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Shanghai

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C. A. Montaltode Jesus.

HISTORIC SHANGHAI

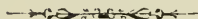
IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY LOCAL MEMORIAL,
AT LEAST THIS WORK
IS HUMBLY DEDICATED AS A TRIBUTE
TO
THE IMPERISHABLE MEMORY
OF
CHARLES GEORGE GORDON,
WHOSE VALOUR, HUMANITY, AND SELF-DENIAL
IN DAYS OF GREAT PERIL AND TRIALS
SHED GLORY ON FOREIGN PRESTIGE IN CHINA,
AND WHOSE CHIVALROUS DEEDS ARE
EVER CONSPICUOUS
AMONG THE PROUDEST RECORDS
OF SHANGHAI.

HISTORIC SHANGHAI

BY

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PREFACE.

IT has long been an anomaly, if not a reproach, that such an important city as Shanghai should have had its history neglected and unwritten in spite of its having been the starting point of many an epoch-making movement in the remoulding of China's foreign intercourse.

From an international point of view Shanghai may well be regarded as the most interesting exponent of the system whereby foreign communities at the treaty ports are constituted into extraterritorial and municipal settlements,—quaint little republics fraught with significance not only as pledge of concerted action among foreign powers, but also as an object-lesson of modern civilisation among the benighted millions of China.

Through Shanghai the trade of China's richest regions found a direct outlet to the world, and foreign enterprise fought its way

into the very heart of the empire. It was Shanghai, too, that ushered in that admirable reform which has rendered the Imperial Maritime Customs one of the grandest foreign achievements in China, evolved out of a chaotic state of affairs and amidst the throes of a revolution.

The pride of Shanghai, however, rests more upon the memorable struggle which proved to be an empire's deliverance from its most terrible scourge, the Taiping rebellion. In this glorious liberation Shanghai figured as the central point only to remain unpardonably unhonoured and unsung. It is precisely from this central point that a history is most needed, inasmuch as the great influence which the reign of terror had upon the destinies of Shanghai, for good and for evil, can never be adequately gauged without full light being thrown upon local conditions at that stirring epoch. Thence dated the marvellous growth of the foreign settlements, in the midst of golden but unprofited opportunities for solving the international problems now so complex.

It is mainly from this standpoint that the writer has striven to meet a long-felt

need in presenting a faithful picture of what will ever be regarded as the most historical and interesting period in the annals of Shanghai. Rich, scattered materials lay for long neglected, or at most utilised for narratives invariably too sketchy to do justice either to Shanghai or to the mine of information available. Thanks to the interest which vital China questions roused in Parliament, important documents otherwise dispersed among diplomatic, naval, and military archives, are felicitously preserved together in the blue-books of that epoch, invaluable for historical researches over episodes imperfectly related elsewhere, or almost buried in oblivion despite their fascinating interest and appealing significance.

What with a most eventful period and the impressiveness of its extraordinary traits, an uncommon glamour pervades the early history of the foreign settlements at Shanghai. The spirit of the times is well expressed in that touch of the heroic which characterised Consul Alcock's master-strokes no less than the chivalrous attitude of the French in coming to the rescue of foreign prestige when it stood lowest in Chinese

estimation. Nowadays it seems almost like a dream to recollect that, in the midst of crises fraught with grand possibilities, Shanghai once aspired in vain to the reins of a free-city, and a soldier of fortune even plotted to form an independent state of his own in China ; while set in relief by some of the darkest features of oriental treachery, the chivalry of Gordon shone forth in epic grandeur.

It is only when such soul-stirring traits are brought to mind with the impressive, tragic scenes and the epoch-making episodes of those days, that one is apt to realise the historic importance of Shanghai from a higher and more picturesque standpoint than that of an all-absorbing commercial greatness from which it is generally viewed thus far.

C. A. MONTALTO DE JESUS.

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INTRODUCTORY.

A peculiar feature in the early history of Shanghai is that the native writers, evidently blinded by their love of antiquity, seek to incorporate the locality in one after another neighbouring state of an era when the alluvial Shanghai plain was in all probability under water,—an instance of the proverbial mountains in labour to produce a sorry mouse, considering the humble origin of Shanghai long after those states were amalgamated some twenty-two centuries ago. Naturally at a period when it stood in closer proximity to the sea, the locality was known for its manufacture of salt, mentioned in an old historical sketch of Soochow. The earliest authentic record, however, points to Shanghai having been originally a fishing station called Hu-tuh, or “fishing stake estuary.”*

Another notable trait of the native writers is their questionable account of the waterways of Shanghai. The Wusung-kiang—known as the Soochow Creek—is said to have been one of the ancient courses of the Yangtze-kiang, traced down to Wusung, whose accretion is comparatively new. The Huang-pu and Wusung-kiang first appear as flowing into the sea quite apart. Then the Huangpu, diverted from its former north-eastern

* An historical sketch of Shanghai from the *Shanghai-hien chi* is to be found in the *Chinese Repository* of 1849, Vol. XVIII. For a more detailed description see the *Chinese Miscellany* of 1850.

embouchure, is made to flow past the old fishing-station by means of a canal called Van-ka-pang, and thus turned into a confluent of the Wusung-kiang. What seems stranger is that the mouth of the Wusung-kiang could have been twenty *li* broad. From a more reliable account—of the imperial and other canals south of the Yangtze-kiang—it appears that the Soochow Creek was originally neither a river nor a creek, but the Hutuh Canal: in the 22nd year of Yuen-Kia (A.D. 446) Prince Siun, Viceroy of Yangchow, ordered the cutting of this canal up to Kwenshan.*

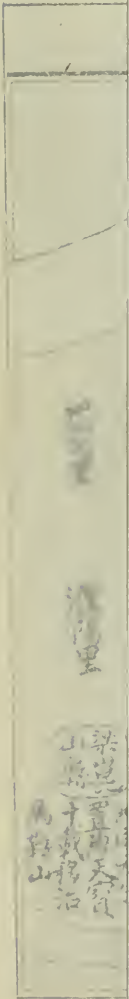
This waterway, evidently intended as the maritime outlet of Soochow, destined Hu-tuh for a seaport of that famous emporium. For many a century, however, the fishing-station missed its destiny; whilst on the canal, some twenty miles to the west, there rose and thrived the mart of Tsing-lung, which in the early days of the Sung dynasty was said to be frequented by foreign vessels, probably the Arab traders of that epoch.

The Huang-pu proved as unpropitious to the fishing-station. Amidst the changes of jurisdiction through which it passed, Hu-tuh changed its name to Huating-hai when under the sub-prefecture of Sung-kiang, then known as Huating-hien, whose seaport it became, as implied by the name. In one respect, however, the place remained unchanged: still it was at most a favourite rendezvous of fishermen, and an unimportant mart.

But in course of time, when the silting canal became too shallow at Tsing-lung, sea-going vessels began to gather at Huating-hai, so that in 1075 an

* Père Tschepe's *Histoire du Royaume de Ou*, Appendix II., p. 165. *Variété Sinologique* No. 10.

official was stationed there in charge of the ship



It was much later that the social refinement of
Soochow and Hangchow exerted its influence of

圖境亭華隸鎮海上古



HISTORICAL MAP OF SHANGHAI—UNDER THE HUATING PREFECTURE

official was stationed there in charge of the shipping and customs; and eventually the superintendent of trade at Tsing-lung removed his office to Huating-hai, then known as Shanghai-chin, or "mart upon the sea." According to another version the new name was coined from an expression often used when trading vessels began to resort thither: "coming up from the sea." In a sketch of the waterways it is said that the Huang-pu also went by the name of Shanghai-pu.

The maritime activity which characterised the early years of the Yuen dynasty fostered the rise of Shanghai. The historians of this dynasty were the first to recognise the importance of the geographical position of Shanghai from a commercial standpoint. Kublai's great expedition for the conquest of Japan, which started from Hangchow Bay, might have had, in its preparations, no inconsiderable influence on the development of the resources of Shanghai. The Bund was now used as the historical towing-path for junks laden with tribute rice, conveyed by sea route when the capital was transferred from Hangchow to Peking. Trade now flourished at Shanghai; in various products the district yielded tribute in abundance; and with wealth grew a sense of self-importance which led Shanghai in 1279 to disregard the authority of the Sung-kiang prefecture in proposing to remit taxes and duties direct to Peking. Together with five suburban villages Shanghai was in 1288 created a district styled Shang-hien as well as Shanghai-hien. But still the place was too unimportant to deserve Marco Polo's notice.

It was much later that the social refinement of Soochow and Hangchow exerted its influence of

environment upon Shanghai. In the sixteenth century the flourishing district was described as replenished with poets and musicians; and it could pride itself on being the birthplace of great men, of the famous writers Wang Ke and Lu Tsih, of Siu Kuang-ki, so famous as a scholar, scientist, and statesman, * as well as of many a talented official appointed to various parts of the empire, so that Shanghai came to be regarded as one of the most celebrated spots south of the capital, noted too for the many ladies recorded in history as models of virtue and filial piety. It was at this epoch that Wang Ke's charming pleasure resort, known as Mei-huo-yuen, flourished in the northern suburb of Shanghai, near Ya-ke-tun. Thousands of plumbtrees were planted there, around which wended a canal; and when the garden was in full blossom, its beauty and fragrance attracted crowds of pleasure-seekers, who in gorgeously bedecked boats came by the Soochow Creek to sing their praise with pipe and lute. Later, the picturesque environs of Shanghai attracted a famous imperial visitor, Kang-hsi, who in the course of a tour along the canals stayed awhile at the Hills, where a fine stone landing-place built for him is still to be seen near Zo-se; and for this hill he coined a name—Lan Suen Shan, or Fragrant Bamboo-shoot Hill.

Long before the rise of Shanghai, the locality could boast of some interesting and legendary spots. Marshy as the place was, the temple of Ching-ngan (tranquil repose) is said to have been built as early as A.D. 250; its celebrity was due to

* For an account of their works, see Wylie's *Notes on Chinese Literature*.

the Bubbling Well, whose ebullition is caused by a gas susceptible of ignition, probably carbureted hydrogen from some substratum of coal or peat. The well originally stood on a canal, and the water near by is said to have been quite warm about three feet beneath the surface. Formerly there was a pavilion over the well, inscribed—"the fountain that bubbles towards heaven." Not far away, amidst the ponds and rockeries of the Yue-yuen, is the "pearly grotto," *yue ling lung*, built in A.D. 1120, with the "Hall of Pearly Splendour," and five famous and quaintly-shaped old rocks, the *woo lao feng* ("Peaks of the Five Ancients"). The most prized of all local edifices, the Lung Hua Pagoda is said to date from the After Han dynasty (A.D. 221); but according to another version it was in the Tang dynasty, A.D. 800, that the pagoda and temple were built, the legend being that, along the river near by, a prince one night saw a brilliant light ascending from among the reeds on the riverside, and to commemorate this "dragon's splendour," he had the structure built and named accordingly. The temple received many a superb imperial gift—all sacked by pirates.

Exposed to the sea, the Shanghai plain suffered not only from piratical incursions, but also from inundation caused by typhoons; and no less disastrous were the floods after heavy rain. The destruction of crops led to famine and riot, the granaries being sometimes stormed, and once even children were devoured by parents. In the annals of Shanghai an interesting trait is the record of phenomenal occurrences. In some instances land is known to have sunk into pools, and a town suddenly subsided during a flood. Earth-

quakes were invariably slight and harmless. Waterspouts, which the chroniclers in all seriousness call dragons fighting in the air and water, were regarded with superstitious awe, enhanced by fabulous stories. Instances of intense cold are recorded, when the Huang-pu was frozen and the city almost buried in snow, when all traffic ceased for a fortnight, while men and animals were frozen to death. Hailstorms and even aerolites are mentioned. Once there was a fall of yellow sand so poisonous that vegetables tainted by it proved deadly to many. The most terrible calamities on record were the inundations from the sea, when thousands upon thousands usually perished; and on one occasion the simultaneous alarm that the dreaded Japanese pirates were coming caused a stampede in which thousands more were trampled to death. *

The most stirring episodes in the history of Shanghai were in connection with piratical raids, so frequent along the China coast in the olden times. Shortly after the accession of the first Ming emperor, a Japanese pirate-chief seized the island of Tsung-ming and settled there, but is said to have been eventually compelled to restrain his subjects and pay tribute to the emperor. A series of raids, however, ensued on the maritime provinces. At first the raiders met with little resistance, but when their depredations spread to the vicinity of Nanking, then the Ming capital, a powerful fleet was equipped by Tsing-hai, at whose approach the Japanese retreated; but they were

* *Cosmical Phenomena of Shanghai*, by Dr. D. J. Macgowan, in the *Journal of the North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. II., old series.

chased as far as the Loo-choo Islands, where, it is alleged, they suffered a reverse, many of their vessels being captured and taken to Nanking.

A projected descent on Shanghai was foiled in 1419, when the Japanese landed to the south, at Kin-shan. Troops were immediately despatched under the command of How Tuan, who, after a stubborn fight, is reported to have routed the invaders and burned most of their vessels. Nevertheless alarm prevailed and trade suffered greatly at Shanghai, partially blockaded by the enemy.

Trade was completely paralysed at Shanghai in 1513, consequent upon the ascendancy of Chinese pirates who in defiance of both army and navy carried on their depredations to an alarming extent. A redoubtable chieftain named Lin Tsih blockaded Wusung as well as the Yangtze, and eventually mustered his fleet at Lang-shan for a meditated raid on Shanghai, where another chieftain's horde in disguise awaited his arrival. At the news of his approach, the imperial troops and fleet, the officials and people, all panic-stricken, abandoned the city to the disguised horde. Lin Tsih arrived, and was on the point of landing when a typhoon compelled his fleet to seek better anchorage down the river. As the storm abated, the imperial fleet sallied forth and managed to invest the enemy without daring, however, to come to close quarters, so that the pirates by a combined move broke through the line and escaped. Under another leader named She Tsung-li the pirates preyed upon the shipping a few years later, but the chieftain was captured and beheaded at Wusung.

Silk being in great demand among Japanese princes, they occasionally sent an emissary to China

with gold and silver to purchase this commodity—the principal staple of the Portuguese trade with Japan.* After the advent of the Portuguese at Ningpo, a Japanese envoy in 1539 sought to establish commercial relations there, but met with a scornful rebuff from the officials. This was amply avenged, and ultimately the Japanese secured the privilege of sending yearly three trading vessels, whose crew was not to be allowed on shore. The agent of a Japanese prince, defrauded of his money paid in advance for silk, failed to obtain redress, whereupon he compensated his loss by means of a raid, on returning from which his men were nearly cut off. Such was the prelude to a reign of terror, when large Japanese forces in concert with Chinese pirates ravaged the coast from Shantung to Chekiang, penetrating as far inland as Soochow, and even besieging Nanking.

What befell Shanghai is fully recorded. In the twenty-first year of Kia-ting (1543) the Japanese in great force landed to the north of Shanghai, at Pao-shan, whither the imperial troops at Wusung were sent only to be repulsed with the loss of their commander. Forces despatched from Shanghai were likewise routed. North of the Wusung-kiang, the country was ravaged right and left. After capturing many richly-laden vessels the Japanese withdrew. But southward they landed at Nan-wei,

* Mendez Pinto describes the mad rush of the Portuguese from Ningpo to Japan with their first shipment of silk, the price of which rose in eight days from 40 to 160 taels per picul. The shipment went against the monsoon, in badly equipped junks, some even without pilots. Beset by a storm, most of the vessels were wrecked at Goto, and over 600 persons perished, including 140 Portuguese merchants of good standing, the loss being estimated at 300,000 crusados. Shortly after, silk could with difficulty be sold in Japan even at heavy losses.

advancing upon Shanghai under the leadership of Hsiang Hien, when General Li Foo and his son Li Hiang organised an expedition and crossed the Huang-pu to perish in a crushing defeat after a pitched battle. In two divisions led by Hsiang Hien and Teng Wen Kun the invaders now approached Shanghai. General Liu Pen-yuen's troops and vessels did their utmost to prevent them from crossing the Huang-pu, but the tidings of Li Foo's fate had such a demoralising effect that the defence soon gave way, the Japanese landing at Ma-tow. In the stampede which ensued, the officials were the first to disappear, followed by the troops and people, so that the raiders were left to sack the city to their hearts' content. But not satisfied with the rich booty carried away, the dreaded horde again advanced from the south when the people had scarcely returned home. The imperial forces suffered another rout. On the arrival of reinforcements from Kiang-yen, the Japanese left laden with riches. A fortnight later again they came in full force, their fleet of three hundred sail forming a line from the sea up the Huang-pu to the village of Chow-pu, thirty *li* south of Shanghai. Two generals, Wu Shang-wen and Sung Ngan, fought desperately, and not until both were slain and their forces cut down did the Japanese succeed in landing. Most of the people, relying on the considerable reinforcement from Kiang-yen as well as from the province of Kiang-si, had not taken to flight this time; and terrible was their fate, old and young being alike massacred. Thoroughly gutted, Shanghai was set on fire and burnt to the ground. In an ode the place is depicted as a haunt of robbers, where stillness was broken only by heart-rending moans, and

where foxes roamed about gnawing the bleached bones of the slaughtered multitude. Shanghai, however, did not lay long in ruins, as in 1544 the city walls were constructed, the place having previously been unfortified. The success of the Japanese is mainly ascribed to "black slaves and white devils in their service," the blacks being described as fearless of death, fiendish, most dexterous in handling swords, spears, and fire-arms, and retained at high prices in gold.*

That there were European as well as Indian pirates on the China coast at that epoch is evident from the narratives of Mendez Pinto, who, together with other Portuguese adventurers, started for China in quest of a powerful horde of Turks and Indians, under a famous Guzerat leader named Coja Acem, by whom the envoy Antonio de Faria had been robbed in Siam. Vowing revenge, Faria organised an expedition which, after clearing the China coast of many a dreaded gang, came to grief through shipwreck. With the assistance of Chinese pirates, however, Faria traced the whereabouts of Coja Acem, whom he at last met and vanquished in a desperate hand-to-hand struggle. Part of the fleet was then lost in a typhoon, with the rich spoils taken from Coja Acem; and as some shipwrecked men were known to languish in captivity at a place Mendez Pinto calls Nou-day, Faria sent a petition for their release, with presents for the mandarin, whose haughty and uncompromising attitude, however, so exasperated Faria that, as a last resort, he landed his men, slew the mandarin

* *Extracts from the History of Shanghai*, by Rev. C. Schmidt, in the *Journal of the North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VIII., new series.

and his troops, released the captives, and after sacking the town, set it on fire, carrying off pretty damsels all in tears amidst their revelries. Faria at first hesitated to winter at Ningpo, not far away, lest his presence should compromise the peaceful and flourishing settlement the Portuguese had there—a municipality deemed the finest and richest among the colonial establishments of Portugal, with a foreign community of twelve hundred Portuguese and eighteen hundred orientals. The victory achieved over such a terror of the sea as Coja Acem, however, led to Faria being welcomed at Ningpo with triumphal and princely fêtes, after which, tempted by a Chinese pirate, he started to rifle the imperial tombs near Nanking, believed to contain fabulous treasures; and on the way back Faria was drowned on the river, and Mendez Pinto became a captive. All this is said to have taken place in 1542; and after extensive digression in which his notorious mendacity runs riot, Mendez Pinto casually relates how in the same year a raid on some villagers in the neighbourhood of Ningpo caused the provincial government to order the destruction of the Portuguese settlement; and as an eye-witness he narrates that in five hours a force of sixty thousand men and over three hundred vessels reduced the establishment to a heap of ruins—a catastrophe which cost the lives of twelve thousand Christians, including eight hundred Portuguese who perished in flames on board thirty-five ships and forty-two junks, the loss amounting to two and a half million gold crusados.*

Vestiges of the settlement were some fifty years ago traced out at Ningpo—ruins of a fort at

* *Peregrinação de Fernão Mendez Pinto*, chaps. 39-77 and 221.

