed this effervescence. The "fire-ships" and the "blazing gourds" (bombs) made the enthusiastic populace think more coolly, and they stopped prudently at home. However, when the war was over, the popular assemblies resumed their sittings, and the Government orators were succeeded by numerous speakers of an opposite tendency. These, in fervid discourses, accused the ruling power of negligence and stupidity; and the very men who would have taken the whole merit of a victory to themselves, did not hesitate to throw all the responsibility of a defeat upon the Emperor. The fanatics of the secret societies, who had dexterously placed themselves at the head of these assemblies, took advantage of the national humiliation to awaken the sentiments of hatred that the people had cherished for centuries against the foreign dynasty, and preached the expulsion of the Mantchous.

Even at that time, the Court of Peking would willingly have suppressed the commotion it had caused; but it hesitated: the clubs had terrified it.

Something, however, was still wanting to the enemies of the Mantchous to enable them to excite the masses: hatred against a dynasty is not always sufficient to produce a revolution. The want was

supplied by the conquerors. The Chinese "men of letters" at Canton, who had hitherto cared but little for the social organization of the West, wished now to be initiated into the manners and customs of their conquerors. For this purpose they made themselves acquainted with the Protestant ministers, whom they had hitherto neglected; and it was about this time that Gutzlaff formed his celebrated Chinese Union. From this time a certain number of disciples of Confucius became adherents of the Anglo-Saxon Chang-ti. Being thus members of the great Christian family, they entered anew the Chinese catacombs; but they were now armed *cap-à-pie* to wage a double war against the authority of the Tartars.

While writing this history, we are often asked whether Tièn-tè is really a descendant of the Mings. We cannot give a direct answer to that question, but in default of exact *data* we will state what is the general feeling of the Chinese on the subject. They do not care to have a royal legitimacy like the legitimacy of a private family. It is right that the heir of a merchant should be the son of his ostensible father, but in a more exalted sphere there is no such obligation. The heir of a dynasty is only so far legitimate that he continues the work of his ancestors, and represents the ideas, principles, and feelings, which animated his race.

If Tièn-tè restore political probity, if he free his country from rapacious mandarins, if he establish liberty, if he secure the rights of all, he will prove himself the legitimate descendant of the great dynasty of the Mings; but if he do not realize these expectations—if, when he ascends the throne, he appear as a mere *roi faineant*—posterity will deny his legitimacy.

At the present moment, however, the Chinese Pretender is the representative of progress; he appears as a reformer, lamenting abuses, and inspiring hope in those that suffer, and confidence in the rich and learned. His auxiliaries, the five feudatory kings, who are all enlightened persons, being at the same time disciples of Confucius, and Protestants or Deists, fight against barbarism with the sword, and attack the superstitions of Buddhism, proclaiming a purer morality and the doctrine of the Unity of God. Hièn-foung, on the other hand, does not at all understand the change that has taken place in the mind of his people, and he fights against his adversaries, the innovators, with the weapon of judicial punishment. His ministers, who are ignorant and false, and his generals, who are cowardly and rapacious, deceive him without compunction. They propose no useful measures, but to revive the dejected spirits of their young master, they impudently tell him of the pretended miracles that have been worked in favour of his cause.

Another misfortune of Hièn-foung consists in this: that he gives evidence of those bad feelings—of that old leaven of barbarism—which is natural to the Chinese, and which is still fermenting in the bosoms of his agents. We, who have personally known these fat smiling mandarins, lovers of pleasure and good cheer, were at first inclined to believe that, in accordance with the fundamental axiom of their philosophy, they were born kind and humane. We certainly saw them deal a few cuts with the bamboo as they went along; but we did not think they could have used without compunction the axe of the executioner. But the public places, transformed into shambles, where a hundred heads are lopped off daily—men locked up in cages, like wild beasts, and wretched victims whose hearts are torn out alive—have greatly changed our opinion, and have inspired us with a profound horror for a government that can order such atrocities. Certainly, the cause of Hièn-foung may still prove triumphant, but our natural feelings seem to desire a contrary result; and we seem to comply with a sentiment of humanity when we predict the downfall of the Tartar dynasty.

We may add that, in England, every one who has any relation with China is of opinion that the dynasty of the Mings is approaching its termination. In France M. X. Raymond, one of our travelling

companions, proves by some articles in the *Journal Des Debats*, which are, in many respects, very remarkable, that Hièn-foung cannot resist the torrent by which he is carried away. In China, the Rev. Dr. Macgowan, a man of superior mind, a skilful physician, and an assiduous student of the Chinese language, has written a book, entitled, "The Expiring Dynasty and the Rising Dynasty in China." If these predictions are not realized, many superior minds will have shared the same erroneous view; but it appears more likely they will be fulfilled, for justice is generally triumphant in the end.

Revolutions in China are not accomplished at once. Hence, from all that we can learn, the final triumph of Tièn-tè, or of Hièn-foung, will not be attained without many vicissitudes. But the opinion most prevalent in China is that the insurgents will triumph; and we would add, that this opinion is the result of the sympathy felt for their cause.

We shall now end our labours by transcribing a letter which we have received from Macao by the last mail. This letter is from a very sensible and serious man. He is not only a scholar such as we have in the west, but a "man of letters," who might aspire to the degree of Sieou-tsaï. He is, in fact, one of those remarkable individuals who are only found in Macao, and who, while they belong to two races, are equally respected by the yellow and the

white. This letter, therefore, may be received with perfect confidence;—the author sees affairs from a disinterested and unprejudiced point of view, and consequently sees them well. As for the little anecdote which closes this narrative, we can only say, that the book of which our friend speaks really exists, and that we have had a copy in our own hands.

“*Macao, April 22, 1853.*”

“A great political and religious epoch has arrived for China, and we may fairly say, that a small spark has kindled a great flame. Half a dozen barefooted vagabonds of obscure origin, and moved by personal interest alone, formed a league of which the Government at first took no notice. Their number perpetually increased, and they gained partisans after the manner of ancient Rome. By degrees, although they seemed to be mere adventurers, they became revolutionists, then patriots, and ultimately heroes, proclaiming nothing else than the foundation of another dynasty. Their armies have crossed the broad Chinese empire from west to east, sweeping every obstacle before them. They are now masters of Nankin, which they intend to make the seat of the new government, because this city was the residence of the ancient dynasty of the Mings, of which the new Emperor professes to be the legitimate descendant.

“Nothing can resist this overwhelming torrent;

there has not been a single battle in which the Imperialists have not been defeated.

“ The intention of the insurgents is to march against Peking ; and it is possible that now while I am writing, that city is in their power. In their official documents, the revolutionary chiefs protest that they have two objects in view : the expulsion of the Tartars, and the destruction of pagodas and bonzes, to replace them with temples and ministers of the true God. Nor have they confined themselves to mere promises. They have already razed all the pagodas on their passage, and have put to death a great number of bonzes and *bonzesses*.

“ These events make a deep impression here, and it is generally one of satisfaction ; for it is believed that the triumph of Tièn-tè would be that of the Christian influence also.

“ With you, sceptical nations as you are, revolutionary epochs are epochs of enthusiasm, of absolute faith, during which the imagination contemplates the marvellous : it is the same thing in China. At the present moment every one desires to penetrate the future. Magicians are consulted, cabalistic books are turned over, and prophecies are commented upon, that we may learn what destiny Heaven has in store for us. I must tell you an anecdote connected with this subject, which has

made a deep impression upon me, and with which I would have you acquainted in all its details.

“Yesterday, when we had received the news of the taking of Nankin, I took a walk in the Praya Manduco, meditating on this important event. I was on the sea shore, watching the motions of the waves, when I saw passing near me the physician Lo-se, whom you know. His countenance wore a melancholy expression, and he was so deeply absorbed in thought that he walked regardless of the shelter of his fan. I went up to him, and casting a glance at the long tail which hung majestically down his back, I said jestingly—

“ ‘That is an useless ornament, friend Lo-se; you must now cut off that elegant superfluity.’

“To my great surprise, the doctor exhibited no horror at my remark, which a little while ago would have shocked him terribly, but looked at me with an expression of resignation, and without uttering a word.

“ ‘What is the matter?’ said I.

“ ‘Nothing,’ was the laconic answer. Then, after a few moments’ silence, he added: ‘Could you spare me a few moments?’

“ ‘Certainly,’

“ ‘Then come home with me.’

“Without saying a word, we proceeded to his father’s store. On reaching the threshold of the

shop, Lo-se, like a well-educated Chinese, *tchin-tchina* (bowed his head) before the small idol placed to the left of the entrance, and we went up to the first floor. Here my conductor closely examined the apartment, and then closed the door. After these preliminaries, he stooped down at a small alcove, took an old dilapidated chest from under his bed, and drew out of it a book, yellow with age, and half eaten by worms.

“ ‘What is that?’ I asked, eagerly.

“ ‘This,’ he replied, in a solemn tone, ‘is the future.’

“ ‘The deuce!’ I exclaimed. ‘Did it cost you much?’

“ A serious Chinese is a rarity; but a mournful Chinese is a perfect phenomenon: judge then of my astonishment, when the doctor said to me in a dismal voice—

“ ‘It has cost me nothing yet; but it may cost me my life. Better would it have been, perhaps, if the white ants had devoured the relic. This book is the Book of Prognostics. It was composed by a soothsayer during the Mongol dynasty of the Yuèns. The penalty of death is attached to its ownership; for it contains, in an allegorical form, the future history of our country.’ Turning over a few leaves, Lo-se then added: ‘You see these three pages; they relate to the succession to the throne.’

“ I turned over the book,—which contained a few figures, not coloured, and possessing very little interest as works of art—even Chinese art,—and handed it back to Lo-se, without making any remark whatever.

“ ‘ Well,’ said he, ‘ what do you think of it ?’

“ ‘ I can say nothing about it,’ I replied, ‘ for I understand nothing.’

“ ‘ How is that ? It is very plain.’

“ ‘ Possibly ; but it will be plainer still when you have explained to me what these figures mean.’

“ ‘ Such an explanation would be almost high treason,’ cried Lo-se : ‘ no matter : begin with the first page, and tell me what you see.’

“ ‘ I see a very bad print, representing a cavalier riding under the gate of a city.’

“ ‘ Good ! Proceed.’

“ ‘ I see, on the second page, a junk filled with people.’

“ ‘ Right,—go on.’

“ ‘ I now see a very ugly bonze, placed on all fours, on a very lean buffalo.’

“ ‘ Right again ; do you understand now ?’

“ ‘ Indeed I do not,’ I exclaimed with impatience.

“ ‘ Well, then, listen to me,’ said the doctor, approaching me, and almost whispering into my ear. ‘ I have told you that these three pages relate to the

fall of dynasties, and the succession to the throne. The horseman passing under the gate represents the character *Tchèn*, which is composed of *men*, a door, and *ma*, a horse. Now *Tchèn* was the name of the first person who rose against the Mongols, and who was the cause that the Mings succeeded them. If the Mongols had read this book, and put to death every body named *Tchèn*, they would have been still on the throne.'

“‘But that would have been a violent measure,’ said I.

“‘Not a word,’ said Lo-se, angrily. ‘An old junk, filled with people, is called in China, *Mantcheou*, which is the name of the Tartars, who overthrew the Mings. As for the last allegory, it is as transparent as the waters of the Blue River in autumn.’

“‘Transparent though it be, I can see nothing but a bonze lying upon a buffalo.’

“‘Good; that is the name of those who will expel the Mantchous. The bonze represents the god *Fo*; the position on all-fours is called *lan*, and a buffalo is called *si*. Altogether that makes *Fo-lan-si*. The *Fo-lan-si* will expel the Tartars.’

“‘What! the *Erench*?’ I exclaimed, laughing.

“‘Yes—yes,’ replied Lo-se, ‘the *Fo-lan-si*; it is written thus.’

“Now, my friend, these are Chinese rebuses.

Communicate this prediction to your countrymen, it may stimulate them anew to the path of victory and conquest.

“Nay; my opinion, my friend, is that it is the spirit of Christianity which will overthrow Hièn-foung. This spirit has been chiefly diffused by the Fo-lan-si through China; and once again the oracle will prove right.”

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.*

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

Sir George Bonham's proceedings—Interview of Mr. Meadows with the insurgent chiefs at Nankin—Sir George Bonham's account—Religious ideas of the insurgents—"The Tri-metrical Classic"—Mr. Meadows' account of the insurgents and their chief—Capture of Amoy.

THE narrative of MM. Callery and Yvan ends, properly speaking, with the sixteenth chapter. The report mentioned in the seventeenth chapter, that the insurgents had been beaten out of Nankin, by the Imperial forces, proves fallacious, and thus the opinion of the French authors is confirmed.

The departure of Mr. Meadows, on the 9th of April, which MM. Callery and Yvan term, "one of the most interesting episodes of the insurrection,"

* The authorities for the facts in this "Supplementary Chapter" are the local journals, private commercial letters, and, above all, the Parliamentary "Papers respecting the Civil War in China," printed in August 1853.—J. O.

but the result of which was unknown at the time when they concluded their narrative, did not lead in the first instance to any important result. He reached Sou-Tcheou on the 10th, Tchang-Tcheou, on the Grand Canal, on the 13th, and Tan-Yang on the 14th; but when at the latter place, he found the canal so shallow, that he could proceed no further, and therefore returned to Chang-Hai (Shang-hae).

The foreign residents at Chang-Hai were much tranquillized by the arrival of her Majesty's steamship *Hermes*, on the 21st of March, with Sir George Bonham, the British Plenipotentiary, who visited the place to ascertain how far the accounts connected with the progress of the rebellion were to be relied upon, and to determine whether interference on the part of the English would be justifiable. This fact seems to have escaped the attention of MM. Callery and Yvan.

After a short stay at Chang-Hai, Sir George Bonham, acting on the information brought back by Mr. Meadows, proceeded, in company with that gentleman, up the Yang-Tze-Kiang in the *Hermes*. On the morning of the 26th of April, he arrived off Tchèn-Kiang-Fou, which was in the possession of the insurgents, and the forts and junks at anchor opened fire upon the steamer. The fire was not returned; but a note was despatched to the city, to the effect that the English maintained a neutral

position, and merely desired to obtain information. In the mean while two schooners directed by the Tao-tai, and some twenty-five *lorchas*, all under the Chinese flag, availed themselves of the presence of the *Hermes* to make an attack on Tchèn-Kiang; the fight was continued while the steamer proceeded to Nankin, which she reached on the following day.

At Nankin, the *Hermes* was again fired upon, and again a note was sent, which caused the firing to stop. Mr. Meadows, who went on shore, was taken to a public office, and there held a conversation for some time with two insurgent "princes," of which the following is his official report:—

"About an hour or two after the *Hermes* dropped anchor at Nankin on the 27th of April, 1853, I, in conformity with instructions, landed, accompanied by Lieutenant Spratt, and requested to be conducted to the highest authority to whom immediate access could be obtained. After about half an hour's walk, led by one or two volunteer guides, and surrounded by numbers of the insurgent troops, we were stopped in front of a house in the northern suburb. Our attendants here ranged themselves in two rows, forming an avenue of ten or fifteen yards in length from the door of the house to ourselves. Two persons clothed in yellow silk gowns and hoods then appeared at the threshold, and the soldiers

about called on me to kneel. This I refused to do, but advanced, and uncovering told the two persons that I had been sent by Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary to make inquiries and arrangements respecting a meeting between him and the chief authorities at Nankin. As they retreated into the house without giving any reply, while the summons to kneel was being continued and Mr. Spratt was called on by words and gestures to lay aside his sword, I, after recommending that gentleman to disregard the requisition, deemed it advisable to follow the chiefs without awaiting invitation. I accordingly entered the house, and, advancing to the spot where they had seated themselves on the only two chairs within sight, again informed them of the purpose for which I had come. Before I had well finished I heard scuffling and angry shouting at the door behind me, and the chiefs crying out, 'Ta!' 'Beat!' two or three of their armed followers commenced beating the man who had been most prominent in guiding us there. One of the chiefs, whom I subsequently ascertained to be known as the Northern Prince, then asked if I worshipped 'God the Heavenly Father?' I replied that the English had done so for 800 or 900 years. On this he exchanged a glance of consultation with his companion (the Assistant Prince), and then ordered seats to be brought. After I and my companion

had seated ourselves, a conversation of considerable length ensued between myself and the Northern Prince, the first in rank of the two; the other, the Assistant Prince, listening and observing attentively, but saying nothing to me directly, and only making a short remark when looked to or addressed by his superordinate. The conversation on my part was turned chiefly on the number and relative rank of the insurgent chiefs, and on the circumstances under which they would be prepared to meet Sir George Bonham; but I also explained, as authorized, the simple object of his visit, viz., to notify the desire of the British Government to remain perfectly neutral in the struggle between them and the Mantchous, and to learn their feelings towards us, and their intentions in the event of their forces advancing on Shanghai. I explained to him that we had no concern with the square-rigged vessels, lorchas, and other craft, that had followed the *Hermes* into Chin-Keang; also that the proclamations of the Mantchou officials, stating that they had engaged the services of a number of foreign steamers, were false, in so far as British vessels were included; and that though we could not prevent the sale of English craft, private property, more than the sale of manufactures generally, such craft, after sale, were not entitled to the use of the national colours.

“To all this the Northern Prince listened, but made little or no rejoinder; the conversation, in so far as directed by him, consisting mainly of inquiries as to our religious beliefs, and expositions of their own. He stated that as children and worshippers of one God we were all brethren; and after receiving my assurance that such had long been our view also, inquired if I knew the ‘Heavenly Rules’ (Teen tean). I replied that I was most likely acquainted with them, though unable to recognise them under that name, and, after a moment’s thought, asked if they were ten in number. He answered eagerly in the affirmative. I then began repeating the substance of the first of the Ten Commandments, but had not proceeded far before he laid his hand on my shoulder in a friendly way, and exclaimed, ‘The same as ourselves! the same as ourselves!’ while the simply observant expression on the face of his companion disappeared before one of satisfaction, as the two exchanged glances. He then stated, with reference to my previous inquiry as to their feelings and intentions towards the British, that not merely might peace exist between us, but that we might be intimate friends. He added, we might now, at Nankin, land and walk about where we pleased. He spoke repeatedly of a foreigner at Canton, whom he named Lo Ho Sun, as being a ‘good man.’ He described this person as one who cured the sick

without remuneration, and as having been recently home for a short period (Dr. Hobson, medical missionary?) He recurred again and again, with an appearance of much gratitude, to the circumstance that he and his companions in arms had enjoyed the special protection and aid of God, without which they could never have been able to do what they had done against superior numbers and resources; and alluding to our declaration of neutrality and non-assistance to the Mantchous, said, with a quiet air of thorough conviction, 'It would be wrong for you to help them; and, what is more, it would be of no use. Our Heavenly Father helps us, and no one can fight with Him.'

"With respect to the proposed meeting, he pointed to one of his officers standing near, and said the latter would come on the following day to guide any who might choose to come to an interview. I replied that such an arrangement might do very well for myself and others, but that Sir George Bonham was an officer of high rank in her Britannic Majesty's service, and could certainly not proceed to any meeting unless it were previously settled where, by whom, and how he was to be received. 'However high his rank may be,' was the reply, 'he cannot be so high as the persons in whose presence you are now sitting.' And I could obtain nothing more definite than that the reception would take

place in a 'yamun' in the city, and that we should have no cause to take objections to the station of the personages met. I said I should make my report to his Excellency accordingly, but could not answer for his landing. In reply to my inquiries respecting the Taeping Wang, the Prince of Peace, the Northern Prince explained in writing that he was the 'True Lord' or Sovereign; that 'the Lord of China is the Lord of the whole world; he is the second Son of God, and all people in the whole world must obey and follow him.' As I read this without remark, he said, looking at me interrogatively, 'The true Lord is not merely the Lord of China; he is not only our Lord, he is your Lord also.' As I still made no remark, but merely kept looking at him, he did not think fit to insist on an answer, and, after a while, turned his head, and began talking of other matters. His conversation gave great reason to conclude, that though his religious beliefs were derived from the writings, or it might even be the teachings of foreigners, still he was quite ignorant of the relative positions of foreign countries, and had probably got most of his notions of international dealings from the Chinese records of periods when the territory of the present empire was divided into several states."

Having informed the Princes in writing that any injury to the British property at Chang-Hai would

be resented, Sir George Bonham left Nankin. As the *Hermes* passed Tchèn-Kiang-Fou, she was again fired upon by the insurgents in that city, and, on this occasion, she returned the fire. An apology now arrived from the chiefs, who attributed the fire to a mistake on the part of the officer in charge of the batteries, and the *Hermes* returned to Chang-Hai in safety.