Chin-hai of decidedly European construction, the national arms of Portugal carved on a gate, and the very temple near the Bridge Gate which in 1528 was assigned to the Portuguese as the "Welcome Strangers' Guild-house," whence a neighbouring street derives its name.

The preservation of this temple is not the only eloquent proof against Mendez Pinto's assertions; in the annals of Ningpo there is no mention whatsoever of the catastrophe he relates.* But it is recorded that in the twenty-sixth year of Kia-ting, the Japanese raided Ningpo, and that in the preceding year, 1547, foreign intercourse was interdicted under penalty of decapitation by the provincial governor Chu Huan who thereby became so unpopular and subject to so many charges that eventually he was stripped of all rank,—from which it may perhaps be inferred that after all the Portuguese did not incur such mortal hatred among the people of Ningpo as Mendez Pinto pretends.

Nevertheless the catastrophe recorded by this "prince of liars," stereotyped in almost every work on China, remains the unchallenged version of the mysterious fate which befell the first European settlement in China, regardless of any possible connection with the fact that at about the same time a piratical fleet of three hundred sail laid Shanghai in ruins.

*An English missionary of Ningpo writes of his vain researches thus: "In consulting the annals of Ningpo I have nowhere been able to find any hint of any such a calamity. Such a catastrophe as the destruction of a town with its churches, hospitals, and a large fleet, and the massacre of so many thousands, the just retribution brought down on the heads of obstinate and lawless foreigners who had enjoyed the favour and smiles of the Flowery Land, could not have escaped the attention of the court annalist. But there is the most perfect silence on the subject."—Rev. W. C. Milne: *Seven Months' Residence at Ningpo*, in the *Chinese Repository* of 1844, Vol. XIII., p. 342.

Mendez Pinto maintains a strange reticence as to the Japanese raids of that epoch—raids which would have had less telling effect on China but for the fact that at Tanegushima he and his friends initiated the Japanese in the use of firearms, the manufacture of which soon began there with feverish activity and marvellous workmanship. This finds a significant though grotesque contrast in the rout at Shanghai being ascribed by a chronicler to disaffection arising from the city magistrate's inability to provide the Kiang-si braves with snakes and dogs for their usual ration.

Foreign intercourse, instead of leading to any improvement as in Japan, had only a deleterious influence on the Chinese. It was remarked at Shanghai that manners and customs underwent a great change there through contact with foreigners in the reign of Kiatsing. The gentry was flouted by common families who outvied one another in luxuries and ostentation, in the number of sedans and horses, of retainers by the hundred all arrayed in fineries. The people grew quarrelsome, greedy, and given to pleasures. Life was in jeopardy, character ruined by scheming villains with charges of murdering relatives and robbing tombs. Truth and honesty became almost unknown, and in law-suits perjury was the order of the day even in cases involving death. It was not long before another chronicler noticed a reform, attributed to the example set by those in power.

From the ashes of Shanghai there rose with the new city its most gifted and renowned native—Siu Kuang-ki. Lifted by his brilliant talent to the highest academic and official position in the empire, he inaugurated a new era by the introduction

of Western learning. He availed himself of the services of several Jesuit savants to improve China's knowledge of astronomy and mathematics, diffusing among the literati lucid, admirably written treatises on these subjects. The elegance of his style is not confined to his own writings; it is reflected in the masterpieces of Ricci and Pantoja, composed under his guidance; and such is their felicitous blending of Western eloquence with the polish of Chinese diction, that these works, though on religious subjects, are included among the classics chosen by an anti-Christian emperor of the following dynasty, the scholarly Kien-lung. With Terrenz and Des Ursis, Rho and Schall in the imperial observatory, the calendar ceased to be faulty and unreliable. Among the achievements of Siu Kuang-ki was what may be termed the golden age of Christianity in China, for in his wake scholars and officials, nay, an empress and a prince amongst others of the court, embraced the faith he professed and in critical days championed. Conscious of China's perils, Siu Kuang-ki urged military reform; and when the Manchus began to threaten the frontier, the defence of the empire preoccupied him heart and soul. From Macao a contingent of four hundred well-trained Portuguese and Chinese musketeers proceeded by the inland route to Peking, but as a result of court intrigues received orders at Nanchang to return. To the artillery obtained from Macao, however, and to the well chosen military officers, was due the stubborn defence of Ning-yuen, impregnable against repeated, desperate onsets which cost the Manchus dearly. But the imbecility, corruption, and intrigues of the imperial court, the tragic fate

of the loyal and brave Chung Wan, who fell a prey to Manchu diplomacy, thwarted defensive measures which might otherwise have saved the empire from untold calamities. Siu Kuang-ki did not live to see the fall of the Mings; born in 1562, he breathed his last at the ripe age of seventy-one, and in the arms of Schall, as befitted the savant that he was. The love of self was not in him; his emoluments he gave away to those in distress and to charitable institutions; and his official integrity was eulogised by a censor when it was found that though risen to the rank of premier and chancellor of the privy council, the Wen-ting-kung ("the learned and resolute duke") died so poor that the imperial treasury besides defraying the expenses of his funeral found it necessary to bestow its munificence upon his family. To the people he left a legacy in his famous *Thesaurus of Agriculture*, published by imperial behest a few years after his demise; and a trait bespeaking his sympathy for the poor is that, out of sixty volumes, no less than eighteen deal with measures to be provided against famine.* Among the posthumous honours conferred upon Siu Kuang-ki was a title which in more than one way befitted him—that of Pillar of the State.

In the southern part of Shanghai, Emperor Tsung-ching had a memorial arch built; and not far off, the ancestral hall, likewise due to imperial recognition, bears the following inscription among others: "Abroad a general, at home a privy councillor, the same minister was a courageous warrior and skilful politician. In the use of numbers and the elucidation of husbandry the teacher of a

*The importance of this work may be gauged from a translation of the chapters concerning silk, to be found in the *Chinese Miscellany* of 1849.

hundred generations could span the heavens and embrace the earth." As another instance of munificence from the last of the Mings, the tomb of Siu Kuang-ki at Sikawei was originally ornamented with a long double row of stone figures of various animals up to a sculptured arch, whilst at a considerable distance in front the path was indicated by a massive structure. About a mile from the south gate of Shanghai stood Siu Kuang-ki's villa called "The Shady Willow Hall," now the cemetery of the Jesuit fathers, where was found the stone altar of which an engraving appears in Williams' *Middle Kingdom*; also the stone tablet with Siu Kuang-ki's eloquent defence of Christianity, removed to the cathedral at Tong-ka-du. Under his auspices was built the first church in Shanghai, afterwards converted into the temple of the war god. Close by, in a literary institute, the Jesuits installed a small observatory, leading to which was a quaint-looking flight of red stone steps with the ecliptic and equinoctial lines depicted thereon. Along the Soochow Creek, at the site of the present Chinese Garden, stood a villa known as Siu Wen-ting's Library, in a peach garden with rockeries, arcades, and ponds surrounded by a hedge of cypress.*

In foreign works on China the memory of Siu Kuang-ki is perpetuated only by Jesuit historians, mainly from a religious point of view.† Scarcely

* An exhaustive description of these places as well as of the works of Siu Kuang-ki is to found in the *North China Herald*, Nos. 72-82, December 1851—February 1852.

† They call him Doctor Paul as well as Paul Siu, his Christian name. To a Portuguese father, João da Rocha, belongs the honour of receiving into the church at Nanking this most illustrious and influential of Chinese converts, who ever after regarded him as his spiritual father, and on his demise went into mourning with the whole household as for the head of the family.

any other standard writer shows a due appreciation of this truly great man of genius who may justly be styled the paragon of Chinese statesmen, through whose influence Western prestige in the empire shone with an unwonted splendour, which paled not even amidst the subsequent political upheaval. In his revelation of a new world of letters and science to the literati lay the promise of a most auspicious era—blighted, alas, because in the reaction of conservatism it lacked the influential support of another Mæcenæ endowed with his rare enlightenment. To have brought forth such a master-mind is perhaps the greatest distinction of Shanghai.

A statesmanlike policy guided the destinies of Kiang-su at this epoch. It is evident from the measures adopted by the provincial lieutenant-governor Chow Kung-kiao after a disastrous inundation and consequent famine early in the seventeenth century. Whilst affording the distressed people every possible relief, that remarkable official sought a radical cure for the evils. The expansion of trade was advocated as tending by the influx of merchants with goods to increase the supply of grain and lower the price thereof; and this being an inexhaustible source of relief, every facility for the development of trade was desired from the officials. As another economic expedient, the cultivation of rice-fields received special attention from the district magistrate with the view of equalising labour and production as well as of improving the drainage system; while the districts in distress were exempted from taxation, and the poor employed in repairing and raising the embankment to prevent further inundation from the sea,

which had a most injurious effect in salting the soil, besides destroying the crops.*

The improved embankment had a most salutary effect. From the record of phenomenal occurrences previously quoted it appears that thenceforth inundations from the sea were no longer the cause of any famine, which in every instance was now due either to drought or freshet, mostly the former; while nature began to compensate her visitations with the blessing of abundant harvests, when granaries overflowed, and rice could be had for eighty cash per picul. In course of time this happy change became more manifest. It was fostered by the generosity of the Manchu emperors, notably of Yung-ching, who graciously waived taxes outstanding for half a century, and after the following incident, other claims amounting to close upon a million taels. In his reign the provincial governor reported to the throne what the chronicler terms a fall of "sweet dew" as a signal manifestation of heaven's favour, which was attributed to the emperor's virtues; but the Son of Heaven gracefully replied that as this revelation did not happen at

* It was evidently during a famine that arose the curious local legend of the "fairy meeting pavilion," where a Taoist priest is said to have given a man named Sung some stuff which instantly after being eaten was ejected with the result that Sung never after felt hungry though he lived up to a hundred years, in commemoration of which the pavilion was raised, near Ming-hong.

The following is a significant clause among the regulations for the congee-stalls supplied to the starving people by Chow Kung-kiao: "Priests of the Buddhist and Taoist religions, as they have been in the habit on common occasions of employing pernicious doctrines to delude the multitude and thus devour the substance of the people, as silk-worms do the mulberry-leaves, are in themselves a grievance of no small magnitude; when the soup-kitchen are set up, therefore, should this sort of people get admission among the starving poor, the officers in charge should drive them out of the establishments, and not allow them to eat anything; in this way the spread of heretical doctrine may be stopped and discouraged."
—*Chinese Miscellany*, 1850.

the palace, it was due to the goodness of the local officials and people, whose duty it was to acknowledge this heavenly favour by proving themselves worthy thereof. In truth the smile of heaven was now reflected upon the fertile plain of Shanghai; and the scene of former desolation became one of the most smiling regions in the province so aptly called the Garden of China.

The growth of population can hardly be traced with precision, as the returns were originally in families, then in vassals exclusive of women and children, and eventually in the total number of inhabitants. In the Yuen dynasty the district had scarcely 72,000 families, with a seafaring population of under 6,000 merchants and sailors. In the Ming dynasty, the number of families rose to 110,000; part of the district was transferred to other jurisdiction; and towards the close of that dynasty there were over 80,000 vassals owning land and paying tribute in rice. In the reign of the first Manchu emperor, the door-tablets registered about the same number of vassals; it rose to 87,000 in the 51st year of Kang-hsi, and to 93,000 in the days of Yung-ching, when Nan-wei was placed under separate jurisdiction, which considerably reduced the area of the Shanghai district, further lessened by another delimitation in the reign of Kia-king. Thus, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the district was but a third of its original extent; and yet, in 1812, its population, given as 528,000 inhabitants, was represented as having multiplied many folds since the reign of Kang-hsi—a sure sign of agricultural and commercial development.

Before the fishing-station of yore, there now rose a forest of masts—over a thousand junks

thronging the commodious anchorage, laden with the products of almost every province, for Shanghai now flourished not only as the seaport of the rich and populous Yangtze regions, but also as the centre of an extensive maritime trade between the southern and northern provinces, junks from the south not being allowed to sail north of the Yangtze estuary. To a great extent the vast commercial possibilities inherent to Shanghai's geographical position were thus realised, during a long period of comparative uneventfulness, conspicuous by the absence of foreigners.

It is nevertheless remarkable how important a part foreign influence played on the destinies of Shanghai. The prosperity of the place dated from the advent of an alien dynasty, under whose auspices the mart became a city. It was a statesman imbued with Western ideas who shed lustre on the city as his birth-place. Laid in ruins by foreign raiders, Shanghai was three centuries after saved by foreign defenders from desolation at the hands of the Taipings. Lastly, under foreign impulse this most pro-foreign of Chinese cities has attained an enviable position as the commercial metropolis of the empire, as the centre of intellectual activities whose aim destines Shanghai for a higher position in history.





SIU KUANG KI

From a Picture at Sikawei

CHAPTER I.

THE OPENING OF SHANGHAI.

THE commercial importance of Shanghai did not escape the notice of British merchants even in that dismal epoch when, confined within their Canton factory, they panted in vain for freedom of trade in China. As far back as 1756, Mr. Pigou, of the East India Company, suggested Shanghai as a desirable entrepôt; and at his instance the Flint mission was sent to the northern ports a few years after, only to prove an unavailing struggle against the concerted measures of Chinese officials and merchants to retain the foreign trade at Canton. The embassy of Lord Macartney, strange to say, overlooked Shanghai altogether while striving for the opening of Ningpo and Tientsin and the acquisition of Chusan. It was only when the intolerable situation at Canton began to assume a critical turn that the East India Company, in 1832, sought once more to effect an opening in the northern ports, despatching thither the *Lord Amherst* from Macao in

charge of Mr. Hugh Hamilton Lindsay, with the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff as interpreter.* Such was then the attitude of the Canton officials that, to minimise the risks involved, the Company deemed it advisable for Mr. Lindsay to proceed in disguise, he assuming the name of Hoo-hea-me, and the vessel passing as bound for Japan. Yet, wherever he called along the coast Mr. Lindsay experienced but a series of rebuffs—quite in keeping with the vexations undergone by the envoy whose ill-omened name the ship bore. Undaunted by his dismal failure at Amoy, Foochow and Ningpo, Mr. Lindsay at last proceeded to Shanghai, where the authorities had been informed of his whereabouts by the Ningpo and Chusan officials.

As the *Lord Amherst* approached Wusung on June 21st, war-junks and forts opened a vigorous but blank fire; while to crown this blustering deception the field-glass revealed that what looked like a vast encampment was for the most part composed of whitewashed heaps of mud shaped like tents. At Wusung, mandarins in boats sought to prevent further ingress, but out-distancing them Mr. Lindsay with a small party sailed up the river in a boat, and landed unopposed in front of a city temple dedicated to the Queen of Heaven, on the

* The latter had already visited Shanghai while voyaging in a junk as far as Tientsin in the preceding year.

very walls of which was posted an offensively worded edict prohibiting commercial intercourse with the expected foreigners. Followed by a huge crowd, they proceeded at once to the taotai's yamen, whose doors were hastily closed as they approached. After repeated knocking, however, the pressure of two sturdy barbarians proved too heavy for the hinges of the central door; and as it came clattering down, the unceremonious visitors stepped into a spacious hall where stood the state chair of the taotai. That official, they were blandly told, had gone to receive them at Wusung. But the district magistrate, Wan Lun-chan, soon appeared in a towering passion, yelling as he scolded them for venturing into the city without permission. "You cannot trade here, you must go to Canton," shouted he, as with dignified composure Mr. Lindsay explained the object of his visit, and announced that he brought a petition for the taotai. Toning down, Wan took a seat while listening to a tale of woes undergone at Canton, but as Mr. Lindsay ventured to sit down too, Wan instantly rose and with a fiery look of indignation swept out of the hall. Soon he came back bidding Mr. Lindsay to return at once to the temple, where the taotai would grant the desired audience. On leaving, the unwelcome visitors rendered the Chinese obeisance due to equals; and the

magistrate disdainfully ignored it, whereupon Mr. Lindsay addressed him thus: "In my country the government officers are civil to strangers; you, it appears, act differently, and return the courtesy of strangers with rudeness; but still, in order to show to you and all the present company that we understand the rules of propriety and decorum, we again salute you before we depart"—and as again Mr. Lindsay and Mr. Gutzlaff bowed with the hands joined, the supercilious official, stung and disconcerted, returned the salute, though with manifest reluctance, while the crowd enjoyed the little comedy, to his further chagrin.

The taotai as well as the magistrate repaired to the temple with unusual celerity, so that shortly after arrival there Mr. Lindsay was invited to the promised audience. Before going, he pointed out that he expected chairs to be provided for himself and Mr. Gutzlaff if the mandarins were to be seated. Such unheard of equality was deemed quite out of the question; but after a long harangue it was agreed that the taotai would receive the petition standing like the rest. Mr. Lindsay was then conducted to the audience hall. Six mandarins seated in a semicircle budged not as he approached, and he withdrew protesting against the paltry trick played on him. But on being assured that this would not happen again, he returned. The taotai

now rose, stepped forward, and received the petition. It descanted on the commercial progress of that epoch, and on the advantages derivable from a direct trade, which would encourage industries, increase the customs revenue, and promote friendly intercourse — advantages which the taotai was requested to submit to the favourable consideration of the higher authorities with the petitioner's wish to trade at Shanghai. But without listening to one word, Woo, the taotai, upbraided the petitioner just as passionately as Wan had done, and almost in the very same words. The remark that British ports were open to Chinese vessels failed to call forth any but the most unfriendly reciprocity: "If the Shanghai vessels frequent your port," retorted Woo with increasing vehemence, "let your government drive them away; they are not sanctioned by ours in so doing." In vain Mr. Lindsay pointed out that his government treated strangers kindly, and that he had thus a right to expect the same treatment. Woo waxed fiercer, and was told that he would find Englishmen equally susceptible to civility or insult. A copy of the petition having been made, the original was now returned to Mr. Lindsay. As he positively declined to receive it, five or six times it went and came back before being eventually taken away by the taotai, who left behind military mandarins with orders to

detain the party for the night in the temple, whence he would himself see them on board the next morning. The guards, however, raised no difficulty on being told not to enforce detention if they valued the hinges of the temple doors, so that while an excellent supper was being prepared, the party went out for a stroll and met with a cordial greeting from the people, all eager for the pamphlet—on the advantages derivable by Chinese from foreign trade—freely distributed among them.

Before proceeding on board, Mr. Lindsay visited the city, and nowhere in China did he notice a greater display of foreign goods, disposed of at exorbitant rates. No less surprising was the courtesy now shown him by the officials, the magistrate in particular. But when the party had returned on board the *Lord Amherst*, a mandarin again brought back the petition, folded up in a sheet of paper on which was written what purported to be an edict from the taotai, without any official seal, and insulting beyond measure. It served to “throw back” the petition—a most contemptuous expression; and it insisted on instant departure, neither foreign trade nor reference to the higher authorities being permissible by law. Once more the petition went back, with the reply that, pending the decision of the viceroy at

Nanking, for whose consideration it was intended, Mr. Lindsay would stay at Shanghai in the hope that the expected reply might be couched in terms befitting a high-graded mandarin's usual urbanity; and as to the taotai's conduct, it was an outrage not to be borne in silence, unbecoming a nation foremost in power, dignity, and dominions, and ever known to repay kindness with gratitude and insult with resentment.

The taotai was evidently scared; he next sent for the edict that it might be substituted by a properly worded and sealed document. But while gratified that the impropriety was duly acknowledged, Mr. Lindsay declined to comply with the request, even when it was reiterated with an apology, coupled with the explanation that the military preparations going on were merely for the purpose of a review, which was hardly credible in face of a proclamation ordering them for the expulsion of the barbarians. Anyhow Mr. Lindsay witnessed a review of five hundred braves with wicker shields, swords of flat iron-bars, and rusty matchlocks, intended no doubt to terrify him.

In determining to stay, Mr. Lindsay hoped that, to hasten his departure, the taotai might after all allow him to trade; or if the case was referred to the viceroy it might be reported to Peking and thus lead to an enquiry as to the grievances at

Canton. In the course of a fortnight he had the satisfaction of observing everywhere a most friendly disposition on the part of the people. The merchants were quite eager for business, but the ever-watchful officials prevented every transaction, and, as a deterrent, seized one of the wealthiest residents on the false charge of having invited the barbarians to Shanghai. So rigid was the interdict on foreign trade that the people were debarred from calling on board; officials persistently offered to supply provisions to the ship free of cost, which were as persistently refused; and the magistrate, now the most friendly of all the mandarins, could with difficulty be led to sanction the purchase of a few hundred dollars' worth of silk, and this on the distinct understanding that the goods were only for private use. He explained that, howsoever welcome to both officials and people, foreign trade was impracticable so long as it remained forbidden by imperial laws; and he promised, as desired, to have this set forth in writing by the mandarins of rank now gathered at Shanghai.

At the temple of the Queen of Heaven, Pao Ta-jin, a deputy from the provincial governor, received Mr. Lindsay most cordially, and informed him that, as the viceroy was then in Kiangsi, it would be long before the expected reply to the

petition could be received; and in offering the explanation given by the magistrate, he suggested that an embassy should approach the emperor for a repeal of the law prohibiting foreign trade, there being otherwise no alternative but to carry it on as hitherto at Canton.

The taotai then sent a duly sealed edict, compassionate and paternal in tone, and quite devoid of offensive expressions. It once more urged a return to Canton as the wisest course to be adopted; and naval mandarins who followed Mr. Lindsay like his own shadow repeatedly implored him on their knees to depart and save their buttons.

Trade being quite out of the question, Mr. Lindsay resolved to leave for the still more exclusive Land of the Morning Calm; and as the *Lord Amherst* reached the open sea, the Wusung war-junks took to the farce of "expelling the barbarians" by firing six miles away.

Besides disappointing, the mission proved a thankless task, for it did not meet with the approval of the East India Company's directors. But the era of free trade was now close at hand, and not in vain did the worthy pioneer pen his glowing impressions of Shanghai's wealth and prospects as well as a full record of the ordeals he underwent with such admirable self-possession and perseverance—a work which exercised no inconsiderable

influence on the future of Shanghai. Nay, in its revelation of the important northern trade, the epoch-making report proved to be the link between the old and modern history not only of Shanghai but of many another port in China.*

It was to Chusan, however, that Sir James Urmston, of the East India Company, looked forward when urging in 1833 the removal of the trade from Canton. The vigorous policy which followed the Company's dissolution augured no better for Shanghai at the outset, for shortly after the outbreak of hostilities Chusan was, in 1840, captured and occupied, so that to all intents and purposes that charming island seemed destined for a centre of British trade in lieu of Shanghai.

Meanwhile the Chinese authorities were quite in earnest as to the defence of Shanghai. At an arsenal within the city, hundreds of guns were cast; and an English 12-pounder subsequently found there served as model for many brass carronades which, instead of the crown and "G.R. 1826" on the pattern, bore significant Chinese inscriptions, such as "Tamer and Subduer of the Barbarians," and "The Robbers' Judgment," while the heaviest of all, a fine piece over twelve feet long, was dignified with the terse but eloquent appellation of "The

* *Report of Proceedings on a Voyage to the Northern Ports of China in the ship Lord Amherst*, printed by order of the House of Commons.

Barbarian," all on pivot carriage and with bamboo sights. By way of field pieces, jingals were mounted on wheel-barrows with locker, drawer, and shovel for ammunition. In imitation of the paddle steamers then in vogue, the largest war-junks were fitted with paddle-wheels, two aside, propelled somewhat like tread-mills by relays of men in the tween-deck at the rate of three and a half knots an hour—curious boats highly prized by the mandarins, and equipped with two or three brass "tamers" and a large number of jingals *

The strategic position of the Wusung forts was now adapted to the double purpose of defending Shanghai as well as the entrance to the Yangtze. The two crumbling forts with some twelve unmounted guns were replaced by extensive earth-works raised on granite embankments. The main battery extended over three miles from Paoshan to Wusung, with a hundred and thirty-four guns in a continuous line of embrasures protected by stakes. From the Wusung Creek a crescent-shaped battery of ten 24 pounders of brass also commanded the approach to the river, further guarded by a tower with flanking batteries mounting twenty-one guns on the opposite shore.

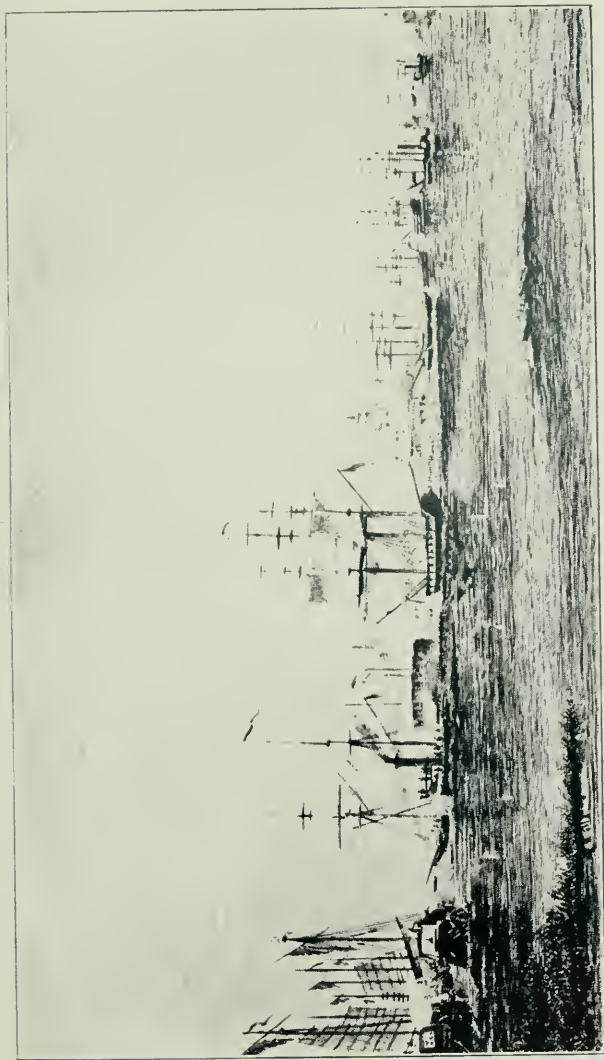
* Sir John Davis attributes this paddle-boat to the ingenuity of a Chusan mechanic, who first tried to propel the wheels with smoke from below.

Amidst the preparations, on 18th April, 1842, the magazine at Shanghai blew up. Admiral Chin Hua-ching, who suspected treachery, hastened to examine the magazine at Wusung, where he found combustibles already piled outside the walls.* The garrison there, over five thousand strong, included the choicest Manchu troops; and the command was intrusted to the gallant old admiral, who had seen half-a-century's fighting with smugglers and pirates.

When at last a fleet under Sir William Parker approached Wusung, Niu Ta-jin, the viceroy of Nanking, confidently bade the people to prepare fêtes wherewith to celebrate the glorious sacrifice of barbarian "eyes," or leaders, shortly to be captured in battle, and he ventured to assume command at the outworks, issuing bombastic proclamations. There the garrison displayed such confidence that only its derisive cheers hailed a reconnoitring party sent to sound and buoy the channel.

On the 16th June, 1842, at 6 a.m., the action began, the ships being towed into position by armed paddle steamers of the East India Company, one lashed alongside each ship—this way of towing being found best adapted to the intricacies of the channel shoals. The frigate *Blonde* (42) led the

* Admiral Chin's Memoirs, in the *Chinese Repository* of 1844 Vol. XIII., pp. 251-2.



From a Drawing by Capt. Watson of H. M. S. Modeste

BATTLE OF WUSUNG

way, followed by the ship of the line *Cornwallis* (72) flying the vice-admiral's flag, their position being in front of the main line of defence to the west; and under cover of these two ships, the sloops *Modeste* (18), *Columbine* (16) and *Clio* (16) proceeded up the river to engage the inner batteries at Wusung, the *Blonde* ready to support them if necessary, as was also the *North Star* (26) which arrived in time to take part in the action. Under a brisk fire from both banks of the river the ships advanced without returning a shot until they took up their allotted positions, when they started a terrific cannonade as well as fusillade. That the shots from the batteries were not of the usual random sort may be gauged from the fact that the *Blonde* was hulled no less than fourteen times, and early in the action Lieut. Hewitt, of the Marines, was killed on board by a round shot; while the *Sesostris*, which towed the *Cornwallis*, was hit eleven times, all the other vessels suffering too more or less. Embrasure after embrasure at the main battery crumbled away; yet one of the defenders stood up waving a banner defiantly in face of the withering broadsides.

The *Modeste*, towed by the *Nemesis*, led the way to Wusung Creek under a heavy fire. Leaving her at the creek entrance hotly engaged with the ten 24 pounder battery within musket shot, the *Nemesis*

went forward to attack a fleet of war-junks, her after gun playing on the battery all the while. The junks, nineteen in all, opened on her, but the canister and grape shot of her forward gun soon set them flying after their flagship, the crew taking to sampans and jumping overboard on the way. In giving chase, the *Nemesis* ran aground, when a sister-ship, the *Phlegethon*, came to her rescue and completed the destruction of the junks, only two of which escaped, the rest being set on fire, with the exception of three or four paddle junks retained as curiosity. The *Modeste*, now made fast to a jetty in the creek, stood so close to the battery that its guns, high-ranged, could not be trained on her, while her larboard guns as well as musket-fire proved so effective that the battery was abandoned. The *Columbine* and *Clio*, having silenced the guns on the opposite shore, now came up firing upon the retreating column from the deserted battery, whose guns, the heaviest in the whole outworks, were soon spiked.*

At last, after a heavy, incessant fire for almost two hours, the *Cornwallis*, *Blonde*, and *North Star* succeeded in disabling the main battery, whence

* The prowess of the *Modeste*—very briefly narrated in the admiral's report—met with ample justice at the hands of the commander of her gallant little escort, Captain Hall, in whose *Voyages of the Nemesis in China* is to be found one of the best accounts of the action, in which he himself played a conspicuous part.

large bodies of troops issuing forth in various directions were dispersed by shells and rockets. Niu, the disillusioned viceroy, went among them, being, it is said, forcibly carried away by his officers from the thick of the fray: "Cannon-balls innumerable, flying in awful confusion through the expanse of heaven, fell before, behind, and on either side of him; while in the distance he saw the ships of the rebels standing erect, lofty as the mountains. The fierce daring of the rebels was inconceivable; officers and men fell at their posts; every effort to resist and check the onset was in vain, and a retreat became inevitable."

As the fire slackened, the bluejackets and marines of the three sloops landed at Wusung, and led by Captain Watson, of the *Modeste*, rushed forward in the direction of the main battery to turn the flank and cut off the retreat. They were met with such a stubborn front that bayonets crossed spears repeatedly on the way to the embankment, the path before them bristling with jingals. With ten wounded, Captain Watson rallied his straggling men, now beset by overwhelming numbers; while Captain Bouchier of the *Blonde*, landing in front of the battery with the bluejackets and marines of his vessel as well as of the flagship, dashed forward and, effecting a junction with Captain Watson's men and another

small party from the brig *Algerine*, carried the whole line in spite of a most determined stand by Admiral Chin, who held on to the débris of the battery, inspiring the demoralised officers, himself firing the jingals until he was mortally wounded, bowing in the direction of Peking as he fell like a hero.

On the other side of the river the *Sesostris*, though aground, silenced the tower's fire; and under Captain Ormsby her bluejackets with those of another paddle steamer, the *Tenasserim*, landed and occupied the batteries.

In the absence of landing facilities, the military forces under Sir Hugh Gough could not leave the troopships in time to take part in the storming of the batteries. It was past noon when the troops landed and moved on Paoshan, whither the viceroy with some fifteen hundred men had retreated. To intercept him, Major-General Schoedde's brigade was sent to the rear of the town, while Sir Hugh Gough with the rest of the troops went forward along the embankment only to meet the brigade in possession of Paoshan, which had been hastily abandoned with all stores and seventy-eight guns, the retreating force falling back ten miles off, where a portion disbanded, and the remainder fled with the viceroy to Soochow.



TARTAR AND ENGLISH SOLDIERS FIGHTING.



ENGLISH FORAGING PARTY.

CHINESE CARICATURES.

The British casualties were only two killed and twenty-five wounded, all in the naval force; while the Chinese had about a hundred killed, the number of wounded not being ascertainable.

Niu Ta-jin's report to the throne was like a telegram in its brevity: "The rebels forced their way to Wusung; Chin, the admiral, is dead; Paoshan is lost." Then he added some imaginary prowess: "The military commander maintained his ground for seven days; he sunk three ships, and wounded or killed several tens of barbarians. They fired from their masts down upon our intrenchments, and the position was no longer tenable." Subsequently he reported more fully, that relying upon Chin's bravery and invulnerableness, he retired to his quarters only to be roused in the morning by the roaring cannonade: "I immediately took the command of the forces, and the soldiers observing me at their head, fought with desperation. I saw the shots falling on every side, and the rockets of the enemy spreading a sheet of fire over the ground, so that houses and forts and barracks were soon a mass of ruins. How happy should I have been to effect with my death the defeat of the invaders! Fortunately I reached the town of Paoshan, which was already abandoned. Nothing remained for me but flight, and I repaired to the nearest post to reorganise the scattered

forces. Having done my utmost to raise the whole people against the enemy, I stood ashamed at the issue of my efforts. With ten thousand deaths I could not expiate my fault, specially when I place before my eyes the noble Chin who died for his country." *

On the 17th the *Nemesis* and *Medusa* proceeded up the Huangpu to reconnoitre the inner defences, and about seven miles up the river were fired upon at an ineffective range from either bank; but as they neared, both forts were abandoned, the barracks being set on fire. The *Modeste*, *Columbine* and *Clio* were next morning towed to a position beyond the range of these forts, and a landing party under Captain Watson took the guns, fifty-five altogether; while the vessels set some more war-junks in flames. No further reconnaissance being ordered, the vessels returned to Wusung, unaware of a powerful line of defence further up the river which subsequently placed the expedition in great danger while on the way to the city.

* By imperial command a shrine was built in Chin's honour at the spot where he fell so gallantly; and at the Ching-huang-miao in the city, homage is still rendered to a life-size effigy of his in state dress. The hero was buried in the military temple. The wadded cotton garment he wore, where several shots were found embedded, at last gave out the secret of his reputed invulnerability in many a fight. A legend arose to the effect that shortly after his death the oracle at Sungkiang learnt of his having been promoted in heaven to an important commission in the Board of Thunder, so that he could still be of service to his country though on earth he failed to crush the enemy.

Before a shot was fired at Wusung, the mandarins at Shanghai were preparing for flight; and the people, tired of exactions in the name of defensive measures, stood on the verge of revolt, declaring that if the officials fled they would not be permitted to return. But the fate of Wusung led to a widespread panic, and for days the upper waterways swarmed with boats full of refugees with their valuables, bound mostly for Soochow, whither the government treasure also went with the officials.

It was early on the 19th that the forces at Wusung started for Shanghai by land and water. Under Lieut.-Colonel Montgomerie went overland a column of about a thousand men from the 18th Royal Irish, the 49th, the Madras Horse Artillery, the Royal Artillery, and a detachment of sappers and miners—with orders to intercept troops and treasures supposed to be on the way from Shanghai.

The 55th Regiment at the same time embarked with the rest of the troops in the *Tenasserim*, *Nemesis*, *Phlegethon* and *Pluto*, which also brought in tow the *North Star*, *Modeste*, *Columbine* and *Clio*, the *Medusa* conveying the admiral and general with their staff, and several naval officers with the marines.

On nearing the city, they were fired upon by a range of batteries on the site now occupied by the British consulate. The situation was rather critical,

and the danger should have been averted by a reconnaissance. As remarked by a military officer present, a well-directed fire from this commanding position would have raked every vessel as it approached, and the effect would have been particularly terrific on board the paddle-steamers teeming with troops. But the fleet passed unscathed, a broadside or two from the *North Star* and *Modeste* with a few shells from the *Nemesis* and *Tenasserim* sufficing to silence this strong line of defence with its forty-nine guns, precipitately abandoned with large stores of arms, and as promptly occupied by a landing party of bluejackets and marines under Captain Bouchier.

At the same time, after an uneventful march, Lieut.-Colonel Montgomerie's column passed close to the rear, sent a few rockets after a retreating force, and with bugles sounding entered the city by the north gate unopposed, before the 55th disembarked from the *Nemesis* at the temple jetty where Mr. Lindsay landed ten years ago; and once more Mr. Gutzlaff now stepped ashore there as interpreter. How significant the name of the *Nemesis* must have been to him! No further opposition was met, though before the city stood another battery with fifty-six guns facing the river.