Sir George Bonham's account of the insurgents at Nankin is as follows:—

“I found the insurgents had established a kind of government at Nankin, consisting, in the first place, of Taeping, the Sovereign Ruler, who is supposed by the believers of the new sect (if such do really exist) to hold the position or rank, either spiritually or in a corporeal sense, of younger brother of Our Saviour. There was little attempt at mystery as to Taeping's origin on the part of the insurgents,—it was admitted by several parties that he was a literary graduate of the Canton province, who, being disappointed in his literary honours, took to what the Chinese are in the habit of calling ‘strange doctrine,’ that is, he studied the missionary tracts, copies of which were procured, there can be little doubt, from the late Dr. Gutzlaff's Union. Taeping and his small nucleus of adherents then embarked in this insurrection, and, after three years' perseverance and gene-

ral success, they ended by capturing Nankin and Chin-Keang, where we found them in full force. Under this Sovereign Ruler are the five Princes above alluded to, first and second ministers, and a host of so-called mandarins—most of whom are Cantonese. I should not estimate their force of real fighting men at less than 25,000; though I believe that of the original number who started from Kouang-Si, not more than 7,000 are now with Taeping.”

On the whole, the result of Sir George Bonham's expedition is confirmatory of MM. Callery and Yvan's opinion, that the insurgents are in reality favourably disposed towards the Europeans; and that all reports to the contrary have been devised by interested mandarins. A difficulty, however, lies in the notion that the chief of China is chief of all the rest of the world; and that this notion is not lightly entertained by the insurgents is evident from the following document, sent by them to Sir George Bonham, during his stay off Nankin:—

“ We, Prince of the East, Yang, the Honae teacher, and the Master who rescues from calamity (an ecclesiastical title), Principal Minister of State, and Generalissimo; and

“ Prince of the West, Seaou, Assistant Minister of State, and also Generalissimo, both subjects of the Celestial dynasty, now under the sway of Taeping, truly commissioned by Heaven to rule,

hereby issue a decree to the distant English, who have long recognised the duty of worshipping Heaven (God), and who have recently come into the views of our royal master, especially enjoining upon them to set their minds at rest, and harbour no unworthy suspicions.

“ The Heavenly Father, the Supreme Lord, the Great God, in the beginning created heaven and earth, land and sea, men and things, in six days; from that time to this the whole world has been one family, and all within the four seas brethren; how can there exist, then, any difference between man and man; or how any distinction between principal and secondary birth? But from the time that the human race has been influenced by the demoniacal agency which has entered into the heart of man, they have ceased to acknowledge the great benevolence of God the Heavenly Father in giving and sustaining life, and ceased to appreciate the infinite merit of the expiatory sacrifice made by Jesus, our Celestial Elder Brother, and have, with lumps of clay, wood, and stone, practised perversity in the world. Hence it is that the Tartar hordes and Elfin Huns so fraudulently robbed us of our Celestial territory (China). But, happily, Our Heavenly Father and Celestial Elder Brother have from an early date displayed their miraculous power amongst you English, and you have long acknow-

ledged the duty of worshipping God the Heavenly Father and Jesus our Celestial Brother, so that the truth has been preserved entire, and the Gospel maintained. Happily, too, the Celestial Father, the Supreme Lord and Great God, has now of His infinite mercy sent a heavenly messenger to convey our royal master, the Heavenly King, up into heaven, and has personally endowed him with power to sweep away from the thirty-three heavens demoniacal influences of every kind, and expel them thence into this lower world. And, beyond all, happy is it that the Heavenly Father and Great God displayed His infinite mercy and compassion in coming down into this our world in the third month of the year Mowshin (1848), and that Jesus, our Celestial Elder Brother, the Saviour of the world, likewise manifested equal favour and grace in descending to earth during the ninth month of the same year; where, for these six years past, they have marvellously guided the affairs of men, mightily exhibited their wondrous power, and put forth innumerable miraculous proofs, exterminating a vast number of imps and demons, and aiding our Celestial Sovereign in assuming the control of the whole empire.

“ But now that you distant English ‘ have not deemed myriads of miles too far to come,’ and acknowledge our sovereignty, not only are the

soldiers and officers of our Celestial dynasty delighted and gratified thereby, but even in high heaven itself our Celestial Father and Elder Brother will also admire this manifestation of your fidelity and truth. We therefore issue this special decree, permitting you, the English chief, to lead your brethren out or in, backwards or forwards, in full accordance with your own will or wish, whether to aid us in exterminating our impish foes, or to carry on your commercial operations as usual; and it is our earnest hope that you will, with us, earn the merit of diligently serving our royal master, and, with us, recompense the goodness of the Father of Spirits.

“ Wherefore we promulgate this new decree of (our Sovereign) Taeping for the information of you English, so that all the human race may learn to worship our Heavenly Father and Celestial Elder Brother, and that all may know that, wherever our royal master is, there men unite in congratulating him on having obtained the decree to rule.

“ A special decree, for the information of all men, given (under our seals) this 26th day of the 3rd month of the year Kweihaou (1st May 1853), under the reign of the Celestial dynasty of Taeping.

“ *Note.*—The authority from which this document emanates has established a new calendar, making the year to consist of 366 days, divided into twelve

months of thirty and thirty-one days. Their present year commenced on the 4th February 1853, their second month on the 7th March, and their third month on the 6th April."

It is needless to state that this claim to supremacy on the part of the Chinese is rejected in the most express terms by Sir George Bonham.

From the information obtained by means of this expedition, it will be found that the narrative of MM. Callery and Yvan requires correction in a few particulars.

In the first place they treat the religious production which they give in Chapter XIV. as a spurious piece of "Methodism." Now it turns out that this proclamation is a shorter version of a religious pamphlet, entitled (from the circumstance that each line contains three words) the "Trimetrical Classic," which was one of a set of twelve pamphlets obtained by Sir George Bonham, and given by him to the Rev. Dr. Medhurst for supervision and translation. About the authenticity of this "classic," there seems to be no doubt whatever, and its "Methodism," or, as we should say, its puritanical tone, is even more decided than that of the shorter version published in the French book. The pamphlet is sufficiently important, and sufficiently different from the shorter proclamation, to be given here entire.

The great God
Made heaven and earth ;
Both land and sea
And all things therein.
In six days,
He made the whole :
Man, the lord of all,
Was endowed with glory and honour.
Every seventh day worship,
In acknowledgment of Heaven's favour :
Let all under heaven
Keep their hearts in reverence.
It is said that in former times,
A foreign nation was commanded,
To honour God ;
The nation's name was Israel.
Their twelve tribes
Removed into Egypt ;
Where God favoured them,
And their posterity increased.
Then a king arose,
Into whose heart the devil entered ;
He envied their prosperity,
And inflicted pain and misery.
Ordering the daughters to be preserved,
But not allowing the sons to live ;
Their bondage was severe,
And very difficult to bear.
The great God
Viewed them with pity,
And commanded Moses
To return to his family.
He commanded Aaron

To go and meet Moses :
 When both addressed the King,
 And wrought divers miracles.
 The King hardened his heart,
 And would not let them go ;
 Wherefore God was angry,
 And sent lice and locusts.
 He also sent flies,
 Together with frogs,
 Which entered their palaces,
 And crept into their ovens.
 When the King still refused,
 The river was turned to blood ;
 And the water became bitter
 Throughout all Egypt.
 God sent boils and blains,
 With pestilence and murrain ;
 He also sent hail,
 Which was very grievous.
 The King still refusing,
 He slew their first born ;
 When the king of Egypt
 Had no resource ;
 But let them go
 Out of his land.
 The great God
 Upheld and sustained them,
 By day in a cloud,
 By night in a pillar of fire.
 The great God
 Himself saved them.
 The King hardened his heart,
 And led his armies in pursuit :

But God was angry
And displayed his majesty.
Arrived at the Red Sea,
The waters were spread abroad :
The people of Israel
Were very much afraid.
The pursuers overtook them,
But God stayed their course ;
He himself fought for them,
And the people had no trouble.
He caused the Red Sea
With its waters to divide ;
To stand up as a wall,
That they might pass between.
The people of Israel
Marched with a steady step,
As though on dry ground,
And thus saved their lives.
The pursuers attempted to cross,
Their wheels were taken off ;
When the waters closed upon them,
And they were all drowned. .
The great God
Displayed his power,
And the people of Israel
Were all preserved.
When they came to the desert,
They had nothing to eat,
But the great God
Bade them not be afraid.
He sent down manna,
For each man a pint ;
It was as sweet as houeiy,

And satisfied their appetites.
 The people lusted much,
 And wished to eat flesh,
 When quails were sent,
 By the million of bushels.
 At the mount Sinai,
 Miracles were displayed ;
 And Moses was commanded
 To make tables of stone.
 The great God
 Gave his celestial commands,
 Amounting to ten precepts,
 The breach of which would not be forgiven.
 He himself wrote them,
 And gave them to Moses ;
 The celestial law
 Cannot be altered.
 In after ages,
 It was sometimes disobeyed,
 Through the devil's temptations,
 When men fell into misery.
 But the great God,
 Out of pity to mankind,
 Sent his first born son
 To come down into the world.
 His name is Jesus,
 The Lord and Saviour of men,
 Who redeems them from sin,
 By the endurance of extreme misery.
 Upon the cross,
 They nailed his body ;
 Where he shed his precious blood,
 To save all mankind.