For headquarters Lieut.-General Sir Hugh Gough chose a pavilion at the temple of the tutelary

deity of Shanghai, the picturesque Ching-huang-miao. Its adornments suffered much at the hands of the three regiments stationed there, even exquisite wood carvings being torn down for fuel. At a vast pawn-broker establishment serving as the artillery's quarters, its store of gold and silver ware disappeared, and the troops revelled in furs and silk, which also found way over the city wall to a native crowd engaged in a roaring traffic with soldiers on the ramparts.* Stringent orders repressed further looting; and as a check on native plunderers, respectable residents were placed in charge of deserted establishments containing valuable property. Meanwhile the poor feasted on the granaries opened for them. Public buildings, according to Sir Henry Pottinger, did not escape destruction. More artillery was found at the arsenal, together with newly-made designs for a Paixhan gun. Since the fall of Wusung, some four hundred guns were captured and destroyed with the military stores, save all brass guns—about a hundred altogether—retained as prize.† Sentries placed at every city gate checked further exodus,

* See Captain Loch's *Closing Events of the Campaign in China* and Lieutenant Ouchterlony's *Chinese War* for graphic details of such doings.

† There is a discrepancy as to the total number of guns captured. The general's report gives it as 406, and the admiral's 388; while only 364 is mentioned in the circular issued by Sir Henry Pottinger, dated Wusung, 24th June, 1842.

and for the same purpose the *Columbine* and *Medusa* went further up the river, as did the *Nemesis* and *Phlegethon* for a reconnaissance.

Considerable reinforcements were preceded by the arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger who, as plenipotentiary, issued a proclamation in Chinese much after the florid native style, as may be seen from its pompous exordium: "Under the canopy of heaven, and within the circumference of the earth, many are the different countries; of the multitude of these not one is there that is not ruled by the supreme Heavenly Father, nor are there any that are not brethren of one family. Being then of one family, very plain is it that they should hold friendly and brotherly intercourse together, and not boast themselves one above the other." It set forth the grievances undergone by Britons in China, and concluded with the declaration that hostilities would be carried on until some high functionary vested by the emperor with full powers should proceed to negotiate peace on the basis of an indemnity, of equality in official intercourse, and the cession of "insular territory" for commercial purposes and as guarantee for the future.

From the secret state papers captured during the war it transpires that, before the capture of Shanghai, the imperial high commissioners Ki-ying and Ilipu had instructions to negotiate for the city's



SELLING LOOT AT THE CITY WALL

immunity, but they were delayed on the journey and only their emissaries proceeded to Shanghai. * Ilipu now wrote that he was surprised at the fleet having sailed up the river "firing guns and stirring up a quarrel," he deprecated further hostilities in view of untold miseries; and as a peace offering he restored several British subjects who had been kidnapped at Chusan and caged like wild beasts.

While thankful for the release of these men, the admiral and general courteously declined to enter into informal peace negotiations. Nevertheless a petty mandarin known at the headquarters as "Corporal White" was again sent thither with similar overtures, to which the plenipotentiary attached no importance. The city was eventually ransomed for three hundred thousand dollars, it is said, as part of the indemnity.

The whole force left Shanghai on June 23rd, and with the considerable naval as well as military reinforcements just arrived, sailed for the Yangtze in an imposing fleet of seventy-three sail. The terrible fate of Chinkiang at last placed beyond doubt the futility of further resistance; and yet, at Nanking it was only when the ships had trained their guns upon the famous city that the imperial high commissioners at last produced their creden-

* Sir John Davis *China during the War and since the Peace*, Vol. I., p. 239.

tials and set to negotiate the treaty that was to mark a new era in China.

To Shanghai as a treaty port these momentous negotiations were of the most vital concern, in view of the expected cession of Chusan, which implied the rise of a rival port infinitely superior in every respect, superb alike for residential, trading, and strategic purposes—the key of China, according to the Duke of Wellington. Instead of an improved factory on a muddy stream, the sorely-tried China residents looked fondly to an English home at Chusan, with charming villas and gardens amidst picturesque valleys and crystalline cascades, with orchards and pasturage on the exuberant plains, and on the noble harbour an emporium that was to assume towards Shanghai the grand rôle of Hongkong towards Canton.

But Ki-ying and Ilipu were as fully alive to the importance of Chusan; and Sir Henry Pottinger seemed quite satisfied with the acquisition of Hongkong, although in the draft treaty there were these words: “cession of the islands of” In the course of the negotiations, however, the plenipotentiary sent the draft ashore with the “s” struck off the “islands,” and “Hongkong” alone inserted in the blank space. The terms having been read out, Ilipu paused, and at length enquired whether that was all, when Mr. Morrison,

the interpreter, consulted the secretary, Lieut.-Colonel Malcolm, who replied in the negative; but with consummate tact Ilipu closed the negotiations with the remark: "all shall be granted; it is settled, it is finished." *

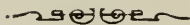
Although they had instructions to secure peace on any terms, the wily high commissioners at first demurred even to the temporary occupation of Chusan pending the payment of the indemnity and opening of the treaty ports, to which they ultimately acceded. On the final payment of the indemnity, Sir John Davis, then governor of Hongkong, held discretionary powers to negotiate the purchase of Chusan, but was persuaded at the outset that no price would be acceptable for what was considered an integral part of the empire. † Apprehensions as to French designs were eventually set at rest by a diplomatic understanding on the point, which relegated to bufferdom the beautiful and coveted island once pledged for twenty-one million dollars.

Thus vanished the long cherished dream of an ideal colony at Chusan, while British moderation and Manchu diplomacy combined to found on Chinese soil an unique little republic and to centre

* R. M. Martin's *China*, Vol. II., p. 84.

† Sir John Davis' *China during the War and since the Peace*, Vol. II., p. 136.

thereon the foreign wealth and enterprise which have won for Shanghai the sceptre of a commerce richer than that of Venice in her proudest days of splendour.





SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF NANKING ON BOARD H.M.S. CORNWALLIS.

CHAPTER II.

RISE OF THE FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS.

A NOTABLE point in the treaty of Nanking is that, while the trade and shipping of the treaty ports received every possible consideration, the question of foreign residence was very sparingly touched upon; and even amidst the amplifications of the supplementary treaty there is not one word as to the settlement projected at Shanghai since the very outset of the negotiations.

On the way from Nanking, Sir Henry Pottinger called at Shanghai for the ransom of the city as well as to choose a site for the settlement; but beyond the mere choice of ground, nothing seems to have been done: no lease was made, no regulation framed for the benefit of future foreign residents.

The locality chosen was then mostly under cultivation, intersected by several small creeks, with a quiet hamlet nestled here and there among its shady trees, while far and wide the turf heaved in many a mouldering heap over generations of

peasants there resting for ever on the very scene of their former toils. Along the foreshore lay the dilapidated towing path of old, where a cheering throng used to urge on the immense fleet of tribute-laden junks as each glided down the river. But for the bustle on such occasions, the future Bund lay undisturbed save by some lonely fisherman with his net or some busy boatman scouring his sampan at the outskirt of verdant fields, where rice, corn, and cotton were grown.

Such was the rustic landscape which greeted the eyes of the founders of the settlement as at sunset on the 9th November 1843, they passed by in a small steamer from Chusan; and being then at dinner they raised a toast to the future greatness and glory of the place. Among them was Captain Balfour of the Madras Artillery, appointed Consul for Shanghai,* and his interpreter, Dr. W. H. Medhurst, to whom the settlement is indebted for an amusing account of its birth and infancy.†

Although the treaty had been ratified, the local mandarins pretended that it was hardly yet time to expect the opening of the port; but their emissaries brought back the notice that an immediate interview with the taotai was necessary;

* Afterwards Sir George Balfour, M.P.

† *Reminiscences of the Opening of Shanghai to Foreign Trade in the Chinese and Japanese Repository*. Vol. II, No. XV, of 12th October 1854.

and shortly after, on the morning of the 10th, Consul Balfour landed with his staff, and followed by an immense crowd, proceeded to the yamen in sedan chairs sent for their conveyance. The reception, though cool, was far from uncivil. But at the proposal to establish the consulate within the city, the taotai and his retinue all warmed up. They were perfectly sure no house was to be had for love or money ; but outside the city walls one might perhaps be found, though they knew of none being vacant even there. Consul Balfour assured them that he would look into the matter himself, and in case no house was available he would either pitch his tents at one of the temples or accommodate himself at the residence of some of the mandarins.

But no sooner had the consul left the yamen than a well-dressed man offered to show him a house he was sure to like. In fact, it was a suitable building, spacious and elegantly furnished, the residence of a private gentleman in one of the main streets. The guide proved to be the owner himself, and closing with him on the spot the consul and his party soon found themselves comfortably lodged there, not without wondering at their unexpected success. The little mystery was soon cleared up. Yao, the landlord, partner of a Hongkong firm, was bent on securing the consul's good graces for a projected monopoly of the trade

with foreigners at Shanghai. The mandarins were of course privy to his views; and they vested him not only as keeper of the "White Devils," but as the sole responsible medium of all foreign transactions. But Yao soon found the consul less complaisant than he expected, even in lesser concerns than a revival of the hong-merchant régime of Canton.

The first attempt at housekeeping in the native city was not without its droll incidents. As related by Dr. Medhurst, the servants struck up the usual "hee-haw" chant even when carrying dishes to table, and were astonished at the variety and quantity of provisions required. The party came well provided with stores; but fresh milk was not to be had except of the kind given to babies, and as this did not suit adult palates, the "dairyman" supplied what was found to be the compressed juice of water-chestnuts. A gaping crowd wandered all over the house as in a museum, prying at the strangers at table, at work, and even when asleep. Yao was far from disposed to secure the needed privacy for his tenants, but as they grew restive he restricted the show to his relatives; and the nuisance continuing unabated, every intruder was bundled out of the premises. Yao himself was bidden to leave, but he positively refused as the house was his, and to look after the

property he must have a small room near the door. This room, it transpired, served as a police station where every native on entering had to report the object of his visit, and whence a close espionage was kept on the consular staff. Yao was then given the option of being seen outside the premises or of being bundled out, whereupon he left, appearing thenceforth only to collect his handsome rent with a rather long face.

Shanghai was declared open to foreign trade on the 17th November 1843. The mandarins then devised means to ensure the revenue derived from transit dues hitherto levied on goods sent to Canton for shipment; and for the collection of these dues some of the wealthiest merchants, with Yao at their head, were licensed to establish warehouses where every native trader was under heavy penalties bound to store his cargo and register the sale thereof. Opposed as this measure was to the treaty rights, it evoked a strong protest from Consul Balfour; but though the question was submitted to the higher authorities for settlement, nothing short of the vitality and expansion of the trade succeeded in eventually shaking off the trammels laid by the licensed monopolists.*

* Under instructions from the plenipotentiary, Consul Balfour sought to establish bonded warehouses, for which, however, he failed to obtain the consent of the Chinese government.

The arrival of British merchants led to difficulties concerning the projected settlement. It was easy enough to define the locality, but the landowners either demanded exorbitant prices or fought shy of intending purchasers; while the mandarins, on being appealed to by the consul, declined to interfere on the ground that they were unable to coerce "their poor ignorant children." Before any lot of land could be secured, long and harassing were the *pourparlers* which the consul and merchants had with the mandarins and landowners. The trouble ceased not even when the owners had parted with their land, for under the most frivolous pretexts they refused to quit, and only when on the point of being forcibly ejected they would go, leaving behind some old vixen who invariably proved irresistible to all persuasive power save that of money. One old termagant thus waxed rich by buying and selling lots on her own account while raising trouble right and left: "if abused, she retorted in language far more expressive and violent; if touched, she shrieked to such extent that there was no staying near her; and at last when the consul managed to persuade the highest mandarin of the place to call with him on the old lady, she coolly spat at and defied them." In short, the acquisition of the settlement proved far more difficult than the capture of Wusung.

The mandarins, moreover, regarded the purchase of land by foreigners as an alienation of imperial property not sanctioned by law. A loophole, however, was not wanting; and the holdings were leased in perpetuity subject to an annual payment of land-tax equal to about twenty-eight shillings per acre. On these terms the mandarins issued title-deeds for property said to be rented, but virtually bought at rates varying from fifty to eighty thousand cash per mow, or £46 to £74 per acre, while to the natives the market value of the land was from fifteen to thirty-five thousand cash per mow, for the finest lots along the Bund.*

It was originally proposed that all the lots within the settlement should be secured by the British Government instead of being separately purchased by the merchants.† But such was the irony of fate that Consul Balfour failed in his negotiations for the very site subsequently acquired for the British Consulate, then known as Li-kia-chang, on which stood a naval yard at the rear of the dismantled battery.

That Consul Balfour meant to establish a British settlement under his control is evident

* Some of these lots realised from £8,000 to £12,000 per acre but twenty years later.

† Maclellan's *Story of Shanghai*, p. 16.

from the understanding arrived at with the taotai that, if individuals of other than British nationality proposed to rent land, house, or godown within the settlement, such proposal must first be submitted to the British consul in order to prevent misunderstanding, it being for him to say whether such proposal could be acceded to.

This stipulation is one of the most notable features of the Land Regulations enacted by Consul Balfour and Kung Mow-ken, the taotai, on the 29th November 1845, that is to say, over two years since the opening of the port—an interval suggestive enough of the regulations having been submitted by the consul for the approval of the home government. Anyhow, it is surely a matter for regret that the settlement was not then vested with a legal status and a carefully digested code of municipal laws, which would have obviated much subsequent difficulties due to the shortcomings of the original Land Regulations—undoubtedly the most curious agreement ever entered into by a British official in China, so informal and unconventional that the English version is but a translation bearing only the signature of Dr. Medhurst as interpreter, the original being manifestly drafted by the taotai after his own sweet will and in a style rather unbecoming the importance of the document, which served as the basis of all subsequent regulations.

For boundaries Captain Balfour is credited with having had in view waterways which could be rendered easily defensible on emergency. In the regulations, however, the settlement was merely defined as being situated "north of the Yang-king-pang and south of the Li-kia-chang." For the western boundary Captain Balfour is said to have placed a stone at the corner of the Yang-king-pang and Defence Creek.* The Huangpu was not given as the eastern boundary evidently because the sunken foreshore, though repaired at the expense of the land-renters for an embankment and thoroughfare, was still reserved by the taotai for the towing path of tribute-laden junks as of yore.

This reservation, however, proved a blessing in disguise, as by precluding the proposed construction of warehouses there, it eventually secured a noble frontage for the settlement. Public jetties were provided for in the regulations, as well as roads of a standard width of twenty-five feet, which some land-renters were narrow-minded enough to deem too broad for the requirements of the place. To the same illiberal spirit is attributable the impress of pre-settlement days left upon the curves of Nanking Road, which was shabbily constructed upon the windings of a creek, to the perpetual

* *Debates and Proceedings of Shanghai Ratepayers on the Revision of Municipal Regulations, 1881.*

execration of the Committee of Roads and Jetties then entrusted with the municipal administration.

The taotai's sweet will is most evident in the stipulations concerning the upkeep of graves within the settlement under construction, and the ancestral rites to be there observed without hindrance at stated periods in spring, summer, autumn, and winter; and the Chinese were entitled to remove the graves therefrom if it suited their convenience, but they were debarred from further burials in the cemetery-like settlement, while it was stipulated, too, that should foreigners die in the settlement they might be buried there according to their own rites, without any hindrance.

The unconventional simplicity which characterised the whole tenour of the regulations may be seen from the stipulation that, after renting land, merchants might build houses and godowns, churches and hospitals, charitable institutions, schools and "houses of concourse;" they might cultivate flowers, plant trees, and have places of amusement. But they must not store contrabands, nor fire muskets or guns at unseasonable periods; still less might they fire shots or shoot arrows or act in such a disorderly manner as might endanger people, to the terror of the inhabitants.

Instead of any defensive works for the settlement, barriers were stipulated for; instead of at

least a police force, watchmen were to be engaged by foreigners and natives conjointly, subject to the approval of the city officials, who undertook to make a deterrent of such cases in which natives proved a nuisance to foreigners, on complaint being lodged by the consul to this effect.

Native domicile was interdicted within the settlement and future extension thereof; while land-renters were debarred from owning more than ten mow of ground each, so as to ensure an equitable distribution of land as well as to guard against traffic in landed property.

No precaution was spared for the legalisation of land purchase and collection of land-taxes. On the other hand, sanitary laws were quite overlooked. But with the view of affording peace and comfort to the merchants, and of rendering property insurable, the accumulation of filth and such-like nuisances as well as the storage of combustibles were prohibited within residential quarters.

The land-renters as a body were responsible for the municipal upkeep of the settlement; its revenue was to consist of contributions from them; and for assessment the consul nominated three merchants of recognised integrity, who constituted the Committee of Roads and Jetties. The land-renters were vested with the control of the revenue and expenditure; and in case of there being a deficit,

they might at a public meeting resolve to cover it by contributions on exports and imports, subject, however, to the decision of the consul, who was also vested with the adjudication of any cases involving a breach of the regulations in like manner as that concerning treaty stipulations; while foreigners of other than British nationality were alike amenable to the regulations, the revision whereof might be effected only with the consent of the British and Chinese authorities.

Such was the code of regulations which Captain Balfour, in a note to the taotai, accepted as conducive to the good order, peace, and comfort of British subjects. However crude and quaint in some respects, it certainly contained some salutary measures; it had at least the merit of aiming to establish a thoroughly foreign settlement, free from that intermixture of jurisdictions which in later days has proved to be the curse of Shanghai.

Nevertheless in the Land Regulations lay the seed of dissensions; for as foreigners of various nationalities with their consuls resorted to Shanghai, the question arose as to the validity of the regulations in cases where such foreigners were concerned; and it soon became evident that the French and Americans were also bent in having settlements of their own.

Ever since the capture of Shanghai,—when the bishop of Nanking visited the British headquarters—

the French were close in the wake of the Britons. In a junk with a picked French crew Captain Cecille of the *Erigone* followed the expedition to Nanking, and almost insisted on being present at the signing of the treaty on board the *Cornwallis*. The French treaty soon ensued; but even before the appointment of a French consul to Shanghai, Monseigneur de Besi, of Nanking, deputed Père Lemaitre to claim, under the auspices of the British and Danish consuls, the recovery of the first Christian church raised at Shanghai in the seventeenth century and converted into the war-god's temple since the reign of Yung-ching.* The taotai roundly refused to comply with the demand, which he deemed tantamount to a request for his resignation; but in the end he compensated the claim with lands at Tongkadu, and outside the north gate as well as within the city; and later on, in 1848, the Jesuit mission further secured by purchase a site memorable to the fathers—Sikawei, where lay buried their glorious Mæcenæ of olden days, the celebrated Siu Kuang-ki, the hamlet there being the home of his ancestors, whence the name of the place, properly Siu-kia-wei.†

* In 1860 General de Montauban succeeded in securing for the Jesuit mission this historical structure, now known as the Lao Dang (old church).

† It was later, in 1864, that the mission bought the hill visited by Emperor Kang-hsi and generally known as Zo-se, where now stands the finest observatory in the Far East.

By virtue of the Franco-Chinese treaty Consul de Montigny sought to establish the French concession in 1848; while the American and Belgian consuls were also known to entertain designs on the same plot of ground. In the course of negotiations with Wu Taotai, Consul de Montigny had occasion to lodge a strong protest, as in lieu of the ground south of the Yang-king-pang, part of the adjoining settlement was offered, subject to the British consul's approval. Eventually, however, the desired concession was granted by Lin Taotai on the 6th April 1849, the boundaries being clearly defined—on the south the creek along the city wall, on the north the Yang-king-pang, on the east the riverside from the Canton guild to the Yang-king-pang, on the west the creek named after the war-god's temple, Kuan-ti-miao, up to the Chou-kin-chao bridge—subject to future extension if desired. The acquisition was attended with comparatively less difficulty than what beset Consul Balfour—every grave and even trees as well as building within the locality disposed of being paid for at fixed rates, one lot secured, of two mow, costing \$457 altogether. Over the concession Consul de Montigny claimed territorial jurisdiction.

The American settlement was unobtrusively founded in 1848 by Bishop Boone north of the Soochow Creek, the eastern portion of Hongkew

being for the most part swampy ground with the present Broadway as the foreshore. On the other hand the American consul, Mr. Griswold, of Messrs. Russell & Co., warred against the principle of exclusive privileges as one of the worst features of Chinese policy. The British consul as well as the taotai objected in vain to the American flag being hoisted on what was then considered the British settlement. Then Mr. Griswold protested in turn against the French concession, which, it was alleged, was precisely the ground offered in 1846 to his predecessor. It was remarked that nowhere but in China would consuls be permitted to claim exclusive jurisdiction over large tracts marked off by them for settlement quite beyond all actual requirements.

The French consul, however, maintained that concessions were necessary in order to avoid conflict in consular jurisdiction amidst international complications. Not inapposite was the remark that he lived upon a volcano: in the very hotel where he stayed on arrival, a Frenchman stored two hundred barrels of gunpowder, whereupon the British consul came to the rescue of his colleague and with due approval enforced upon the Frenchman the observance of the Land Regulations as to the storage of dangerous goods.

The American minister upheld Mr. Griswold's protest regarding the French concession, while M. de Montigny appealed to the French minister for support, in face of Shanghai's tendency to become a hotbed of dissensions, which rendered it advisable for each consul to be solely responsible for his own acts towards the Chinese authorities.*

Out of the French concession the taotai evidently sought to rear an apple of discord: in a confidential despatch to the plenipotentiary, Consul Alcock, who succeeded Captain Balfour, alluded to the international difficulties thus raised by Chinese officials, who profited thereby to set the Land Regulations at naught, while pretending to uphold them officially—an antagonism evidently due to the uneasiness with which they viewed the rapid growth of the settlement.†

The zeal displayed by Consul de Montigny found a ready response on the part of the French missionaries only, who at once started to build the Tongkadu cathedral and the establishment at Sikawei. But no French merchant took advantage of the opening of the silk districts, even in view of the inadequate supply of silk in France owing to the pest which at this period wrought havoc among

* See Cordier's *Les Origines de Deux Établissements Français dans l'Extrême Orient: Changhai-Ningpo*.

† Michie's *The Englishman in China*, Vol. I., pp. 434—5.

the silkworms in Europe. The French concession lay quite neglected, and for years nothing was to be seen there but the consulate and a Parisian watchmaker's establishment; while the Americans, too, made little or no progress at Hongkew.

Quite different was the case with the British settlement. But ere it was ready for occupation, life at Shanghai was an unmitigated hardship for the foreigners residing at the city foreshore known as Namtao, close to the establishments of leading native merchants. The river water, clarified with alum for ordinary use, yielded a twentieth part of sediment. The houses were so uncomfortable that often in the morning the tenants found themselves drenched with rain; and through the windows snow drifted in, forming wreaths on the floor, as related by Mr. Robert Fortune, the celebrated botanist. To crown the hardships, a ramble in the picturesque country—then restricted to twenty-four hours' journey—served only to annoy the sorely-tried foreigners.*

One of these rambles ended almost tragically. Three missionaries, Dr. Medhurst, Dr. Lockhart, and Mr. Muirhead, while distributing tracts at Tsingpu in March 1848, were assailed by a crowd

* As remarked by Dr. W. C. Milne, they invariably met on the way dung boats, dung tanks, dung buckets, dung carriers, wherever they went—revolting nuisances due to the extensive use of human excrement for manuring purposes.

of Fokien junkmen, who after belabouring them with poles and rakes, proposed carrying them off to their junks with the view of having them ransomed or killed; but they were rescued and brought by police runners back to Shanghai, bruised, robbed, and badly shaken. It was the first serious outrage on foreign residents of Shanghai; and much depended on the way it was dealt with.

Consul Alcock proved equal to the occasion. From the taotai he immediately demanded full redress, which, it was pointed out, should be prompt, as the grain junks might be leaving at any moment with the delinquents on board. In face of nothing but promises from the taotai, Consul Alcock, five days later, announced that, pending redress for the outrage, no British ship would pay customs duties, nor was a single grain junk to leave the port, and if within forty-eight hours the ringleaders of the mob were not arrested further measures would be taken.

The ten-gun sloop *Childers*, just in, took up a position before the fleet of fourteen hundred junks laden with tribute rice for Peking, with another fleet of fifty war-junks hard by. In vain the taotai sought to intimidate Consul Alcock by pointing out the danger incurred in face of thousands of malcontents amongst whom the foreign community stood quite defenceless. In

vain was the departure of the fleet ordered by the taotai: after the first shot, not one junk stirred under the guns of the *Childers*. Another sloop, the *Espiègle*, arrived shortly after, and by her the vice-consul proceeded to lay the case before the viceroy at Nanking. The provincial judge soon appeared at Shanghai. Ten of the ringleaders were captured, identified, and cangued on the Bund, whereupon the *Childers* raised the blockade, and the immense fleet sailed away in peace. The taotai was censured and replaced. Fortune truly favoured the bold.

In thus establishing British prestige at Shanghai, Consul Alcock on his own responsibility set aside the instructions given him as to the line of action to be adopted on emergency; and for this he was blamed by Sir George Bonham, the plenipotentiary, who, however, eventually recognised the expediency of the bold and brilliant as well as thoroughly successful master-stroke, which had a salutary influence on the destinies of the rising settlement. One deed of heroism inspired another: the *Childers*, under Captain Pitman, accomplished the most stupendous task ever assigned to a tiny sloop, while the high-spirited official staked his position, if not the community, to ensure the respect since then enjoyed by foreigners at Shanghai.

By an agreement with Lin Taotai dated 27th November 1848, Consul Alcock obtained an extension of the settlement to the Soochow Creek, and the boundaries were therein defined: to the south-east, the Yang-king-pang bridge; to the north-east, the first ferry on Soochow Creek; to the south-west, the outlet of the Chow-king Creek; and to the north-west, the dwellings of the Seu family along the Soochow Creek.* Consul Alcock also succeeded in securing the desired site for the consulate, notwithstanding its being government property which the mandarins had positively refused to part with.† They now learnt to be condescending, thanks to the prestige which the worthy consul and his young interpreter, Mr. (afterwards Sir Harry) Parkes, acquired after the Tsingpu affair.

Thus it was under auspicious circumstances that the foreign residents of Nantao gradually removed to their newly finished and comfortable establishments in the settlement, well built though sportively described as of the "compradoric" style of architecture, from the designs of some being, it

* This agreement, never published, is referred to in a proclamation by Wu Taotai, to be found in the *North China Herald* of 29th March 1851.

† Originally the consulate ground was more than double its present area; during the land mania of 1862 the greater part was injudiciously disposed of.



CONSUL ALCOCK

is said, left to the discretion of the compradores; and yet some were not altogether devoid of elegance, being in the Italian villa style orientalised by the addition of verandahs, and generally with gardens where, amidst thriving home flowers, pheasants were to be seen sometimes.

The community, which one year after the opening of the port consisted of but twenty-three foreigners representing eleven mercantile houses, now numbered over a hundred residents including a few ladies, while the number of firms rose to about thirty, mostly branches of old Canton houses—a community constantly increasing, but still quite out of proportion to the vast commercial interests represented in the forest of masts at the foreign anchorage—then in front of the settlements—where as many as from two to three hundred ships were sometimes to be seen.

A most remarkable outcome of the opening of Shanghai was the development early effected in the silk trade, what with the proximity of the rich, famous silk regions now brought into direct touch with the outer world, and the well-regulated supply which insured handsome returns alike to foreign and native merchants, so that it was not long ere the shipment of silk from Shanghai in one year attained the value of ten million sterling.

Tea stood next in importance. But even then the fate of China tea was being sealed by Mr. Robert Fortune, of the Chelsea Physic Gardens, who on behalf of the East Indian Company as well as of the London Horticultural Society carried on extensive researches in the tea-growing regions of Central China, whence he brought away no less than some twenty thousand tea plants for cultivation in India, with every possible detail of the industry.

Of imports the most important was opium, and it served to adjust the balance of trade. The revenue of three million sterling derived by the Indian exchequer from this nefarious traffic stood above every other consideration, although it was manifest that but for the financial drain which opium entailed on China—to say nothing of the anti-foreign feelings it aroused in high quarters—the prospects of foreign merchants could not but improve, even if they had to import bullion to meet the balance of trade at the outset, the foreign currency of Carolus dollar being then very popular in China.

Foremost among the importers of the drug stood Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co., in this respect true to traditions, the firm's founder being an opium merchant of Canton who in twenty years cleared a million sterling. There was also the premier house of Dent & Co., whose appellation of

princely merchants was quite in keeping with their aristocratic traits, sumptuous, lavish ways, and stately establishments amidst extensive gardens. The Americans, too, were well represented by Russell & Co., very popular among leading Chinese merchants. Of all the Canton firms that had pledged their word before the high commissioner Lin to give up the opium traffic, only one remained true thereto, and that was Wetmore & Co., an American firm. For some time Dent & Co. also formed this honourable exception.

Wusung was in those days one of the most important opium stations along the coast. There lay the opium hulks, sometimes as many as twelve; and into them the clippers discharged their precious freight before proceeding up the river with the rest of the cargo, of which alone due cognisance was taken by the Chinese custom-house established on the Bund, opium being then exempt of duty, as it was the avowed policy of Emperor Tao-kuang not to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of his people.

The richly-laden opium clippers recall to mind the historical buccaneers of the Spanish Main. The commanders were generally experienced, skilful navigators, of gentlemanly education, and dauntless in face of danger. Heavily armed and well manned, the clippers were at the same time

the fastest sailers, some of them being considered the finest vessels in the world and more than a match for any man-of-war as to sailing on the monsoon, usually with royals on when a frigate would have deemed it well to go with reefed top-sails. These clippers were invariably tiny craft of between a hundred and three hundred tons, and carried cargo worth over a million dollars. Their uncommon speed served special purposes, and such was the keen rivalry among them that each voyage was a race of great consequence to the merchants. To be the first in getting news of rates and prospects, and operate accordingly ahead of others, was a vital concern for the owners, whose mail alone the clippers brought, while officials and naval commanders complained of belated despatches. The clippers' mail, landed at Wusung, was immediately conveyed by mounted couriers, whose approach was announced by frantic cries as they raced along the Bund at break-neck speed and flung the mail-bag at the office door amidst a general flutter.

British clippers were once surpassed both in size and speed by American clippers engaged in the tea trade—beautiful argosies gliding under such a lavish and graceful expanse of snowy sails as the sea had never borne before. The sceptre of



A FAMOUS TEA-CLIPPER —
THE "LORD OF THE ISLES."

the waves being thus contested, a Blackwall ship-builder was nobly roused to the duty of vindicating Britannia; the art of ship-building attained perfection in the seven-hundred ton clipper—the *Challenger*—built by him to the order of Lindsay & Co., the China firm founded by the pioneer of Shanghai. Intense excitement prevailed and heavy betting was the order of the day, as in 1852 this British rival met at Shanghai the finest of American clippers, the *Nightingale*, more than twice her size; and a race to London ensued for the blue ribbon of the deep, which the *Challenger* won by two days.* So keen was the interest roused by the contest that, on the high seas, passengers were constantly on the lookout for the racers, and the general excitement waxed feverish as a clipper hove in sight almost buried under her sails.

Finer than the *Challenger*, and of about the same tonnage, the Greenock clipper *Lord of the Isles*, in 1856, made her first trip from Shanghai to London in eighty-seven days, beating two of the fastest American racers and delivering her cargo of tea in perfect condition. That year, too, the *Challenger* accomplished another memorable voyage, laden with six thousand bales of silk worth three quarters of a million sterling, the most

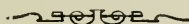
* This episode is recorded in Lindsay's *History of Merchant Shipping*.

valuable freight ever borne by a clipper. Just on leaving Shanghai she touched the Wusung bar; and what with unloading, surveying and reloading she was detained for a month or two, to the great chagrin and anxiety of the shippers, who, however, were fortunate enough to find eventually that they had no cause for regret. Consequent on the delay, the *Challenger* reached London just when an unforeseen scarcity of silk in Europe had become accentuated, so that Captain Killick received an ovation as well as handsome gratuities, while the shippers reaped a richer harvest than was expected, several fortunes being made out of the venture. This windfall, due to the silkworm pest in France and Italy, gave such an impetus to the trade that in the course of the following year no less than ninety thousand bales of silk were shipped from Shanghai, to the value of some ten million sterling; but in consequence of the financial crises of 1857 the outcome was ruinous.

In those days, however, reverses had not the dismal significance of later times. It was not so hard then to woo back the smiles of fortune. Amidst passing clouds and sunshine, there was a well-spring of hope, which, in the words of an old resident, carried "the freshness of spring even into the snows of winter."

Those were days of romance and of true oriental magnificence in commercial life, without the tell-tale telegraph, the fractioned farthing, and the humdrum, the surfeit of an inglorious competition; those were days when, however keen the rivalry, foreign merchants knew how to maintain a solidarity among themselves which was something to be reckoned with by native merchants. And the spirit of those times was generous to the point of pampered mercantile assistants enjoying prerogatives which led them on to competence if not to fortune in return for their devotion at the shrine of Mammon—befitting which was a constant musical tinkling of coins varied by a grand crash, silvery and cheering, of bullion poured out of its boxes, for bank-notes were not then in vogue and the merchant-princes were their own bankers*. The Carolus dollar served for the main currency; but in 1857 such was the demand for the silk trade that the dollar and the tael stood at par, whereupon the banks and firms adopted the tael as currency.

* In the early days the firms relied on one another for buying and selling bills; and banks, instead of allowing interest on current account, charged a commission thereon. The Oriental Bank was the first at Shanghai.



CHAPTER III.

SHANGHAI UNDER THE REBELS.

REBELLION in China seldom if ever had the redeeming feature of a well-directed impulse which through fire and sword sought the people's deliverance from oppression and misrule. Notwithstanding the helplessness of the government, invariably the disorganised rebel horde achieved no reform, leaving in its trail only ruin and desolation. Typically so and of unprecedented magnitude was the Taiping rebellion. Yet, in its mad and ruthless career from the southernmost provinces to the fair Yangtze regions, this rebellion with its pro-foreign and puritanical pretensions succeeded not only in deluding foreigners with the expected regeneration of China but likewise in eluding foreign intervention for long. To crown her misfortunes, China had not the sympathy of foreign powers in the dire days when Nanking fell amidst appalling atrocities.

The advance of the rebels thither led to a panic at Shanghai. In the name of the provincial governor, Wu Taotai* appealed to the consuls for naval aid to check the scourge, if only in view of threatened foreign interests at Shanghai, valued officially at twenty-five million sterling, and protected by a solitary British gunboat about to be recalled. In the midst of consternation a clipper was promptly sent with confidential despatches to the plenipotentiary at Hongkong, delivered in the nick of time, so that the withdrawal of the *Lily* from Shanghai was countermanded; and the sloop *Hermes*, about to leave for the south, started at once for Shanghai with Sir George Bonham, the plenipotentiary, and all available force.

Reaching Shanghai on the 21st March 1853, Sir George Bonham soon found the situation not only critical but complicated; and the over-cautious doctrinaire who had blamed Consul Alcock for his bold front in the Tsingpu affair was evidently not the diplomat for that psychological moment. Non-intervention was hardly a safeguard against a savage horde bent on pillage and devastation. Yet, such was the policy adopted by the plenipotentiary, who jealously resented as an infraction thereof any foreign measure tending to strengthen

*Formerly a famous and popular hong merchant of Canton known as Sam-qua.

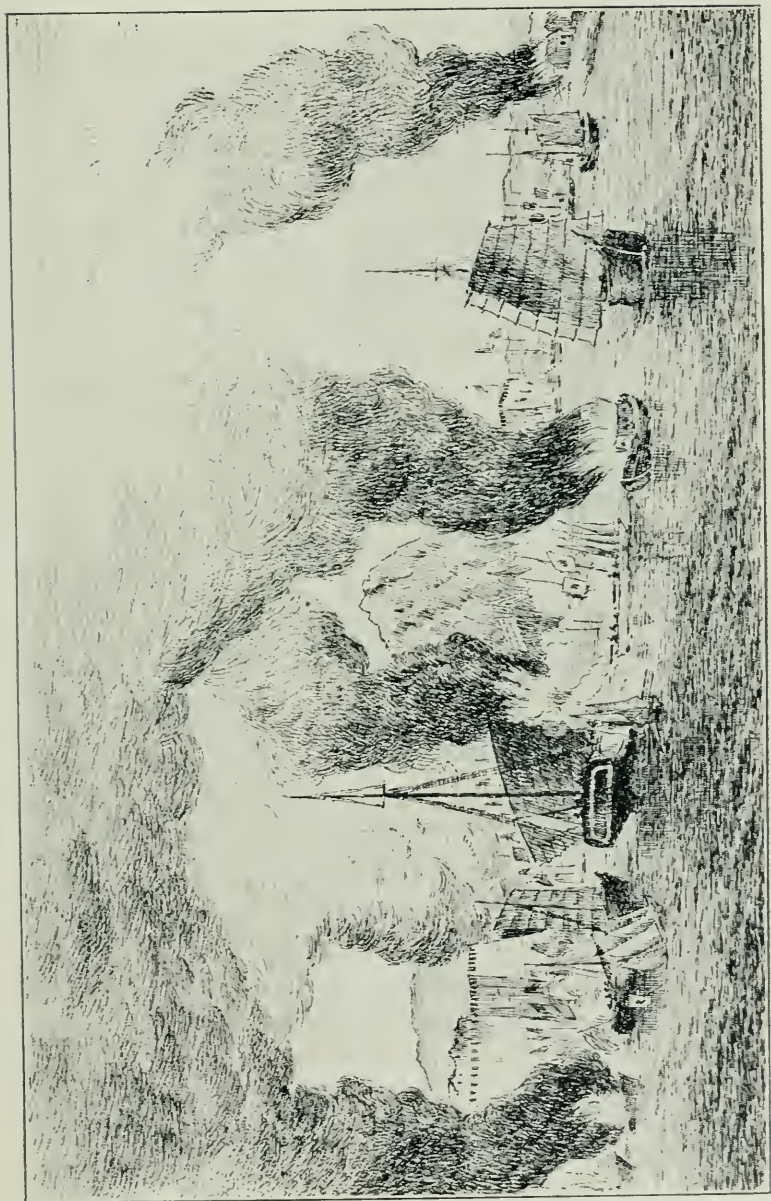
the cause of the imperialists, which, to all appearances, he considered doomed.