Three days after his death
He rose from the dead :
And during forty days
He discoursed on heavenly things.
When he was about to ascend,
He commanded his disciples
To communicate his Gospel,
And proclaim his revealed will.
Those who believe will be saved,
And ascend up to heaven ;
But those who do not believe,
Will be the first to be condemned.
Throughout the whole world
There is only one God (Shang-te) ;
The great Lord and Ruler,
Without a second.
The Chinese in early ages
Were regarded by God ;
Together with foreign states,
They walked in one way.
From the time of Pwan-koo
Down to the three dynasties
They honoured God,
As history records.
T'hang of the Shang dynasty
And Wan of the Chow
Honoured God
With the intentest feeling.
The inscription on T'hang's bathing-tub
Inculcated daily renovation of mind ;
And God commanded him
To assume the government of the empire.
Wan was very respectful,

And intelligently served God ;
 So that the people who submitted to him
 Were two out of every three.
 When Tsin obtained the empire,
 He was infatuated with the genii,
 And the nation has been deluded by the devil,
 For the last two thousand years.
 Seuen and Woo, of the Han dynasty,
 Both followed this example ;
 So that the mad rebellion increased,
 In imitation of Tsin's misrule.
 When Woo arrived at old age
 He repented of his folly,
 And lamented that from his youth up,
 He had always followed the wrong road.
 Ming, of the Han dynasty,
 Welcomed the institutions of Buddha,
 And set up temples and monasteries,
 To the great injury of the country.
 But Hwuy, of the Sung dynasty,
 Was still more mad and infatuated,
 For he changed the name of Shang-te (God)
 Into that of Yuh-hwang (the pearly emperor),
 But the great God
 Is the supreme Lord
 Over all the world,
 The great Father in heaven.
 His name is most honourable,
 To be handed down through distant ages :
 Who was this Hwuy,
 That he dared to alter it ?
 It was meet that this same Hwuy
 Should be taken by the Tartars ;

And together with his son
Perish in the northern desert.
From Hwuy, of the Sung dynasty,
Up to the present day,
For these seven hundred years,
Men have sunk deeper and deeper in error.
With the doctrine of God
They have not been acquainted ;
While the King of Hades
Has deluded them to the utmost.
The great God displays
Liberality deep as the sea ;
But the devil has injured man
In a most outrageous manner.
God is therefore displeased,
And has sent his Son
With orders to come down into the world,
Having first studied the classics.
In the Ting-yew year (1837)
He was received up into heaven,
Where the affairs of heaven
Were clearly pointed out to him.
The great God
Personally instructed him,
Gave him codes and documents,
And communicated to him the true doctrine.
God also gave him a seal,
And conferred upon him a sword,
Connected with authority,
And majesty irresistible.
He bade him, together with his elder brother,
Namely Jesus,
To drive away impish fiends,

With the co-operation of angels:
 There was one who looked on with envy,
 Namely, the king of Hades ;
 Who displayed much malignity,
 And acted like a devilish serpent.
 But the great God,
 With a high hand,
 Instructed his Son
 To subdue this fiend ;
 And having conquered him,
 To show him no favour.
 And in spite of his envious eye,
 He damped all his courage.
 Having overcome the fiend,
 He returned to heaven,
 Where the great God
 Gave him great authority.
 The celestial mother was kind,
 And exceedingly gracious,
 Beautiful and noble in the extreme,
 Far beyond all compare.
 The celestial elder brother's wife
 Was virtuous, and very considerate,
 Constantly exhorting the elder brother,
 To do things deliberately.
 The great God,
 Out of love to mankind,
 Again commissioned his Son
 To come down into the world ;
 And when he sent him down,
 He charged him not to be afraid.
 I am with you, said he,
 To superintend every thing

In the Mow-shin year (1848).
The Son was troubled and distressed,
When the great God
Appeared on his behalf.
Bringing Jesus with him,
They both came down into the world ;
Where he instructed his Son
How to sustain the weight of government.
God has set up his Son
To endure for ever,
To defeat corrupt machinations,
And to display majesty and authority.
Also to judge the world,
To divide the righteous from the wicked ;
And consign them to the misery of hell,
Or bestow on them the joys of heaven.
Heaven manages every thing,
Heaven sustains the whole :
Let all beneath the sky
Come and acknowledge the new monarch.
Little children,
Worship God,
Keep his commandments,
And do not disobey.
Let your minds be refined,
And be not depraved ;
The great God
Constantly surveys you.
You must refine yourselves well,
And not be depraved.
Vice willingly practised
Is the first step to misery.
To ensure a good end,

You must make a good beginning ;
 An error of a hair's breadth
 May lead to a discrepancy of 1,000 le.
 Be careful about little things,
 And watch the minute springs of action ;
 The great God
 Is not to be deceived.
 Little children,
 Arouse your energies,
 The laws of high Heaven
 Admit not of infraction.
 Upon the good blessings descend,
 And miseries on the wicked ;
 Those who obey Heaven are preserved,
 And those who disobey perish.
 The great God
 Is a spiritual Father ;
 All things whatever
 Depend on him.
 The great God
 Is the Father of our spirits ;
 Those who devoutly serve him
 Will obtain blessings.
 Those who obey the fathers of their flesh
 Will enjoy longevity ;
 Those who requite their parents
 Will certainly obtain happiness.
 Do not practise lewdness,
 Nor any uncleanness ;
 Do not tell lies ;
 Do not kill and slay ;
 Do not steal ;
 Do not covet ;

The great God
Will strictly carry out his laws.
Those who obey Heaven's commands
Will enjoy celestial happiness ;
Those who are grateful for divine favours
Will receive divine support.
Heaven blesses the good,
And curses the bad ;
Little children,
Maintain correct conduct.
The correct are men,
The corrupt are imps.
Little children,
Seek to avoid disgrace.
God loves the upright,
And he hates the vicious ;
Little children,
Be careful to avoid error.
The great God
Sees every thing.
If you wish to enjoy happiness,
Refine and correct yourselves.

The above document gives no reason to suppose that the insurgents are otherwise than orthodox Confucians, with a superstructure of spurious Christianity. While Buddhism is stigmatized, not a word is uttered against the ancient Chinese philosopher; and the Emperor Tsin, from whom the reign of diabolical delusions is dated, is the same Emperor who is infamous in Chinese tradition for

his attempted destruction of the works of Confucius. The supposition that the insurgents are still Confucians reconciles the "Trimetrical Classic," with the production contained in MM. Callery and Yvan's fourteenth chapter, in which the neglect of those who have studied Confucius and Mencius is cited as one of the grievances suffered under Tartar rule, and illustrations are borrowed from one of the "five classical books."*

We may also surmise from the information now before us, that MM. Callery and Yvan have been led to ascribe too much importance to the power of Tièn-tè. Not only does it seem to be ascertained that Tièn-tè died some time ago, but also that the present chief, the "King Pacificator," is the Chinese "Messiah," mentioned in the "Trimetrical Classic." Now, if we refer to the confession of Tièn-tè at the time of his supposed execution, which is contained in Chapter X., we find that Houng-siu-tsiuen, afterwards called Tai-ping (King Pacificator) is mentioned

* A remark of Sir J. T. Davis may be aptly cited here:—
 "Whatever the other opinions or faith of a Chinese may be, he takes good care to treat Confucius with respect. . . .
 As Confucianism is rather a philosophy than a religion, it can scarcely be said to come into direct collision with religious persuasions. The Catholics got on very well until they meddled with the civil and social institutions of China."—*The Chinese*, ii. 45.

as the leading intellect of the enterprise, and even as an object of jealousy to Tièn-tè. This document is treated by MM. Callery and Yvan as a forgery, but at all events the forger seems to have been well acquainted with the relative position of the rebel chiefs, so completely does the "confession" harmonize with the importance given to Tai-ping in the "Trimetrical Classic."

At the same time it must be admitted that a new difficulty arises; from the following details communicated by Mr. Meadows, in a letter to Mr. Alcock, consul at Chang-Hai, but for the authenticity of which he does not vouch:—

"The person of whom we hear as claiming the Imperial throne under the title of Tièn-tè, died some time back. His surname was Choo, that of the Mings, the last Chinese dynasty, of whom he declared himself a descendant. His son, a youth of two or three-and-twenty, is now the acknowledged head of the insurrectionary movement, claiming the throne under the title of Taeping. He is assisted by a number of able counsellors, chiefly literary gentry, who found their legitimate path to distinction barred by the mal-administration of the Mantchous, and also ex-mandarins who had conceived themselves unfairly deprived of their rank. Among the latter is an ex-prefect of Chang-chow, a department in the north of this province, who had been

degraded and banished to Kouang-Si. The insurgent army is divided into five grand corps, each distinguished by an uniform of a different colour (said to be blue, green, red, black, and white). The head-dress in all cases is that of the Ming dynasty, *i. e.*, the hair is allowed to grow to the length of two or three inches over the whole head, but no queue or tail retained at the back. The men receive a fixed pay, said not to be very high, but to be issued with a punctuality quite unknown in the Mantchou armies. A strict discipline is maintained, and all informants concur as to the circumstance that officers rigidly carry out in battle the military rule of cutting down all who fly, or who hesitate to advance to the attack. In two or three cities where the inhabitants turned out to resist their entrance, they put every living being to the sword, man, woman, and child; but in other cases, where deputations of elders have waited on the leaders to render submission, the troops have not been allowed to enter. It is said that great numbers of the landed proprietors have made submission as the insurgent army has advanced northward, by getting their title-deeds re-indorsed to them in the name of the new dynasty, on payment of a fee to the civil branch of the administration."

This statement of the youth of Tai-ping, and that he is the son of Tien-tè, seems not only at

variance with his supremacy in the "Trimetrical Classic," but also with the description of him by MM. Callery and Yvan, who, in Chapter XIV., describe him as a man of forty, considerably older than Tièn-tè.

However, as we have said, this sonship of Tai-ping is one of the facts for which Mr. Meadows *does not vouch*. If we set it aside, the fair inference would be that Tai-ping was the prime mover of the enterprise throughout, and Tièn-tè was a kind of *roi fainéant* in the hands of a despotic "mayor of the palace."

In their opinion of the magnitude and importance of the rebellion, MM. Callery and Yvan have proved themselves admirably correct; and it should be borne in mind, that they formed that opinion when the progress of the insurgents had but just commenced, and when every effort was made to suppress the truth. The insurgents, or, as the Anglo-Chinese papers now call them, the "patriots," have not only retained possession of Nankin, but on the 18th of May, captured Amoy, one of the five ports opened to foreigners, under the Treaty of Nankin. This, which was their first operation under the eyes of Europeans, is thus described in a letter from an eminent commercial firm at Amoy, dated the 19th of May:—

"On the 14th instant the authorities notified the

English Consul of the near approach of some 3,500 rebels, who on that day, it became known, had invested Hai-Teng, a walled town, about twelve miles up the Chang-Chow river, and beheaded the chief mandarin of the place. Various rumours as to the direction which the rebels would take went about, and it appeared most probable that they would go to Chang-Chow, and not come here at once, where they might fear the opposition of foreign vessels. On the 15th, the opium store-ships were, at the request of the English Consul, moved into the inner harbour, to be in readiness to protect more effectually the residents, some of whom sent their valuables on board; yet many were loath to believe that the rebels would come, while some even doubted the existence of any organized rebel force in this neighbourhood, supposing the men spoken of to be bands of thieves, of whom large numbers are always on the river. On the evening of the 17th it was suddenly reported that during the night 2,000 to 3,000 rebels would arrive; the shops were all closed earlier than usual, and the Hai-kwan and Hai-fung, it was afterwards found out, with their dependents, left their offices.

“That such a force could be conveyed down the river so expeditiously appeared incredible, and few, if any, believed the landing would take place; and at the same time it was said the Taow-kai, who has

been at Chin-Chow for some weeks, would arrive during the night with 1,000 men, and that if he reached first, the entry of the rebels into the city would be frustrated; and probably, as the Taow-kai is very popular with the natives, a compromise would have been come to. Much anxiety prevailed all night; every one in the town seemed to be awake. Till half past four A. M. of the 18th all remained quiet, but about that time large numbers of boats of all descriptions and sizes, bearing red flags and filled with men, were descried approaching each extremity of the town. The Chinese Admiral got his fleet under weigh, and kept up an ineffective fire on the boats; but, whether owing to the want of wind or inclination, the junks kept a good distance off, so the landing of the rebels was almost unopposed. The first boats could scarcely have reached the shore when it became evident that nearly all the wharf coolies, boatmen, policemen, and labourers of Amoy belonged to the rebel army, and only waited the arrival of the leader to appear as such. The public offices in the suburbs were immediately broken open and sacked—one or two of them were burned; but this dangerous way of destroying them was not, we are happy to say, employed, save in the outskirts. The destruction of the Custom-house, from its proximity to the foreign hong, was a scene of interest to the inhabitants of the latter; and the

systematic manner in which the Custom-house and the residence of its shroffs were sacked, without the slightest injury being offered to any of the neighbouring houses, attracted much notice; the work being performed by men apparently of the lowest order, armed with knives, spears, and matchlocks, and whose appearance would justify the belief that they were an infuriated mob let loose for the purpose of destroying the town; yet, they carefully avoided any injury to private houses, showing that some most efficient system of control is kept up by the society. The Taow-tae did not arrive, and though the city continued to hold out, the natives never seemed to doubt its submission to the rebels; it appears, besides, many members of the society were introduced previously into the city; the garrison had nearly all joined the society, and only waited a favourable occasion to open the gates and admit the rebel force. A slack desultory fire was kept up till about noon, when it became quiet. Probably, fatigue and hunger dictated the propriety of a short truce. An hour or two later the garrison opened the gates and allowed the rebels to enter unmolested, joining with them, so that the mandarins were quite helpless; but no desire to capture them seems to have existed; for, while the four gates were thrown open, only by three did the rebels enter, the fourth being left purposely to facilitate the escape of

any who wished—a privilege they all availed themselves of. About this time the Admiral, with most of his junks, retreated round the island to sea, and has not since returned. Several of the junks he left behind have been burned. The rebels from the main land continued to pour in in large numbers, while thousands of the inhabitants joined their band, all armed, and every party carrying a flag. Shortly after it was known that the rebels were in possession of the citadel, a party of foreigners proceeded thither to see how matters were being conducted. After being admitted into the city, they were allowed to visit the different public buildings without the slightest molestation; and while in the city, the chief of the rebel force promised them to send a guard to protect the foreign hong's against plunder, which it was feared they would be much exposed to at night. The streets, both inside and outside the walls, are literally crowded with rebels, but no sign whatever appears of injury to a single private house. A large body of rebels patrolled the streets last night, and to-day everything appears quiet; most of the shops in this neighbourhood are open, and confidence appears returning among the natives, while the foreigners are at a loss to account for the quiet and orderly manner in which the rebels conduct themselves."

An opinion seems to be entertained that the rebels

of Amoy have nothing whatever to do with the victors of Nankin, but are a distinct body of malcontents, who, stimulated by private motives, have got up a minor insurrection of their own. Where events are so very recent, and where so much obscurity prevails, it is impossible to determine how far such an opinion may be correct. But we remind our readers of the theory advanced by MM. Callery and Yvan that the insurrection in the provinces to the immediate east of the Kouang-Si, was not a mere progress of one body of insurgents, but a manifestation of the insurgent spirit in a fresh place. Although the captors of Amoy may not be the same persons as the victors of Nankin, and although considerable disagreement arose among them, in the first instance, respecting the election of a governor, it by no means follows, that they do not represent that general hatred of the Tartar dynasty, which seems likely to unite the most various populations under one head.

The reports of disagreement among the rebel conquerors of Amoy, which seem to have been greatly exaggerated, inspired the imperialist admiral with hopes of recovering the town.

On the 29th of May, according to *The Times'* correspondent, he appeared in the harbour with a fleet of nineteen or (according to some accounts) thirty junks, and immediately landed 1,000 men, who marched towards the citadel for two miles, when

the rebels, making a sudden sally, drove them back to their boats, killing twenty or thirty, and making from twenty-five to fifty prisoners. Next day the prisoners were formally tried by the rebels, who placed chairs for all who liked to attend. All the Tartars taken were at once beheaded, the insurgents avowing their intention of destroying the whole race; but the Chinese, who were regarded as pressed men, were for the most part acquitted.

In the mean while the arrival, on the 24th of May, of H. M. Steamers *Rattler* and *Hermes*, restored confidence to the foreigners; and the departure of the unsuccessful candidate for the governorship terminated the dissensions among the rebels.

POSTSCRIPT.

Account of the taking of Nankin—Exhausted state of the Imperial Treasury—Attempts to recover Amoy, by the Imperial forces—Occupation of Shanghai by the Insurgents.

AT the same time that intelligence was received in London of the capture of Amoy, the particulars arrived of the manner in which Nankin was taken. With these particulars MM. Callery and Yvan were unacquainted, although aware of the general result of the attack. The description of the *Times* correspondent may therefore be opportunely introduced here, and may furnish matter for reflection to those who fancy that the Chinese insurgents are animated by the spirit of the Gospel.

“On the 8th of March, the rebels appeared before Nankin, and on the 19th sprung a mine under the wall near the northern angle, which effected a breach of about twenty or thirty yards in extent. They immediately stormed by this, meeting with only a slight resistance from some Shan-tung and Kwei-chow (Chinese) troops who attempted to defend it, and pro-

ceeding to the southern quarter, entered the inner city there situated, which in the time of the Mings was, and now is again, called the Imperial City, but which under the Ta-tsing dynasty has been occupied by the hereditary garrison of Tartar bannermen and their families.

“The strength of the paid portion of this force is stated in the ‘Imperial army regulations’ at 5,106 men; but it is known that, including volunteers or expectants belonging to the families of the bannermen, the number of able-bodied men was fully 7,000 or 8,000; and that the total number, of all ages and both sexes, could not have been less than from 20,000 to 30,000. It was expected that these Mantchoos would fight desperately in self-defence. They were well armed and trained, and they well knew that ‘the Heavenly Prince’ had openly declared that the first duty of his mission was the utter extermination not only of themselves, but also of their women and children; yet they did not strike a single blow in self-defence—they threw themselves on their faces, and, imploring mercy in the most abject terms, submitted to be butchered like so many sheep. Only 100 escaped out of a population of more than 20,000; the rest, men, women, and children, were put to the sword.

“On the 31st of March, early in the morning, the insurgent fleet of river-craft sent down from Nankin approached Chin-kiang. Only the Macao lorchas

despatched up the river by the Shanghai intendant attempted resistance, the rest of the Imperial fleet flying in dismay at the sight of the enormous number of vessels moving against them. The lorchas were also soon forced to retreat, and were pursued as far as Silver Island. From this the insurgents returned to Chin-kiang, which they occupied unresisted, the garrison, among them 400 northern Mantchoos, having fled without firing a shot. The families of the resident Tartars, warned by the fate of their compatriots at Nankin, all evacuated the place to the number of 20,000; only a few hundreds were caught, and slain in the surrounding villages. On the following day, the 1st of April, the insurgents occupied Kwa-chow, and the large city of Yang-chow on the northern bank of the Yang-tse, in like manner, without resistance. A long battery of three miles of guns that lined the river bank fell into their hands. Not one had been discharged against them."

The desperate condition of the Imperial treasury, in the midst of internal commotion, is thus described in a number of the *North China Herald*, published about the time when the capture of Amoy took place:—

"The exhausted state of the Imperialist military chest is fully confirmed by the edicts and memorials of the *Pekin Gazettes*, and by private letters from Pekin. A memorial of one of the boards states that upwards of 20,000,000 of taëls of silver have been

expended in these military operations ; and we know that before they commenced, the State funds had not recovered from the drain caused by the English indemnity. The Central Government has now been compelled to pay in notes, which, as they represent nothing but the emptiness of the Imperial Treasury, have no value in the market. In consequence of their issue, about 100 of the private banking establishments, whose notes (for sums as low as 100 cash) form the circulating medium in Peking, closed in a single day, causing immediate embarrassment and distress among the lower classes, whose position had already become straitened from the high price of grain.

“ The extreme pressure for money at Peking, appears, from the *Gazettes*, to be driving the Government to perfectly suicidal measures. The properties of the former minister, Sae-shang-ah, and of the Imperial Commissioner Seu-kwang-tsin, have been confiscated—their sons, mandarins in Peking, having been previously degraded and thrown into prison to prevent their abstracting any portion. As both of these officers had been brought prisoners to Peking, and the former had been already tried and condemned to death for inefficiency, these proceedings had in them nothing unusual. But the same fate has befallen the property and family of Luh-keen-ying, who fell at his post in Nankin. The death of an officer at his post, by the hands of the enemy, has hitherto been

held to obliterate all faults. The rule has been to confer posthumous honours on the deceased, and rewards on his family. *Now* unsuccessful devotion has been visited in the same manner as early and flagrant dereliction of duty. Besides the above transaction, heavy loans have been exacted from some wealthy families, those of Muh-chang-ah, Keying, and other former ministers, amounting to a partial confiscation of their property."

Amoy, ever since its occupation by the insurgents, has been the scene of a constant struggle. The whole naval force of the Imperialists seems to have been concentrated around it, but notwithstanding its superiority in point of numbers, the place has not been recovered. On the 23rd of October, the latest date received from Amoy, the conflict between the two parties still continued.

One of the engagements, which took place during this struggle, is thus described by a letter in *The Times*, dated August 30:—

"At daylight of the 25th, a fleet, consisting of twenty Canton and fourteen Amoy junks, appeared. Shortly after noon they arrived off the 200-gun-battery, and till evening an ineffective cannonade was kept up between them and the rebel batteries at Emung-hang and Ko-lan-soo, after which the Mandarins retired a few miles and anchored for the night. The same afternoon another fleet, consisting of forty or fifty junks and large boats, came round the west

side of the island, where the passage is very narrow, and destroyed several villages on the main land, known as rebel villages, and among them that of Boon-Coon, the second chief, whose relations, it is said, were all captured.