On the other hand, the taotai did his best to create a false impression among the rebels that the foreigners at Shanghai were all partisans of the imperialists. From the American vice-consul, Mr. Cunningham, of Russell & Co., Wu chartered for fifty thousand dollars per month an old receiving ship which together with a flotilla of well-armed Portuguese lorchas, then employed as convoys, proceeded to check the rebels on the Yangtze. The ship grounded off Chinkiang and was abandoned, while the lorchas did good service in several engagements.

In vain the taotai sought to place the city under the protection of the consuls and naval force in port: he was informed that no promise could be held out as to the defence of the city, but the settlement would be defended if attacked.* At the same time there appeared what purported to be a rebel proclamation, most anti-foreign in tone, attributed by some to the taotai's diplomatic machinations.† It referred to the foreigners at Shanghai as ignoble beings unworthy of being regarded as men, and pretended it was difficult to affirm that there would be no fighting even at Shanghai.

* See Blue Book of 1853: *Civil War in China*.

† Callery and Ivan's *L'Insurrection en Chine*.



IMPERIALIST ATTACK ON NANKING

To contradict the rumour spread by the taotai of his having secured British co-operation, and to ascertain the foreign policy of the rebels, Sir George Bonham personally went to Nanking in the *Hermes*, which on the way had the unique experience of repeatedly receiving without returning the fire of rebels as well as imperialists, what with the plenipotentiary's mortal dread of complications and his punctilious theory of neutrality towards lawless belligerents. The honour of the visit or rather mission to the rebel court was not lost upon the infatuated rebel chief, who, besides arrogating for himself a personality in the Holy Trinity as well as the title of emperor, now declared England a vassal of his throne, to the indignation of the plenipotentiary.* On the other hand, while enjoining a reciprocal policy of non-intervention towards foreigners, Sir George imposed the obligations of the treaty of Nanking on the rebels, as if they were the constituted authorities. The rebel force was estimated at from twenty-five to thirty thousand strong only. From what he saw and described to the Foreign Office, the plenipotentiary must have been sadly disillusioned as to the expected Taiping dynasty and the regenerative

* Among other questions, the Tien Wang asked Sir George Bonham whether Virgin Mary had a pretty sister to marry him, the King of Heaven.

qualities of the rebels so glowingly eulogised by Dr. Medhurst as well as by the consular interpreter Mr. Meadows, a still warmer admirer of the Taipings.*

M. de Bourboulon, the French minister, next started in the *Cassini* for the rebel court and met with a bad reception. The American minister, Colonel Marshall, also proceeded to Nanking in the frigate *Susquhanna*, on whose approach, it is said, the rebels became so defiant that, executing the governor of Nanking who had thus far been spared, they displayed his head on the ramparts as a trophy.†

For the adoption of defensive measures at Shanghai, public meetings were held on the 8th, 9th, and 12th April 1853, under the auspices of Consul Alcock, who remarked that what he most apprehended was a surprise; but he had faith in British blood and scorned the idea that by a *coup de main* either rebels or imperialists could prevail over the settlement. Among the foreigners, he pointed out, there could be no divided national interests; and it was essential that there should be no divided action in measures of defence. Consul de Montigny assured the co-operation of French naval forces on emergency. British and American

* For interesting details see the Blue Book of 1853.

† Callery and Ivan's work previously referred to, Chap. XVI.

volunteer corps were organised without delay. A Defence Committee was elected to co-operate with the civil and naval authorities. The Defence Creek—whose name originated at this stirring epoch—was extended northward; and besides field works, permanent defences were projected, one of the proposals being to enclose the settlement within a ring fence protected by ditch and embankment as an outer line of defence. On the other hand no preparations appear to have been made in the defenceless city, where several dangerous secret societies connected with the Taipings were known to exist, notably the Triad Society, some of whose chiefs, however, had recently seceded from the great rebel horde.

Nothing extraordinary happened at Shanghai until the 7th September 1853, when like a bolt from the blue an insurgent horde, entering by the north gate at daybreak, slew the guard and with perfect impunity proceeded to depose the taotai, destroy the yamens and pillage the city. The district magistrate was killed on his way to the Confucian temple for the sacrificial offerings there that morning. Several officials, in despair, committed suicide. Wu, the taotai, managed to escape with the connivance of some Cantonese chiefs, while over the captured imperial treasure a feud arose between the Fokien and Canton factions.

In disguise Wu fled, being let down the north wall on a sling by two foreigners and sheltered in the settlement by his American friends.*

Within the very settlement, swarming with refugees, a red-turbaned gang proceeded to wreck the Chinese custom-house on the Bund, carrying away several guns therefrom shortly after the outbreak in the city. From the men-of-war landing parties were sent to patrol the settlement, and a rumour spread that the French concession was menaced.

The insurgent horde consisted mainly of Canton and Fokien junkmen and a good sprinkling of Ningpo braves. There were several foreign mercenaries, deserters from ships; also several Straits-born Chinese speaking English fluently. For headquarters the chiefs chose the house formerly serving as the British consulate. Lew, the commanding chief, once a sugar-broker of Canton, was the founder of the Triad Society at Shanghai, whose adherents formed the main part of the horde, the next in importance being the Small Sword Society. Another leader had been a tea broker. The most warlike of them was a former mafoo of the British consul and other local

* All who could also fled, so that shortly after the outbreak the population was reduced from 270,000 to about 40,000, including the insurgents.



SHANGHAI INSURGENTS

residents, Chin Alin. Among the petty chiefs, figured a rich woman who herself equipped and led a gang out of revenge for an injustice whereby the mandarins had bereft her of a relative. The insurgents all obeyed the law of the Triad Society implicitly. They were gaudily dressed and wore their long unshaven hair tied up in a knot after the ancient Chinese fashion as a token of their hatred for the Manchus. For an insignia they wore red sashes and turbans, whence their designation of Hung Tou. In their proclamations they announced the revival of the Ming dynasty, declared adherence to the Taipings and promised immunity to foreigners. Lew, the chieftain, even made a state visit to various consuls and was most friendly to foreigners in general.

In the absence of recognised authorities, the British and American consuls announced the adoption of provisional rules for clearing ships irrespective of the Chinese custom-house; and the *North China Herald* pointed to the excellent opportunity for rendering Shanghai a freeport and leaving to Chinese merchants the onus of arranging duties with their venal authorities.

It was not long before mandarins with war junks and troops flocked to Shanghai. A fleet of Ningpo junks, after repeated repulse, made a supreme effort and in fine style boarded and with

stink-pots set ablaze two armed foreign vessels owned by the insurgents, and next destroyed a commanding battery on the riverside, where a conflagration swept away the whole suburb, whence more refugees crowded into the settlement. To the west, imperial troops pitched their camp and delivered assault after assault upon the north gate, stubbornly defended in spite of fire arrows which passed like a shower of meteors. The insurgents in turn razed the northern suburb, which afforded shelter to the besieging army.

There were successful ruses on both sides. The east gate was left open, and a musician on the rampart lured the imperialists singing "Oh come along, the soldiers have all fled!" Entering, the imperialists rushed up the street, when the gate was closed and the insurgents, raking the street with their guns, wrought havoc among the flying dupes. On the other hand an old woman enticed insurgents into her opium den, where in the midst of their bliss an armed party sprang upon them giving no quarter.

A remarkable feature in the siege was that from under the creek the city walls were mined in various directions, underground water being ingeniously welled and drained by means of chain pumps at a heavy cost in lives. When discovered these works were flooded with chain pumps, too,

from within. On other occasions the insurgents drove back the sappers, capturing large quantities of gunpowder. Yet, six breaches were effected by the mines; but they were staunchly defended, and the besiegers suffered heavily whenever they attempted to carry the walls by storm. Once some Cantonese braves rushed over the moat on to a breach in the rampart, but the rest of the troops were such arrant poltroons that they instantly removed the bridge thrown over and ran away, leaving their comrades to expiate their gallant dash! The south gate was so well mined that huge rents were made in the wall, whereupon the defenders raised breastworks whence they checked every onset with deadly effect. To no purpose the besiegers constructed earthworks as high and even higher than the ramparts, and tower-like scaffoldings with inclined planes for storming purposes, and pitfalls bristling with spikes. The insurgents, who numbered but three thousand strong, not only repulsed every attack, but in their sorties destroyed isolated camps, retreating only when large forces were mustered against them.*

In the midst of their triumphs the insurgents experienced a deep humiliation at the hands of the French, who had no sympathy for their cause.

*One of the best accounts of the siege is to be found in Search's *Twelve Years in China*.

On the 21st December 1853 two native catechists of the French mission were arrested by Fokien insurgents, tortured in the presence of their chief, and condemned to have their hearts plucked out—a human heart being actually shown them. On being apprised of this, Monseigneur Maresca sent a priest to demand their release, which he secured on the threat of having them rescued by the force of arms. As a reparation for the outrage, Consul Edan then demanded that the Fokien chief should be brought to the French consulate and punished with fifty blows at the foot of the flagstaff, in default of which, on the 26th at noon, the French naval force would open fire upon the city. In dismay several British residents urged Consul Alcock to use his kind offices with the view of preventing, if possible, matters being carried too far, to the peril of the settlement. Under a French escort the Fokien chief was at the appointed hour brought before Consul Edan and Admiral Laguerre at the foot of the flagstaff and severely admonished. On acknowledging his guilt, he received a free pardon with due warning as to the future, and after kowtowing to the consul he was escorted back to the city with his officers.

One of the most thrilling episodes of the period was in connection with the seizure of a lot of silk by the insurgents. To recover it, Mr. Wetmore

ventured into Lew's headquarters accompanied solely by a friend with a gang of coolies. It being nightfall, the den was lit up by torches, whose lurid flare added a weird touch to the sullen horde gathered there around the chieftain, a wan and haggard opium-smoker, with a sinister and nonchalant air which augured ill for the venture. Having listened with indifference to the claim put forth, Lew briefly refused to comply; and this attitude manifestly pleased the villainous-looking crowd. When told then that the case was to be laid before the consul, Lew simply replied "My no fear that American consul." But he did not relish at all a hint as to joint action on the part of the consular corps. So he issued orders to restore the silk, which was forthwith produced amidst the fierce scowls of his retinue; and to guard against contingencies on the way, he furnished an escort to conduct the party quietly back to the north gate. Out of all danger, the coolies began their hee-haw, which after the uncanny adventure sounded with unwonted cadence and cheer in the stillness of night. The pluck and tact displayed by Mr. Wetmore had a most salutary effect, there being no further seizure of foreign property on record since the incident, which happened shortly after the capture of the city. By another daring feat, supported by the American consular and naval

authorities, Mr. Wetmore saved his comrade from execution by the imperialists.*

Prior to this, several British firms in a representation to the plenipotentiary dated 7th July 1853 laid stress on the insecurity of property at Shanghai, where goods were accumulating, trade being almost at a standstill. In his reply, Sir George Bonham expressed surprise that steps should not have been taken to remove the property at stake to Hongkong or some other place of safety.

On capturing the city, the insurgents compelled all able-bodied men to enlist in their service; but some of them managed to escape into the settlement. On the other hand, the imperialists kept a close watch there, waylaid even supposed native partisans of the insurgents, and summarily decapitated them at the headquarters on Soochow Creek. Thus many natives in the settlement were in constant terror of being visited with the vengeance of either insurgents or imperialists.

To make matters worse, among the refugees herded in squalid shanties there were many of questionable character who added another element of danger to the settlement, then without a police force, and insufficiently patrolled by naval parties; so that the community laboured under constant

* See his *Recollections of Life in the Far East*.

apprehension of incendiarism as well as incursion from both belligerents.

Hardly a day passed without some engagement, usually early in the morning and at night; and amidst the booming cannonade intense excitement prevailed in the settlement, where sometimes the demoniac yells of the combatants could be heard, while shots fired from the north wall fell at the Foochow and Honan Roads damaging property and imperilling lives in several instances of hair-breadth escape.

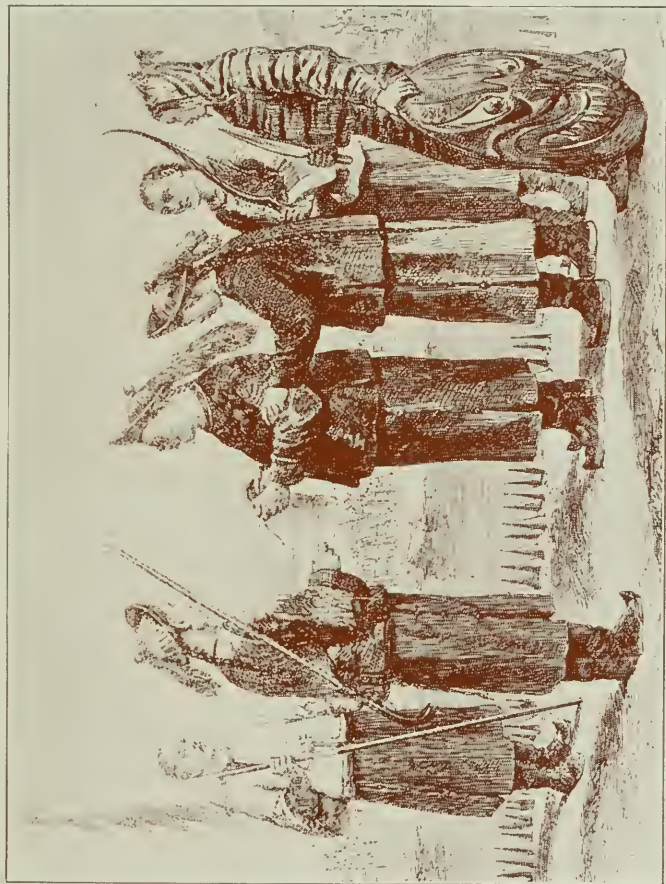
In the midst of these dilemmas, the position of foreigners was critical indeed, residing as they did on Chinese soil, with immense interests at stake, which the imperialists could not well protect. As defined by Consul Alcock at a public meeting, there were but two courses open: to defend the settlement on the basis of an armed neutrality or to haul down the consular flags and leave to the community the alternative of quitting the place or remaining at its own risk. It was resolved to defend the settlement as this involved no sacrifice of property and commercial interests. But dictated solely by the law of self-preservation, the situation was untenable from the standpoint of international law, still more so when at the head of the troops appeared the constituted authorities, before whom a foreign force on Chinese soil assumed a false

position, though more needed now than ever for self-defence.

The situation was aggravated by the friendly disposition shown by foreigners towards the insurgents, in whose favour the neutrality was openly violated, even as to the supply of arms and ammunition. This the imperialists manifestly resented, and the outcome was a series of outrages by the reckless soldiery. On one occasion they crept into the settlement at dusk to seize some guns which were being removed from a godown, but volunteers came to the rescue and in concert with a naval picket drove them back—an incident which exasperated the taotai, who shortly after went so far as to demand a list of British residents and their native servants for an inquiry.

The encampment of some twenty thousand imperialists extended from Tongkadu along the city walls up the western bank of Defence Creek on to the headquarters at Soochow Creek near the stone bridge. At that epoch the settlement was built up to Honan Road, and on the open country westward the race-course faced an imperialist camp on the other side of Defence Creek, whence foreigners were often insulted with impunity.

On the afternoon of 3rd April 1854, several parties were set upon by the lawless soldiery let loose there. A gentleman escorting a lady was



IMPERIALISTS

badly wounded with swords and spears, their escape being almost miraculous. This outrage roused the chivalrous indignation of the community, and with another on Dr. Medhurst, who was mobbed while riding, led to instant reprisal.

While the naval commanders were being communicated with, a picket of eight men with an officer, on reaching the scene of the outrage, found the western part of the settlement in possession of the imperialists, who fired upon every foreigner coming within view. Several volunteers joined the picket, and from a mound at the present site of Lloyd Road they exchanged shots with the imperialists, who in overwhelming numbers moved forward with the evident purpose of cutting off a retreat. In this they would have succeeded but for the timely approach of a detachment of bluejackets and marines with Consul Alcock, followed by American volunteers, who brought a howitzer, whereupon the imperialists withdrew towards headquarters. The camp was then shelled until nightfall, when the force returned to the settlement.

Late in the evening Consul Alcock received a note from Wu Taotai: it acknowledged lack of discipline among the troops, and promised to have the culprits punished.

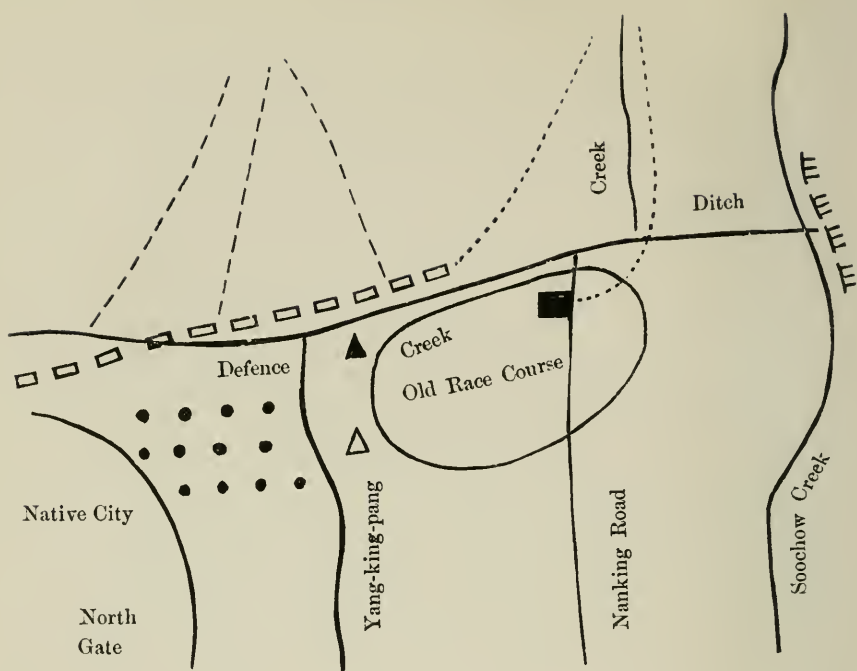
In a brief semi-official despatch sent on the spur of the moment to Keih, the provincial judge.