“On the 26th, with the exception of some firing by the junks on the western side, matters remained quiet till the afternoon, the rebels in the town evincing little or no concern at the near approach of their enemies. It seemed very generally believed by the rebels, that the Canton junks were manned by members of the Tien-ti society, and that they would not fire in earnest against them. This belief was assiduously spread by the rebel chiefs, and while the statement was probably made without any definite information on the point, with the view of inspiring the rebel soldiers with confidence, it was tolerably evident that some of the Canton junks fired too wide of the mark to intend any damage. About 3 P.M. the fleet, which was at anchor off the 200-gun battery, and which had been augmented during the night, came round the south side of Ko-lan-soo, exchanging shots with the batteries on that island and the main. It was supposed they would have come into the inner harbour and engaged the rebel junks, which all got under weigh; but, after a good deal of firing between the two fleets, the Mandarins anchored near to the foreign shipping, about a mile from the town, and close to where their fleet, which

came round the west side, had arrived. The rebels again took up their anchorage in front of the foreign hong.

“ During the 27th, nothing was done, save the approach, to within four or five miles of the city, of the troops, estimated at 5,000 or 6,000, whose landing at the back of the island, had been effected during the previous two days.

“ On the morning of the 28th, some fighting took place near the Mandarin encampment, in which the rebels were said to have been driven off. In the afternoon, the Mandarin fleet weighed, and stood in to the upper end of the harbour, which it was again supposed they would enter and occupy, but their object appeared to have been the destruction of the west end of the suburbs, where the rebels had two batteries. Between these and the junks, a heavy and constant fire was kept up for about two hours, but, as usual, without any damage of consequence to the combatants. A great many of the shot from the Canton junks on this occasion, as well as on the 26th, appeared directed at and over the houses, breaking a great many tiles, and frightening the people from the roofs, where, at the commencement, the inhabitants had placed themselves to witness the fight. The firing ceased about six P.M., the Mandarin junks retiring to their anchorage. The rebel junks did not weigh, and altogether it was not supposed that twenty men were killed on shore. The great noise made by

the guns of the Mandarin junks, added to their evident superiority of force, appeared to have somewhat disheartened the rebels, and several left the place on the 28th, while, during the night, the rebel chief's son, a lad of nineteen or twenty years of age, poisoned himself with opium. He had been sick for some days, and is reported to have, at different times of late, expressed himself despondingly of the success of the rebels, and to have said, shortly before his death, that, as he could not be attended to or carried off, in case of the rebels having to take to flight, it were better he should die. He was an only son.

“On the morning of the 29th, the Mandarin troops gained considerable advantage over the rebel army. It would appear that before daylight, they surprised about 400 rebels, who were in advance of the main body, capturing and beheading the greater portion of them; the few who escaped, and the main body of rebels, hastened back to the city, followed a considerable part of the way by the Imperialists, who might have successfully invested the place, so panic-stricken were the rebels. However, they contented themselves with destroying the villages inhabited by the rebels, through which they passed, four of which they burned, killing, in some instances, all the men and male children they found. It being high-water at the time, some of the Mandarin junks and boats proceeded up the creek, which runs half-way across the island, from the west end of the town, and kept up a

fire on the retreating rebels. They also landed some men, who killed several stragglers.

“The Imperialist troops, after destroying and setting on fire four villages, were returning to their camp to breakfast, when the rebel army was, after much persuasion, induced to pursue them, and, though the Mandarins do not appear to have retreated beyond their camp, some thirty-three were captured—at least, that number of heads was exposed in the city. During the rest of the day, all remained quiet, many of the rebel outposts withdrawing into the city. From the number of headless bodies, lying in and about the villages which were burned, a very large number of people must have been killed on the 29th, and for the sake of the head-money (the rebels get 2*l.* for each head they bring in), many field labourers, quite innocent of aiding either party, were supposed to have been slain. Towards evening, the rebel troops retired into the city, many of them laden with plunder from the destroyed villages, while the inhabitants of the villages not yet destroyed by the Mandarins, poured into the town with such articles of furniture as they could carry with them.

“On the morning of the 30th, at daylight, the junks commenced a heavy cannonade on the western suburbs, which they kept up till 9 o'clock, but, beyond some injury to the houses, no advantage had been gained by them when the last account left. The rebel soldiers appeared to be all withdrawn into the

city, nor had the Mandarin troops moved again. It was supposed, however, that another body of troops had been landed to the eastward, and that a simultaneous attack would be made on both sides, and some parts of the town supposed to be occupied by rebels, destroyed. The rebel fleet, which might have been easily destroyed, was apparently spared in order to encourage the flight of the rebels. A good deal of anxiety was felt by the foreign residents as to the manner in which this struggle might end. The rebels said, that if defeated, they would set fire to the city, while the Mandarins, it was understood, intended to burn the western suburbs and Emungkang."

The most important event in China, since the taking of Amoy, has been the occupation of Shanghai, of which the insurgents became masters almost without resistance on the 7th of September. The facility of the victory will excite no surprise, when it is born in mind how deeply the Mantchoo dynasty is everywhere abominated. However, here, as at Amoy, the Imperialists have endeavoured to repair their loss, and the last advices from the place contain the brief record of an undecided struggle.

The announcement of the fall of Peking has been expected on the arrival of every mail for some time past, and Canton has been in a state of great disquietude. However, the capture of these two places seems destined to be reserved for a later chapter in

the history of this wonderful revolution. That the question is only one of time, and that the insurgents will in the end become masters of the whole of China, is established beyond the possibility of a doubt.

THE END.



APPENDIX.

ON the publication of our first edition a friendly controversy arose between the correspondent to the *Athenæum* and the translator of this book, on the subject of one of the most interesting problems in the whole affair; viz., the importance of Tièn-té. The letters, which will speak for themselves, are reprinted here, and we gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity of adverting to the courtesy and promptitude with which the *Athenæum* throws open its columns to all controversies which are thought likely to be interesting in any department of literature or science.

LETTER I.

I have been much amused by the accounts which I have read relative to the Chinese Insurrection and Mr. Tièn-tè,—and am not at all surprised that your critical eye has detected the difficulties in the statements relative to this important but little understood movement in China.

Mr. Tièn-tè, *alias* Mr. Celestial Virtue, *alias* Mr. Heaven and Earth, as you say, is in one place made only twenty-three years old—having, however, married no less than thirty wives—while elsewhere he is made to be the

father of another celestial worthy aged about forty. Mr. Oxenford thinks that he is only a plaything in the hands of another person named Taepang, elsewhere spelt "T'hae Ping,"—the same respectable middle-aged gentleman, converted by the above reading into his son. MM. Callery and Yvan say, that their hero is still alive,—while Mr. Meadows believes that he is dead. I, in emulation of a certain cautious diplomatist of amusing memory, "believe neither the one nor the other,"—but venture, in answer to your query of last week, and in spite of the long, interesting, and "accurate" accounts which have appeared in our papers, and even in those published on Chinese ground, to affirm that Mr. Tièn-tè is a myth, and nobody at all. In support of this view, I beg to trouble you with the following observations on the secret societies of the Chinese—which, if they do not absolutely make good my position, and show that "Celestial Virtue," in China at least, is a name and no more, will at any rate be acceptable at this time, when Chinese affairs are becoming a topic of conversation, and our ignorance respecting them is becoming more evident every day.

The existence of secret societies throughout China has been mentioned by many writers,—but with such discrepancies existing among the accounts as would be expected to arise from the circumstances of the case:—the societies being of themselves secret, and the Chinese being most inveterately given in all cases—and in this they have special reason for it—to mystification and cunning, which are constantly leading even well-informed Europeans into the most perplexing and absurd labyrinths.

These secret societies have existed in China ever since 1674; and it has long been known that one of their principal objects was, the overthrow of the Mantchu dynasty.

“Fan Tsing fuh Ming”—that is, overthrow the Tsing and restore the Ming dynasty—has been their watchword, says a writer in the *China Mail* of the 7th of July last, for nearly two centuries.

These societies exist wherever Chinese are found, and the principles and objects which they *profess* are almost identical with the Freemasons. They go by various names in different, and even in the same, places,—and this fact alone has greatly increased the confusion which has arisen. At Singapore, these societies are called “*Tan Tey Hoey*,” on the authority of a man named Abdullah, a Moonshee, a Malayan teacher whose information on the subject may be found in the “*Journal of the Indian Archipelago for September, 1852* ;” but the correct name is that given by Dr. Milne, the Principal of the Chinese College at Malacca (and sanctioned by Dr. Morrison, the author of the Chinese Dictionary), in the first volume of the quarto series of the “*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of London*,” page 240,—namely, “*T’heen té Hwuy*.” “*T’heen*” signifies “*Heaven*,”—“*Té*,” “*Earth*,”—and “*Hwuy*,” “*an Association of Men*.” Dr. Milne translates it into “*Celesto-Terrestrial Society* :”—literally it is “*Heaven and Earth Association*.”

In Earl’s “*Eastern Seas*,” published in 1837, at page 369, I find the following passage relative to these societies:—“To avoid persecution any Chinese finds it necessary on his arrival to become a member of one of the secret societies, all of which have the object in China of overthrowing the present dynasty—while they are at Singapore rendered subservient to the national propensity for plunder, as one member will always screen another from detection. The different sects, however, hate each other cordially; therefore the peaceable inhabitants do not

suffer so much from their aggressions as if they formed a united body.”

In the year 1841, all the various branches of this Association, at Singapore, which sometimes have serious quarrels among themselves, cordially united in forwarding the British operations against China, by exerting themselves to the utmost in collecting provisions and supplies for the force; and so successful were they, that Mr. (now Sir George) Bonham, the Governor, received public thanks for the rapidity with which supplies for the fleet were collected. The Chinese were, in fact, looking forward to the immediate realization of their long cherished hopes,—or, as they expressed themselves, “to the overthrow of the Mantchu and the restoration of the Ming” (dynasty).

By the year 1848, the T'heen-Té Association had made immense progress,—all the leading Chinese merchants of Singapore, who had previously kept aloof, having joined it. The leading member of the brotherhood was a man of great ability, named Seah Eu Chin; who had passed a very high examination in China as a “Literate,”—and whose administrative abilities were so great, that he had succeeded in reconciling the differences between the various branches of the Association, and uniting them into one body.

Some time in the year 1851, intelligence arrived from China that the head Association of the T'heen Té Hwuy in China, had commenced a revolutionary movement in the southern part of that empire,—and the news produced great excitement among the Chinese settled in the neighbouring countries. In Singapore they attacked the farms of the few Christian converts who were established in the neighbourhood of the French Missionary Establishment

at Bukit Timah, and utterly destroyed them. The troops had to be called out; but before extreme measures were resorted to, the affair was compounded through the intervention of Seah Eu Chin, who had tact enough to cause himself to be looked upon as the friend of both parties,—the Association making good the loss. In Siam they attempted a revolution,—but it was suppressed by the authorities. In Borneo they attacked the Dutch and the few Chinese who lived under their protection. The latter were killed or driven out, those who escaped finding a refuge at Sarawak,—and the Dutch were several times defeated. These were mere ebullitions caused by the excitement consequent on the operations of the British Government against China,—and were restrained as much as possible by the leaders of the Association, who were anxious to secure friends among the foreigners.

I have never heard of any secret association among the Chinese that was not an offshoot of the T'heen Té Hwuy,—nor do I believe that any exist. Neither do I believe, in spite of MM. Callery and Yvan's authentic portrait of the Chief, that any individual of the name of Tièn-tè, T'heen Té, or Tan Te, ever existed. T'heen Té is a very common expression among natives who are acquainted with the Association, but are not members,—just as “Judge Lynch” is used by the backwoodsman in America. “T'heen Té will come out and set you to rights,” is a common expression of Malays to Chinese who may be making a disturbance.

Another name for the same Association is, the “San Ho Hwuy,” or Three-in-One Society,—in allusion to the three principles, heaven, earth, and man. Hence “Triad Society,”—the name used by Gutzlaff in his paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1846:—which

ought to be read by everybody who is desirous of learning the truth of the matter.

The members of the Association have no religion except a sort of worship of *Ancestors*; but I have no doubt that the leaders would engraft the Protestant form of Christianity upon their institutions, if they could do so without decreasing their own influence, of which they are excessively jealous. One thing is certain,—that their jealousy of the Roman Catholic Propagandists is so intense, that they will root them out if they can. This jealousy arises from the influence acquired by the priests over the minds of their converts, being beyond that to which the highest even of the leaders of the Association ever attain. The feeling has recently been exhibited in the destruction by the “rebels,” or “patriots,” of the images and pictures in the Roman Catholic chapels.

In a long and interesting letter, signed Enquirer, which appeared in the *China Mail* of the 30th of June last, Mr. Tièn Tè is spoken of as “missing,”—and the leader of the rebellion is there styled “Hung Siu-tsiuen.” But in the Overland edition of the same paper, dated a week later, there appears, under the head of “News from the Rebels,” the following translation of an interesting letter said to be sent to Dr. C. Taylor, an American Medical Missionary, who was received and hospitably entertained by the writer at Chinkiang, on his way to Nankin :—

“Lo, the Fifth Arranger of the Forces attached to the palace of the Celestial Dynasty of T’haeping, who have received the command of Heaven to rule the empire,—communicates the following information to all his English brethren. On the first day of the 5th moon (June 5th) a brother belonging to your honourable nation, named Charles Taylor, brought hither a number of books, which

have been received in order. Seeing that the above-named individual is a fellow-worshipper of God (Shang-te), he is therefore acknowledged as a brother; the books likewise which he has brought agree substantially with our own, so that it appears we follow one and the same road. Formerly, however, when a ship belonging to your honourable nation came hither (the *Hermes*), she was followed by a fleet of impish vessels belonging to the false Tartars: now also, when a boat from your honourable nation comes among us, the impish vessels of the Tartars again follow in its wake. Considering that your honourable nation is celebrated for its truth and fidelity, we your younger brothers do not harbour any suspicions. At present both Heaven and men favour our design, and this is just the time for setting up the Chinese and abolishing the Tartar rule. We suppose that you, gentlemen, are well acquainted with the signs of the times, so that we need not enlarge on that subject; but while we, on our parts, do not prohibit commercial intercourse, we merely observe, that since the two parties are now engaged in warfare, the going to and fro is accompanied with inconvenience; and judging from the present aspect of affairs, we should deem it better to wait a few months, until we have thoroughly destroyed the Tartars, when, perhaps, the subjects of your honourable nation could go and come without being involved in the tricks of these false Tartars. Would it not in your estimation, also, be preferable? We take advantage of the opportunity to send you this communication for your intelligent inspection, and hope that every blessing may attend you. We also send a number of our own books, which please to circulate amongst you."

Here we have Mr. "T'hae-ping," or "Tae-pang," again introduced in rivalry with Mr. "Hung Siu-tsiuen," and

no mention of the "missing" (*quære* mythical?) Tièn Tè.

The above letter, whether authentic or not, offers one useful piece of advice,—namely, that we should not interfere, but leave the Mantchu and the Ming to settle matters between them. But though we should not interfere, there is no reason why we should not try to understand what is going on,—were it solely for the reason that such a change as is threatened in the government of that vast country must, in some measure, affect our commercial position in China.

LETTER II.

Will you permit me to trouble you with a few remarks relative to your Correspondent's highly interesting and instructive letter, contained in the *Athenæum* of the 17th instant.

In the first place, as the case of the Chinese insurgents now stands before the public, the "rivalry" between Tai-ping and Houng-sieou-tsiuèn, to which your Correspondent alludes, does not exist, nor ever can. In their fourteenth chapter, MM. Callery and Yvan tell us that Houng-sieou-tsiuèn takes the title of Tai-ping-wang, or King Grand Pacificator,—that is to say, that the "rivals" are one and the same person. Unless some new evidence shall disprove their identity, there is no more discrepancy in this part of the story than would arise from the same illustrious individual being called sometimes "Arthur Wellesley," sometimes the "Duke of Wellington." And now for the actuality of Tièn-tè. My hypothesis that he

is a sort of *roi-fainéant* is merely an inference drawn—and I think fairly drawn—from a comparison of the statements of MM. Callery and Yvan with those of Mr. Meadows, and may be looked upon as merely conditional. I approximated “Celestial Virtue” to zero, by making him a “do-nothing;”—and if any *savant* goes a little further, and proves him to be a “be-nothing” likewise, I shall consider the said *savant* rather as an ally than as an opponent.

However, I must say that I do not think the existence, or rather the past existence, of Tièn-tè is disproved yet. He certainly seems shorn of everything except his past existence,—but for that very reason we should be the more scrupulous about depriving him of his one little possession. Even the “possible fly” of Martinus Scriblerus had a right to its possibility.

Your Correspondent appears to think that his statement of the operations of the “Triad Society” throws a new light on the subject of the Chinese insurrection. Far, however, from this being the case,—the importance of the society is recognized by MM. Callery and Yvan in their seventeenth chapter, and they state that the armies of the Pretender are almost wholly composed of members of this and two kindred societies. Yet, their knowledge of these matters does not shake their belief in the existence of Tièn-tè.

It is by the discovery that Tièn-tè’s name is identical with that of the “Triad Society,” that your Correspondent would explain away the existence of the descendant of the Mings. Is he quite sure of that identity? I am no Sinologist, but when I look for “earth” in Bridgman’s “Chinese Chrestomathy,” I find that the Chinese equivalent is “tí,” which according to the scheme of pro-

nunciation is to be spoken as if spelt in English "tee." Now, "Tièn-tè" is copied *literatim* from MM. Callery and Yvan's original work, and therefore is to be pronounced according to the French rule,—that is to say, "tè" is to sound, not like English "tee," but like English "tay." Pronunciation may vary, you will say; but let me add, that the Chinese character which is put by Mr. Bridgman as the visible representative of "tí," the "earth," is not one of the two characters placed below the portrait of Tièn-tè published by MM. Callery and Yvan. To those who are learned in the Chinese language my remarks may appear very ignorant;—but as the case at present stands, I certainly do not see why we are to assume that M. Callery, a known professor of the language, has translated the name "Tièn-tè" incorrectly by rendering it "Celestial Virtue" instead of "Heaven and Earth." However, on this point I am most willing—nay, anxious—to be enlightened.

Even supposing the name of the alleged Pretender should turn out to be the same with that of the "Triad Society,"—does it follow as a necessary consequence that Tièn-tè is a myth? We find that in China, Emperors (like Popes in Europe) assume new and significant names on ascending the throne,—and certainly there is nothing absurd in the notion that the alleged descendant of the Mings should adopt a name already held venerable by his followers. At all events, I submit, there is nothing sufficiently absurd to make us reject the united evidence of MM. Callery and Yvan and Mr. Meadows that Tièn-tè is an historical personage, without some further fact being brought forward in proof of the mythical theory.

Yours, &c.

Sept. 10.

J. OXENFORD.

P.S.—Perfectly understand, that all I have said relates merely to the statements now before the public. The next mail may demolish all hypotheses alike. Suppose, for instance, Tai-ping were to prove a myth, and Tièn-tè the only reality. In such a fog as we are at present under, everything is possible.

LETTER III.

I hope you will be able to find room for a few more observations on this subject:—first, because some new facts—or rather evidences—are just received,—and, secondly, because Mr. Oxenford is so pleasant an antagonist, that it is a wholesome exercise to exchange a few passes with him.

The authors of the work translated by Mr. Oxenford could not have a better defender than that gentleman:—still I cannot avoid saying that there is ample proof that they had a want of information on the subject which should have caused them to hesitate before giving their account of the Chinese Insurrection to the world. As I said in my former letter, I am confident in my case,—and I know that others possessed long since an amount of intelligence on this matter which evidently had not reached MM. Callery and Yvan when they penned the pages in question.

Some important details respecting the organization of the Secret Societies of the Chinese, which correspond in substance with the facts given in my contribution of the

week before last, were communicated to the British Government in the early part of May last, by a gentleman now in the country, who had watched the "T'héen Té" movement very attentively for twenty years. As the question will by this time have become the subject of official, or semi-official, investigation in China, the next Overland Mail may dispel all mystery. But there ought not now to be any mystery connected with the matter,—as the clue has long been accessible to those who took the trouble to consult the time-honoured works of British philologists.

But, setting aside authority, one strong argument against the probability of an individual named Tièn-tè having recently existed in China is this:—The name, from having been so long known as the distinctive appellation of a Society for the promotion of systematic rebellion, has become synonymous with "high treason,"—or if applied to an individual, it would be understood as "arch-traitor." No parent would be likely to bestow such a name on his child,—which might cause the infant to be strangled by the first public officer who heard it pronounced;—nor is it to be supposed that a pretender to the throne would assume a title which would imply that he was an usurper.