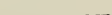


acting as special commissioner, Consul Alcock demanded the immediate removal of the camp, failing which, at four o'clock on the following afternoon, steps would be taken to enforce this measure as a duty imposed upon foreigners in self-defence; and it was declared,¹ too, that as security against further aggression on the part of the troops, the naval officer in command would hold the imperial fleet mustered close to the entrance to the Soochow Creek.

Early on the 4th, however, the fleet in fine style sailed up the creek notwithstanding a brisk fire from H.M.S. *Encounter*, moored abreast of the P. & O. jetty to guard that waterway.

In the forenoon the consuls and naval commanders met and approved the action of Consul Alcock, whereupon an official despatch was sent to Keih confirming the previous demand and exposing the situation in due form.

Business was entirely suspended for the day; and an hour before the appointed time the naval forces, the volunteers, and all able-bodied men, including seamen from trading vessels, mustered before the cathedral. At half past three the force marched up Nanking Road with rattling drums and flying colours. Under Captain O'Callaghan of the *Encounter*, accompanied by Consul Alcock, went the bluejackets of the *Encounter*, and *Grecian*



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|---|-------------------------|
|  | First American Position |
|  | Second do. do. |
|  | British Position |
|  | do. Détour |
|  | Imperialist Trenches |
|  | do. Line of Retreat |
|  | do. Fleet |
|  | Rebels |

After the Diagram given in Wetmore's *Recollection of Life in the Far East*.

with a field-piece, and the volunteers led by Vice-Consul Wade, altogether about two hundred men. Captain Kelly, of U.S.S. *Plymouth*, and Consul Murphy followed with the American detachment of sailors and marines with one gun, and volunteers and seamen with two howitzers, in all about one hundred men.

A halt was made near the race-course pending a reply from the special commissioner. A courier soon brought it: Keih alleged that strict orders had been given to have the delinquents punished, but attributed the outrage to vagrants, not to soldiers. The camp, he pointed, stood on Chinese soil. He deprecated a precipitate resort to arms, and promising measures to prevent a recurrence of disturbances, he proposed an interview to this effect.

For a reply, the force received orders to move forward; and precisely at four o'clock the action began. There was no concerted plan of operation between the British and American detachments. Turning to the left, the Americans crossed the race-course, and under cover of several grave mounds near the junction of the Yang-king-pang and Defence Creek, shelled and skirmished right in front of the camp, where countless banners gaily fluttered as if on a fête day; but no troops were to be seen at the trenches. Eager to reach the

camp first, the American commander ordered a charge,—followed by a halt as the creek was reached, there being in that direction no means of crossing its four feet of mud and water. In face of a deadly fire the detachment once more went under cover of the mounds before re-crossing the race-course to join the main force.

Meanwhile the British force went straight on, shelled the camp, and crossing a bridge to the right the main naval force with the volunteers by a bold *détour* flanked the retreating enemy, and after an effective fire took the camp from the rear.

Hardly had the action begun when to the south of Yang-king-pang the expanse of grave mounds was observed to be studded with moving red dots, and it soon became evident that red-turbaned insurgents were rapidly advancing towards the camp, waving their swords and flags and discharging their muskets as yelling they bounded from mound to mound until they stood flank to flank with the American position on the other side of the creek.

All banners now vanished from the camp, and the imperialists, estimated at ten thousand, were soon in full retreat towards the Soochow Creek, whence the junks fired several broadsides of shotted guns which swept the ground as far as the American position. The imperialists are said to

have lost three hundred men, and left ten guns as well as numerous jingals at the camp, which was forthwith destroyed, while the insurgents made for the camps to the south.

The casualties among the British and American forces amounted to two killed and fifteen wounded—one killed in each detachment, eight wounded among the British and seven among the Americans, three of the latter being volunteers, of whom two succumbed soon after and the other was maimed for life.*

A correspondent in the *North China Herald* of 15th April 1854 affirms that when the Americans stood fifty yards from the camp, "the imperialists showed themselves above the breastworks and delivered a fire which would have done honour to European arms."

In one of the most graphic accounts of the fray, a member of the Defence Committee, Mr. Wetmore, who as an American volunteer was at the scene of action on both days, ventures to surmise, however, that most of the casualties might be due to the cross-fire of the detachments. The imperialists are said to have been less in evidence on the second than on the first day; and the easy

* Mr. G. G. Gray, of Russell & Co., Mr. J. E. Brine and Captain Pearson of the American ship *Rose Standish*, who both succumbed, were accorded full military honours—even the insurgents firing a salute of three guns at the funeral, from their east gate battery.

victory is mainly attributed to the simultaneous advance of the insurgents in large numbers.*

Such was the so-called battle of Muddy Flat—an unaccountable misnomer inasmuch as the action took place on perfectly dry ground.

The fray over, Consul Alcock sent his reply to Keih. He saw no cause for regret at having been constrained to act, as it was high time the soldiery were taught that there was no measure necessary for the safety of foreigners that would not be undertaken, and that what they undertook they were prepared to accomplish. They had no desire^a for further bloodshed but would brook no encampment being re-established at the race-course.

The imperialists vowed revenge. Amidst considerable misapprehensions the consuls issued on the 15th a proclamation setting forth the whole case and justifying their attitude in face of the indifference shown by the Chinese authorities to all representations concerning a series of outrages by the lawless soldiery.

On the other hand, in a despatch to Captain O'Callaghan dated April 28th† Rear-Admiral Sir James Stirling pointed out that acts of hostility against the forces of a state not only at peace with the Crown, but towards whom the utmost

* W. S. Wetmore's *Recollections of Life in the Far East*, pp. 9-10.

† Reproduced in the *North-China Herald* of 26th August 1854.

consideration was enjoined, could not be justified on the ground of being recommended or called for by any consular officer, the only justification in this instance being the immediate and unavoidable necessities of the situation.

Whilst the British plenipotentiary and naval commander-in-chief discussed with the American minister the serious question involved in the collision with imperial troops, another conflict was avoided only through undue forbearance. In the course of a sharp encounter between the imperialists and insurgents on the 21st of June, a naval picket at the race-course, while trying to prevent the imperialists from crossing the Defence Creek and carrying on the action within the settlement, was repeatedly fired upon by them, not however without returning the compliment. To prevent further complications, Captain O'Callaghan, who happened to be on the spot, ordered the picket to withdraw—a movement which called forth a more vigorous fire, fortunately unattended by any casualty. For this outrage full satisfaction was obtained from the Chinese authorities in the form of an apology.

Shortly after, on July 11th, while inaugurating the municipal council, Consul Alcock set forth certain startling views expressed by the naval commander-in-chief, Sir James Stirling, in a memorandum concerning defensive measures: that the

protection of the settlement rested properly with the Chinese authorities, and failing them with the community itself; that no other party had either the right or the power to act except in aid; and it was further pointed out that naval aid might be expected on emergencies, but not for the occupation of Chinese territory and exercise of martial law on Chinese subjects, nor for permanent patrol or police duties, which were open to the most serious objections.

These views, which called forth galling strictures from the community so thoroughly anti-imperialist, gathered further significance in face of the subsequent utterance of the French commander-in-chief when, consequent upon the outbreak of hostilities with the insurgents, he proclaimed the city in a state of siege; in his note of 14th December 1854, to the French consul, Admiral Laguerre remarked that the obstinate resistance on the part of the insurgents was due to foreign instigation, and it was desirable that British and American residents should be duly warned of the danger they incurred in continuing their relations with the besieged.

Consul Edan, in his note of the 13th to Consul Alcock, expressed the hope that the British naval commander would at least put an end to the scandal of supplies being furnished to the besieged insurgents under the ægis of the British flag and

in the very presence of an outpost. Thereupon Captain O'Callaghan, as senior naval officer, reiterated Rear-Admiral Stirling's declarations, and announced not only the withdrawal of the outpost but the reduction of the naval force in port.

At a public meeting held on the 16th, Consul Alcock pointed to the absolute need of a strict neutrality, and animadverted on the settlement being converted into an open market for pillaged goods from the city and for the purchase of provisions and munitions of war to an extent which justified the frequent reproach of Chinese officials; while the desolating strife was protracted through the moral and material support derived by the insurgents from the so-called neutral settlement—a disgrace, a reproach which could not be suffered to continue, because on the one hand the imperial government would no longer tolerate such a state of affairs, and on the other an allied power had within the rights of war demanded the observance of a true neutrality; and moreover such disregard of international law and treaty obligations jeopardised the safety of the community as well as the prospective interests of Western powers.

The imperialists meanwhile carried on their operations with unusual vigour. On the night of December 3rd they opened a heavy fire upon the city with shells and red-hot shots from a battery to

the north-west, from the south side, as well as from Pootung, the cannonade being kept up by both parties till daylight. On the 5th, the insurgents made a sortie to the north-west, but were repulsed; and on the 7th after a stubborn encounter, they retreated with the loss of a leader. But they succeeded in repairing Taylor's Bridge * and in demolishing part of a wall which was being built by the imperialists along the northern bank of the Yang-king-pang to cut off their supplies from the settlement. Having thus restored communication in face of the British outpost, the insurgents proceeded to raise a battery—near where Rue Tourane now is—to cover their sorties in that direction from the north gate.

Admiral Laguerre now found the longed-for *casus belli*. On the 6th, he ordered the battery to be demolished, failing which he would resort to arms. As soon as this became known, a deputation hastened to expose to Consul Alcock how injurious the meditated action might prove to British property by drawing the insurgents' fire upon the settlement. Admiral Laguerre's orders being ignored, a landing party from the *Colbert* proceeded to destroy the battery, with the result that several insurgents were killed and two French sailors wounded, one mortally.

* Close to the present bridge between Fokien Road and Rue Tourane.

Thereupon the admiral proclaimed the siege, anyone approaching the city being instantly shot down. The *Colbert* next opened fire upon the city; and under cover of a dense fog a landing party captured a battery on the riverside, killing every one of the gunners and spiking the guns. Again the city was shelled by the *Jeanne d'Arc* and *Colbert*; but in spite of a crashing fire the insurgents defied the besiegers to dislodge them from the city.

The admiral now resolved to breach and storm the rampart. Close to the present site of St. Joseph's Church, and within a hundred yards from the city wall, a battery of 32-pounders was planted under cover of a constant fusillade; and a breach having been effected, a combined assault was delivered by the French and imperialists on the morning of 6th January 1855. The French force consisted of four hundred marines and sailors, of whom two hundred and fifty were told off for the storming party. From the camp came some fifteen hundred imperialists, all wearing a blue sash so that they might be recognisable in the fray.

The insurgents on the other hand prepared for the worst. Opposite the breach they placed a heavy gun charged up to the muzzle with grape-shot. Behind this stood a masked battery, while the adjoining buildings were loop-holed and very

effectively adapted for an inner line of defence, among these buildings being the establishment which served as the artillery's quarters during the British occupation.

Under cover of *La Jeanne d'Arc* and *Celbert's* guns, the storming party dashed forward and scaling the breach met with a deadly fire. Lieutenant Durun, Ensign Petit, and three of their men were killed right away, and several other officers and men wounded. Yet, planting the tricolour on the rampart, a detachment rushed along and cleared the way up to the north gate, which was forthwith opened for the imperialists. From the narrow street leading to that gate the insurgents made a desperate charge, which the French repelled with a brisk fire and a howitzer they brought; it burst after the third shot. But though now reduced to musket fire only, that handful of men held their ground and repulsed a stubborn attempt to bring guns to the front. From the inner line of defence the sheltered insurgents kept up a telling fire from which scarcely one French officer escaped.

The imperialists proved of no avail. Spread along the wall and streets, some threw down their muskets, and with their short-swords proceeded to behead old men, women and even corpses; and one, holding up a head, displayed this ghastly

trophy to the French, who shot down some of these wretches to check further atrocities. The very war-cry of the insurgents struck terror among the imperialists. In vain the French sought to rally them; they even fired at their chivalrous leaders; while over the ramparts the insurgents hurled down huddled masses of the cowardly, barbarous horde.

For over three hours the breach was the scene of desperate fighting until the French found their ammunition exhausted and the imperialists completely demoralised. Yet the French made good use of their bayonets before they withdrew sadder and wiser for the unavailing feat of arms, which cost them dearly—the casualties being two officers killed and four wounded, seven men killed and thirty-two wounded.

Allies of the French in Crimea at that time, the Britons stood aloof from them at Shanghai; but Consul Alcock was heart and soul with them at that historical moment, and even went up the breach towards the end of the struggle.

In the only local paper of those days there was morbid criticism, amidst which, however, there appeared a fine homage for the dead heroes: "They mounted the breach as soldiers of France are wont to do, and vindicated in their death the ancient prestige of their country's chivalry. All tribute to their courage!"

The insurgents, sheltered as they were, suffered comparatively little, while the imperialists perished by the hundred; and after the fray the insurgents proceeded to heap the dead imperialists in a temple, which was then set on fire.

The fate of the insurgents, however, was now sealed. The siege was closely maintained by the French and imperialists; and ere long it grew evident that the beleaguered city was being reduced to extremity. All its supplies being cut off, Keih, now provincial governor, first sought to exhaust the insurgents' stock of gunpowder, and accordingly daily feints were made, the insurgents replying with their artillery, on which they relied most. Among the prowess of the imperialists reported by Keih in a despatch to the throne, it is related that on February 13th a report reached him that the insurgents projected an onset from Taylor's Bridge for the purpose of rifling the foreign settlements, whereupon the imperialists were put on the alert, so that at daybreak on the 14th they repelled a large body moving in that direction.* As the insurgents now used muskets only, Keih concluded it was time to order a general assault. Anyhow, on the

*See Governor Keih's despatch to the emperor on the downfall of the insurgents, in the *North China Herald* of 10th March 1855. The despatch is said to have gone at the rate of two hundred miles a day by special couriers.

night of 17th February 1855—the eve of the Chinese New Year—the insurgents made their final sortie in the midst of a terrific conflagration.

The imperialists, who attributed the flight to a dexterous onset of theirs, immediately regained the ravaged city, which, alas, ceased not to be a scene of horrors, being, like the suburbs, strewn all over with mutilated corpses amidst pools of blood. Many of the insurgents found shelter in the settlement, while those who surrendered to the French admiral were handed over to the Chinese authorities, whose excesses, like those of the insurgents toward them, knew no bounds. Some of the horde having been found concealed in coffins, the mandarins ordered all unburied coffins to be opened and the corpses decapitated. Dreadful must have been the fate of the inhabitants, for, compelled by the insurgents to grow their hair like them, inoffensive people were hardly distinguishable in the reign of terror which followed the entry of the imperialists.

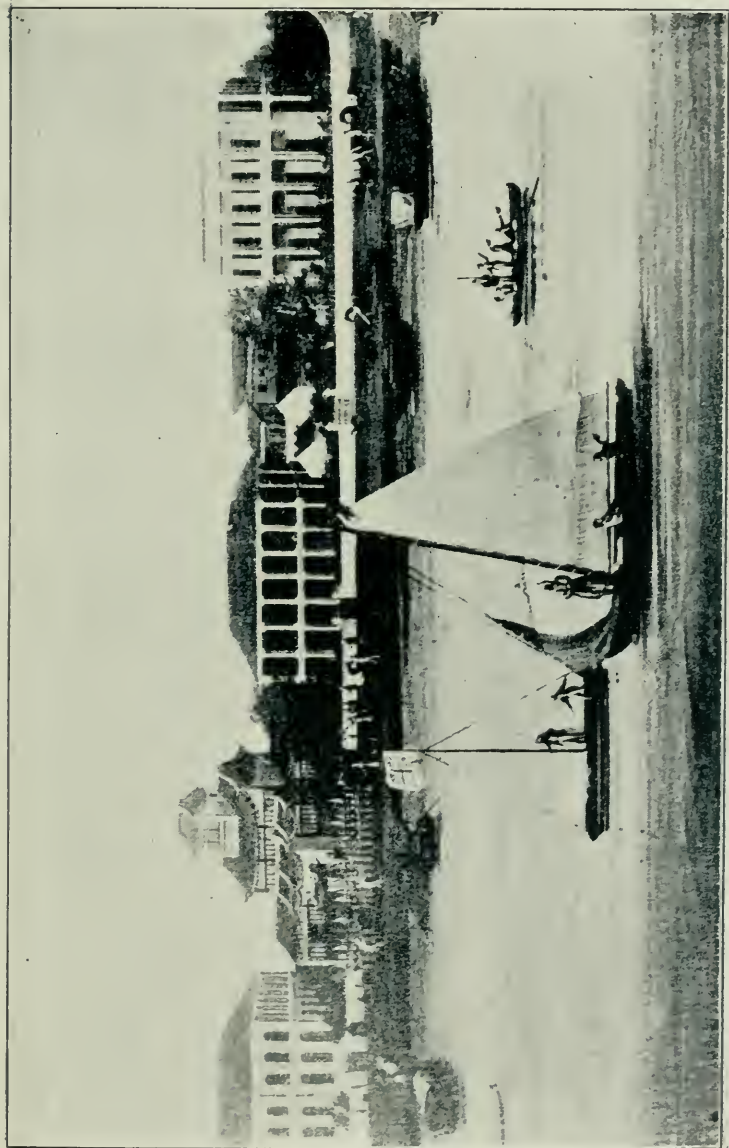
Lew, the chieftain, fled in the direction of Sikawei, but is said to have been captured after desperate resistance and beheaded with some of his retinue at Hungkiao. The most redoubtable among the leaders, Chin Alin, managed to escape with the help of a foreign merchant.* Weeks

* From Hongkong he tried in vain, through foreign agency, to acquire a piece of land at Shanghai, where, he alleged, lay buried a hundred thousand dollars at a spot known only to himself. Sir Rutherford Alcock's *Capital of the Tycoon*, Vol. I., p. 33.

after the fall of the city, insurgents were still being hunted out of their hiding places and dragged to execution; and even women suspected of being wives of insurgents were condemned to harrowing tortures and lingering death; whilst in celebration of the recovery of the city, Governor Keih invited the foreign officials and naval officers to a sumptuous lunch, at which British officials were conspicuous by their absence.

In ruins and desolation, the ensanguined city stood as a monument of perversity, for it cannot be gainsaid that the terrible calamity and thousands of lives might have been spared if, in response to the timely appeals, the threatened city had been placed under foreign protection.* But the fateful policy or rather impolicy of non-intervention, eventually turned in favour of desperadoes, brought bloodshed and untold miseries to the very threshold of the settlement, leaving upon its escutcheon a blot which only the chivalry of Gordon succeeded in effacing.