The mistake into which Mr. Meadows has fallen will be cleared up,—and he may console himself as not being the first European official who has been imposed on by the quick-witted Chinese; but the circumstances which have led MM. Callery and Yvan to indorse and publish the error of Mr. Meadows are not to my mind quite so clear.

I will add a few notes on Mr. Oxenford's communication of last week:—taking the paragraphs *seriatim*,—and premising that I have not seen MM. Callery and Yvan's

book, but only the extracts from it, and the remarks thereon which appeared in the *Athenæum* of the 10th ultimo. In so doing, I shall insert a few extracts from a letter, or letters, in the *China Mail* of the 23rd of July, sent to me from Hong Kong since I wrote to you on the subject,—and which extracts clearly show to my mind that Mr. Meadows and others in the neighbourhood are beginning to see the errors into which they have been drawn.

Tai-ping and Houg-sieou-tsiuèn may or may not be the same individual. The question has nothing to do with the main point at issue,—namely, whether “T’ien Tè is a man or a myth.” I believe that Tai-ping, like T’ien Tè, is not a name,—but a title given to the new dynasty. The writer in the *China Mail* says:—

“The present style of this *régime* is, ‘T’ien Wang of T’ien chiu of the T’ai-p’ing T’ien Kwoh,’ *i. e.*, Heavenly King of the Heavenly Dynasty of the Great Peace Heavenly Country.”

The paper of the late Dr. Milne, Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College, “On the Secret Associations of the Chinese”—which was communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society by the late Rev. Dr. Morrison, in February, 1825, and which was published in the first volume of the Society’s Transactions—shows, that at that time “T’heen Té” was the name by which the Secret Association, or Triad Society, of the Chinese was known to students of Chinese literature. The paper of the late Dr. Gutzlaff on the same subject which is published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* for 1846, establishes the connection between the T’heen Té, or Triad Association of Dr. Milne, and the secret associations then existing in China whose chief object was “the overthrow of the Mantchu and the

restoration of the Ming ;” and their hostility to the reigning dynasty is shown by the offers which they made to assist the British forces in their operations against the Chinese government. Dr. Milne correctly states in his paper (p. 240) that “the name (of the Association) is not expressed on the seal,—and hence it is difficult to ascertain it with certainty.” To this I may add, that “T’heen Té” is a prohibited term among the members of the Association,—and cannot be pronounced in their presence without causing a shudder, although it is the name by which the Association is generally known to strangers. The name is also frequently applied by Chinese who are not members, and by other natives, to mysterious individuals who are known to be connected with the Association. Residents at Singapore during 1850 and 1851 will remember a deranged Chinese who was in the habit of stalking about the streets, occasionally stopping short to apostrophize some imaginary object in the sky. This man was said to have lost his senses through his connection with the secret associations,—and the name by which he was commonly known among the Indian and Malayan inhabitants was “T’heen Té.”

The writer in the *China Mail*, quoted above, in narrating his interview with one of the rebels says:—

“He at first, as the Northern King did to Mr. Meadows at Nanking, denied there ever was such a person or title as T’ien-tih; but when confronted with the evidence of its having been used in the proclamations from Nanking and Amoy, he admitted there had been such a leader; and that while he did not know whether it was truth or not, he had heard that to escape being captured, he had jumped into a well in Kwangsi and was drowned. He did not know who composed their books, but supposed that they

were approved conjointly by all the five leaders styled Kings. He stated that Shángti hwui was used in common with T'ien-ti hwui, San-hoh whui, Hung-kia, as a designation of their fraternity. It was adopted to conceal that they were the San-hoh whui, and because Sháng-ti was explained to be 'Three in One.' Hung Siu-tsiuen has been the acknowledged head of the Hung-kia for many years. He was formerly styled Yih-kó, or First Brother. Yáng Siutsing was styled Rh-kó, or Second Brother, and Liau Ch'an-kwei was styled Sán-kó, or Third Brother. This agrees with the statement made by Dr. Milne in his article on the Triad Society, in relation to the government of the fraternity, that it was committed to three Brethren, styled respectively First, Second, and Third Brother. See *Chinese Repository*, vol. xiv. p. 61. These designations were continued till 1850, when Hung Siu-tsiuen was entitled, in addition to the title T'ai-ping Wang, Chin-chü, or true Lord : which title is given him in 'The Book of Celestial Decrees,' in a line of poetry, thus translated by the Rev. Dr. Medhurst :—'Heaven has sent down your King to be a true Sovereign,' or Lord. The others were respectively styled Eastern King and Western King. They were driven to commence the insurrection by the interference of the Mandarins, before they had secured as many adherents to the Sháng-ti fraternity as they had desired. The point on which he most hesitated was in reference to T'ien-tih. At first he rather evaded the question about the identity of the Sháng-ti hwui with the San-hoh hwui. But when I pressed him with the Triad sign he had given me in his letter as a proof of his true character, and the word Hung in the Amoy seal, he broke through his reserve; and was then as free in answering the questions in relation to it as any others."

If MM. Callery and Yvan had perused with attention the works of the British authorities on Chinese matters—Milne, Staunton, Morrison, Davis, and Medhurst, and the well-digested contributions of Gutzlaff,—their “History of the Chinese Insurrection” would probably have been of greater value than it is as a book of reference. It is possible that the person shown to them as “Tièn-tè,” may have been a descendant of the Ming, as such descendants are said to be numerous in all the southern provinces of the empire, and nearly every rebel army is supposed to have one or more members of the Ming family in its ranks. Indeed, it is anticipated that the rival pretensions of these aspirants will occasion more trouble in settling the new dynasty than the mere expulsion of the Tartars will be likely to create.

I will take the liberty to refer Mr. Oxenford again to the highest authorities on the subject—namely, Drs. Milne and Morrison—in support of my rendering of the term Tièn Tè.

My remarks have extended over a greater space than I intended ; but I trust that they will not be unacceptable, as helping to throw some light upon one of the most remarkable struggles recorded in the history of contending dynasties.

LETTER IV.

“CELESTIAL VIRTUE” OR “HEAVEN AND EARTH.”

Since the date of the letter which you were kind enough to insert in the *Athenæum* of the 24th instant, I chanced to meet a gentleman who has bestowed great

attention on the Chinese language. Conversation turned on the *vexata quæstio* of Tièn-tè and his name: and the inquiries which I made produced a highly interesting letter, of which I send you a copy, having the writer's permission so to do. You will observe that he says "tũh" where MM. Callery and Yvan seem to indicate "tay,"—but both are alike different from "tee."

Yours, &c.

J. OXENFORD.

(COPY.)

DEAR SIR,—On referring to my dictionary I find the character* pronounced "tũh," and meaning primarily "power" or "faculty," and thence derivatively "virtue" (compare the derivation of our own "virtue" from "virtus," itself from "vir," and still more *Tugend* from *taugen*). The character for earth (terra) is pronounced "tee."

Confucius says, in the "Choong Yoong" (the invariable mean) C. XVII. speaking of the Emperor Shun—

tũh	=	virtute
wy	=	fuit
shing	=	sanctus
Yin	=	homo

That is—by his virtue he was equal to a saint.

Yours truly,

W. W. GARTHWAITE.

* The character to the left of the spectator of the portrait in MM. Callery and Yvan's book. About the other character there is no controversy.—J. O.

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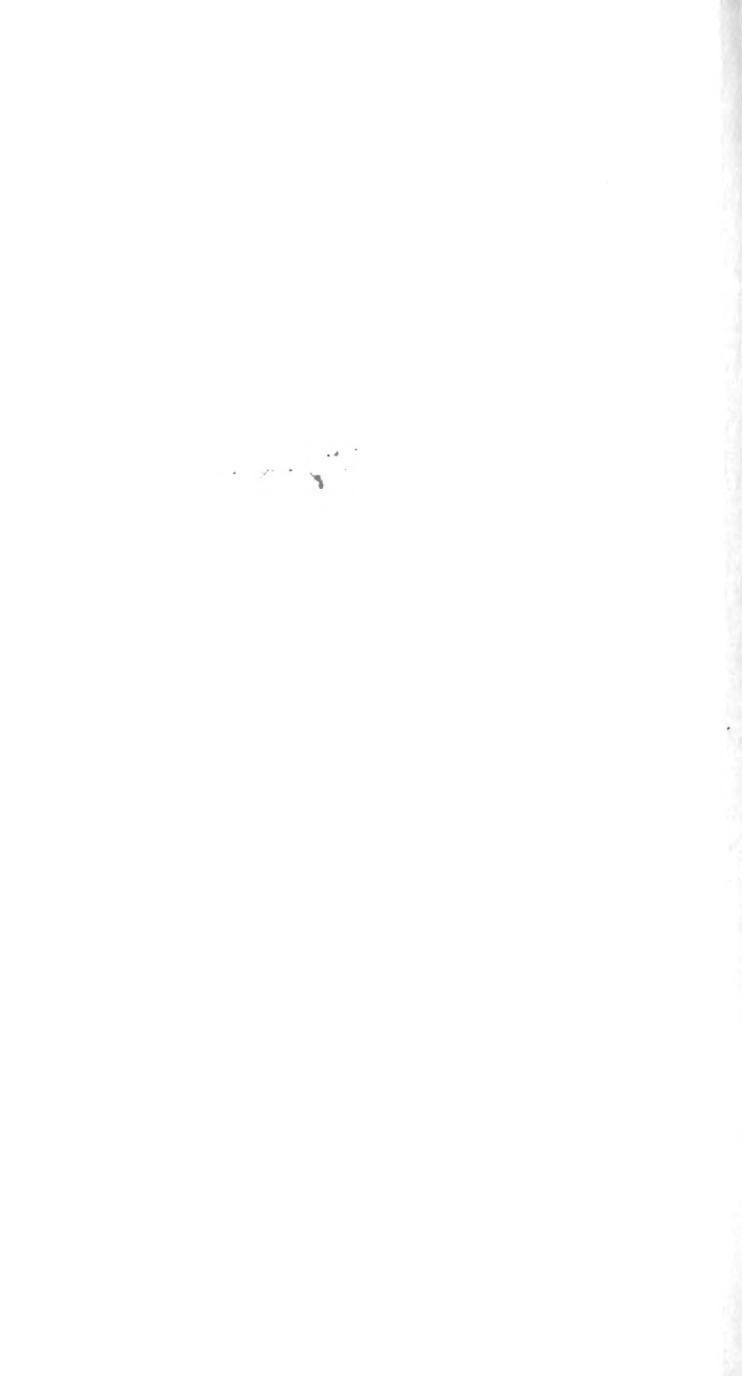
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