*“All this misery and destruction of property could have been prevented by two men, Sir George Bonham and Mr. Humphrey Marshall,” writes a plain-spoken American resident of the British and American ministers, whose “mutual jealousy and personal dislike broke up the intention, which had become so nearly an agreement, that the papers were drawn up, approved and only awaited signature.” R. B. Forbes: *Personal Reminiscences*, p. 362.



From a Painting

A VIEW OF THE BUND, SHANGHAI—AS IT WAS.
THE CUSTOM-HOUSE (CHINESE STRUCTURE) AND DENT'S PREMISES (TO THE RIGHT)

CHAPTER IV.

FISCAL REFORM AND MUNICIPAL SHORTCOMINGS.

THE Taiping rebels had scarcely captured Nanking when a commercial panic ensued at Shanghai ; and consequent upon the withdrawal of native capital, trade was for some time at a standstill. While the British plenipotentiary turned a deaf ear to the appeals of Chinese officials for naval aid to check the rebels, British import merchants, who suffered most from the stagnation, found a grievance in the helplessness of the Chinese government, which, they pointed out, placed them in a novel position quite unprovided for in the treaty. On the ground that they should not suffer for Chinese incapacity to cope with the rebellion, they sought, as a relief, temporary exemption from cash payment of custom duties on their accumulating stock of goods until such time as a revival of business placed them on easier circumstances,—in other words, they advocated the bonded warehouse system, which

Captain Balfour had vainly tried to establish. To this Consul Alcock acceded on his own responsibility; and in less than three months the duties in arrear amounted to a hundred and sixty-eight thousand taels, which the Chinese government claimed, pressed as it was for funds to meet the exigencies of the rebellion. On the other hand, Sir George Bonham, as chief superintendent of trade, declined to sanction the measure adopted by Consul Alcock; when appealed to by thirteen firms, he contended that, however affected in their interests, British merchants had no right to demand the abrogation of one of the principal treaty stipulations because China was then embroiled in a civil war. Vainly the merchants pointed out in reply that their aim had been misunderstood. Sir George Bonham with scant courtesy reiterated his inability to withhold the deferred duties, remarking that nowhere but in China would such an attempt be entertained.

In those days Shanghai was to a serious extent a smuggling centre; and the custom-house on the Bund, as everywhere in China, was notorious for the venality of its officials, which placed respectable merchants at a disadvantage in face of their unscrupulous rivals—a state of affairs which Consul Alcock was determined to see ameliorated. His opportunity soon came when the local

insurgents, after capturing the city, pillaged and wrecked the custom-house in question.

The situation then assumed a peculiar phase. All native authorities being locally overthrown, the foreign mercantile community regarded the treaty as then in abeyance, inasmuch as there were no officials to carry out its stipulations; and it was argued that where no custom-house existed there could be no obligation to observe its rules and pay its duties. Nevertheless, in his notification of the 9th September 1853, Consul Alcock declared that the capture of a port could in no way abrogate a solemn treaty with the empire; that the treaty obligations remained binding in spite of one of the contracting parties being for the time incapacitated from giving full effect thereto; and that this incapacity, arising as it did from that contracting party being beset by calamities, was no reason why its rights should be ignored, but on the contrary constituted the strongest argument for the honest recognition of such rights. It was hoped that by this recognition no undue disadvantage would be entailed on British trade through dissentient proceedings on the part of other consular authorities as to treaty obligation in face of measures calculated to reconcile the rights of one party with the trade of the other.

On this equitable basis Consul Alcock announced provisional rules for clearing ships in the absence of Chinese customs officials, the amounts shown to be due on imports and exports to be paid into the British Consulate either in silver or in promissory notes, subject to the approval of the British government.

Similar measures were adopted by Mr. Cunningham, the American vice-consul. But unlike him, several other consular representatives, who were at the same time merchants, evidently consulted their own interests in withholding their support, and following the lead of Consul Edan, who declared that he held himself at liberty to clear French ships free of duty in the absence of a regularly constituted custom-house with the usual guarantee for the observance of treaty stipulations.

In vain the taotai sought to establish a customs-station first amidst the débris of the establishment at the Bund, then on board a war-junk; and to little purpose he succeeded in locating a custom-house on the north side of Soochow Creek. While Danish, Hamburg, Prussian, Austrian, Spanish and Siamese vessels were exempted from duty by their consuls, British merchants contended that Consul Alcock had no authority either from the British or Chinese

government to act as he did; and their formal protests against his measures were refused or returned. At the same time British and American firms shipped their silk and tea from Wusung in order to enjoy immunity from the vicarious fiscal system.

The taotai was now content with half duties, and sometimes with a mere *douceur*; while contrary to treaty stipulations, inland customs-stations levied duties on goods for exportation without any control whatsoever. Under these circumstances Colonel Marshall, the American minister, declared Shanghai a free port for American ships as long as other vessels were exempted from duty. Thus, Consul Alcock, too, could not but discard the provisional régime but five months after its promulgation, since it entailed undue hardship on British trade alone.

On the other hand, the promissory notes thus far collected being unpaid, the Chinese authorities laid their claim in the hands of Sir John Bowring, the new plenipotentiary. To him, too, thirty firms addressed a strongly-worded representation on the subject, alluding to the attitude of Consul Alcock in far from complimentary terms. The plenipotentiary, in a reply no less trenchant, expressed his sense of pain at the weight and respectability of the signatures attached to such a communication; he pointed out that the successful evasion of duties

by any unscrupulous person in no way released British subjects from their treaty obligations; and while vindicating the worthy consul, he confirmed the measure which prompted the tirade against him—that the consular court of Shanghai should investigate and adjudicate the claims of the Chinese government as to the arrears of duties.

Under instructions from the Foreign Office, however, the promissory notes, to the value of a million dollars, were eventually returned to the merchants as not valid under the terms attached thereto. Likewise the promissory notes given by American firms were handed back to them by Consul Murphy, less one third the value, amounting to a hundred and eighteen thousand taels, awarded by Minister McLane in settlement of the claims presented by the Chinese government.

Meanwhile the native officials were in a quandary. The taotai's attempt to station a customs official at the wrecked establishment on the Bund was repelled by the naval guard there as an infraction of neutrality which exposed the settlement to reprisals by the insurgents. The location of the official on a war-junk served no purpose as shippers alleged they could not find the vessel among the imperial fleet. The customs office established on the Soochow Creek, though officially recognised by the British, French and

American consuls as in force since the 9th February 1854, proved of little or no avail, counteracted as it was by the freeport measures on the part of the American and British authorities, so that, two months after, Shanghai was virtually a freeport, on the eve of a momentous fiscal reform.

From his despatches to the plenipotentiary it appears that, notwithstanding serious difficulties, Consul Alcock did not despair of evolving a satisfactory arrangement out the chaotic state of affairs by placing the Chinese customs under foreign control so as to ensure integrity in the administration. It was originally proposed to start this new régime under the supervision of a gentleman in the French consular service. But after consulting Wu Taotai, Consuls Alcock, Murphy and Edan resolved to nominate each a delegate for the proposed foreign inspectorate, the nominees being Mr. T. F. Wade of the British consular staff, Mr. L. Carr of the American diplomatic service, and Monsieur A. Smith, the last named being the official originally proposed by Consuls Alcock and Murphy.

This auspicious régime was formally established on the 12th July 1854, at a godown on the corner of Nanking and Kiangsi Roads.* From the

* At the present site of Brewer's establishment.

very outset the working of this triumvirate realised every expectation. To the Chinese government the outcome of foreign probity therein manifest was nothing short of a revelation as to the past corruption of native administration. Recalled to his vice-consular duties, Mr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Wade was replaced by the official interpreter, Mr. H. N. Lay, who received from the Chinese government the appointment of inspector-general with autocratic powers to control the successful fiscal system.*

Thus arose at Shanghai the imperial maritime customs, which under the subsequent masterly guidance of Sir Robert Hart has constituted itself the most telling Western leaven ever introduced into the official administration of the empire—a veritable *imperium in imperio*, of inestimable benefit to the Chinese government as well as to the foreign trade, not only in its fiscal but in its financial and even diplomatic achievements.

Yet, at Shanghai one looks in vain for a statue, for any memorial raised in honour of the originator of this historical institution, who by a master-stroke thus turned to advantage the calamitous

*It is noteworthy that from St. Petersburg the French ambassador in 1861 reported a British proposal to farm the maritime customs from the Chinese government for two hundred million francs. See Cordier's *Histoire des Relations de la Chine*, Vol. I., p. 160.

times amidst which China learnt by stern necessity to set aside her anti-foreign prejudices.

Such was but part of the monumental work of Sir Rutherford Alcock at Shanghai, for his was the ruling spirit that, out of commotion and chaos, evolved a municipal system, too, adequate to the requirements of the times. Of broad views, of imperious volition, Consul Alcock ill brooked the unconventional land regulations dictated to his predecessor by the taotai, the more so in face of great changes which rendered a revision absolutely necessary.

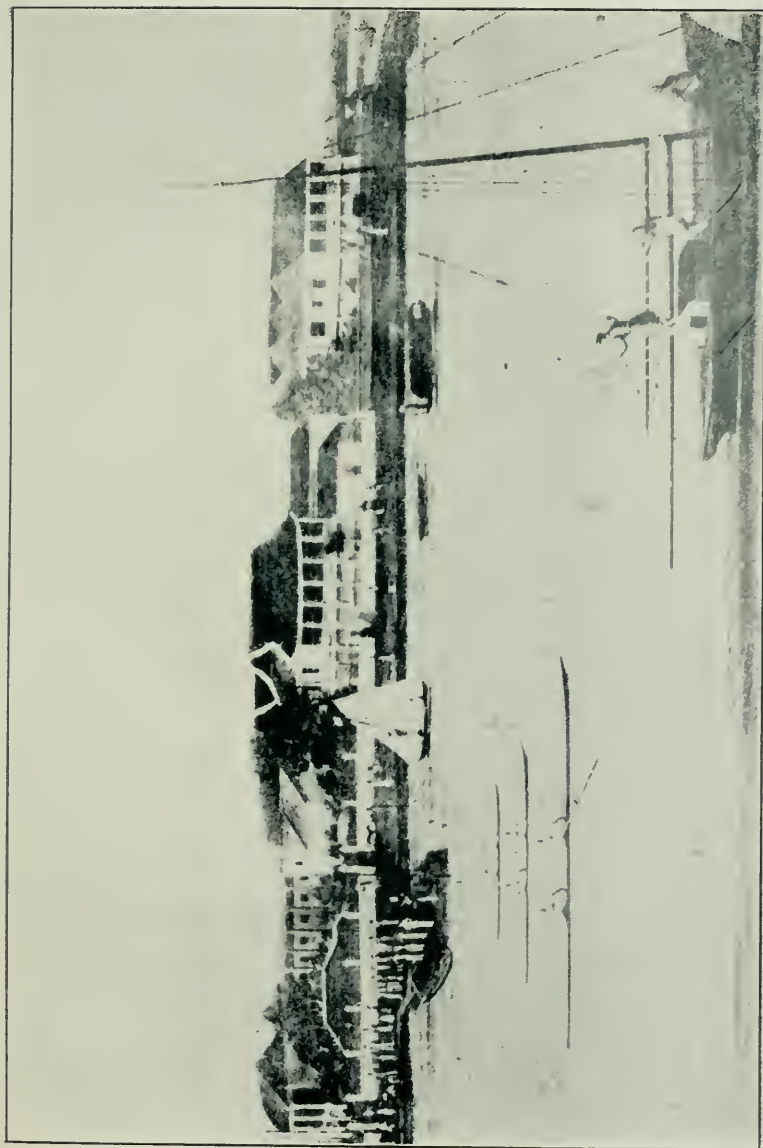
In concert with his American and French colleagues, therefore, Consul Alcock framed a new code of municipal regulations with the sanction of the respective ministers as well as the cognisance of Chinese officials; and notwithstanding the international differences so characteristic of Shanghai, the three foreign settlements were welded under the same municipal administration.

On the 5th July 1854 Consuls Alcock, Murphy and Edan formally announced this auspicious measure, placing at the same time the new code in the hands of the foreign community. The regulations consisted of but fourteen clauses dealing with the boundaries of the settlement, the mode of acquiring land, the final settlement and title-deeds, deeds of agreement or sale, land

surrendered to public use, boundary stones, Chinese land-tax, transfer of lots, extent of lots and usages to which applied, roads, jetties, land assessment and wharfage, foreign cemeteries and native graves, sale of spirits, breach of regulations, and revision thereof—based more or less upon the previous land regulations, and completely divested of all unconventional features.

At a public meeting held on July 11th at the British consulate and under the auspices of the three consuls, the Committee of Roads and Jetties was dissolved, and the new régime inaugurated by Consul Alcock, the Municipal Council elected consisting of Mr. W. Kay, Mr. E. Cunningham, Dr. W. H. Medhurst, Mr. D. O. King, Mr. C. A. Fearon, Mr. J. Skinner and Mr. W. S. Brown.

In his inaugural address Consul Alcock dwelt upon the imperative need of laws whereto the whole foreign community should be equally amenable, of some authority whereby the cosmopolitan elements might be welded so as to ensure unity in constitution, purpose and government. No difficulty was to be apprehended on this point so far as it concerned the British authorities, who never regarded the settlement originally assigned to British merchants together with any rights or privileges there acquired by the government as a means of excluding other foreigners therefrom. On



From a Painting

THE BRITISH CONSULATE, SHANGHAI—AS IT WAS AT FIRST
(THE SITE OF THE PUBLIC GARDENS DID NOT THEN EXIST)

the contrary, such acquisition only tended to solve by anticipation the difficulties since experienced in connection with the exercise of a municipal government over a cosmopolitan community owning no particular sovereignty or jurisdiction collectively. Though involving international considerations of no small moment, the question was now solved in a carefully digested code of land and municipal regulations adapted to local requirements and binding upon all foreigners alike. It expressly ensured to the foreign community the right of self-government and taxation, the means of providing for its own security and welfare. The views entertained by the consular representatives in this respect could hardly be misapprehended inasmuch as the pressing need for a municipality arose from the impossibility by any exercise of consular authority to provide permanently for the security of the settlement without a municipal constitution. There must be some organisation in the shape of a representative council vested with municipal authority in order that the community might have a legal status as a body capable of taking legal action and lending legal sanction to measures necessary for its safeguard.

In face of the critical situation, with insurrection and civil strife at the threshold, with thousands of refugees in the settlement, the functions of the

council, besides those of ordinary municipalities, involved the protection of life and property from sources of disquiet and danger within and without the settlement, where a large native population bid fair to dispute possession with foreigners for every mow of land. One of the primary concerns of the municipality would be the legalisation of measures hitherto forced by stern necessity upon the naval and civil authorities, but which could not be justified on any principle of legality; and foremost among the pressing requirements was the organisation of a police force to meet the exigencies of the situation, the more so in view of naval pickets being no longer available for police duty.

As this would involve heavy outlay, it was but equitable that the Chinese should contribute to the revenue of the settlement. For this purpose it was proposed that the assessment, instead of being as hitherto on land and wharfage, should be made on houses as well, hundreds of tenements having been built to accommodate the refugees. Moreover, foreign and native assessments on land only could not be equitably carried out on the same basis. The foreign community's holdings represented some fifteen hundred mow with but a hundred and fifty houses; the Chinese owned at most two hundred mow with no less than eight hundred

tenements. The foreign population numbered about three hundred residents with their families; the Chinese—barely five hundred before the insurrection—now exceeded twenty thousand, including many wealthy families.

As estimated by the Municipal Council,* the revenue for the year was expected to be twenty-five thousand dollars—wharfage dues yielding fourteen thousand, taxes on foreign and native-owned land and houses representing the balance in about equal proportion; while the expenditure in connection with the police force absorbed over twenty thousand, so that with less than five thousand for roads and jetties, a loan was necessary for barracks to accommodate the force of two superintendents and twenty-eight policemen—the subject of a haggling squabble characterised by a captious spirit, illiberal views, and crude notions as to municipal responsibilities, at an epoch fraught with difficulties and dangers which, as remarked by Consul Alcock, the community for the most part happily ignored, for the simple reason that the threatened injury was averted.

How far the municipal régime answered the worthy consul's expectations was shown by the proceedings at a public meeting held on November 24th,

* In Mr. Fearon's letter of 9th November 1854 to Consul Alcock.

when among other demands the council was asked to render a full statement of accounts. In a manly reply, Mr. Fearon, chairman of the council, declined to comply with this unusual requisition before the expiry of the term of office, although prepared to furnish every requisite information as to the council's intended proceedings. In face of the want of confidence displayed, the council offered to resign if desired; but by a majority of four votes only, they retained office notwithstanding the opinion that they could not do so under a vote of censure.*

Amidst the acrimonious discussions of the day there was hardly any allusion to the serious question of the council's indifference to the uncontrolled influx of Chinese, attended as it was by recognised evils of great magnitude. From a purely foreign reservation, the settlement became a native Alsatia, the southern portion being blocked with abominably overcrowded and filthy hovels, fraught with the danger of fire and pestilence, rife with brothels, opium shops, and gambling dens.

To the consuls' representations on this subject the taotai replied that, according to the original land regulations, native domicile was interdicted within the settlement; now, however, tenements

* Messrs. Kay, Cunningham, Fearon and Skinner resigned before the term of office was over.

were built by foreigners to accommodate natives, regardless even of the risk incurred in harbouring people of bad character indiscriminately, and of the difficulties this unregulated state of affairs would entail in criminal cases.

After deliberating with the consuls, the taotai issued a proclamation prohibiting native residence in the settlement, although there was no such provision in the new land regulations. The consuls, on the other hand, instructed the municipal council as to the disposal of native tenements, animadverting upon the illegality and impolicy of departing from the original regulations in this respect. The council, however, deemed such matters beyond its control, and limited its action to the suppression of brothels and gambling houses and to the removal of structures blocking thoroughfares. But soon even this ceased to be regarded as a municipal concern, and the consuls were desired by the council to communicate with the native authorities for the removal of tenements and surrender of land required for the extension of roads.

Meanwhile the refugees showed no disposition to shift, and foreigners continued to build tenements for them, so that from the Yang-king-pang the natives began to scatter themselves in every direction about the settlement, without any contr ol whatsoever.

Under these circumstances Consul Alcock took upon himself to make the necessary arrangements for the removal of objectionable natives and demolition of objectionable tenements, provisions being at the same time made for legalising the residence of such natives as the consuls and taotai might deem fairly entitled thereto either from their original occupation of land and houses or other circumstances connected with their legitimate interests and occupations.

To no purpose was legal notice to quit repeatedly served by the native authorities on the squatters at Yang-king-pang; and as a last resort they were forcibly ejected from the settlement by order of the district magistrate in January 1855, and their tenements pulled down. These stern measures, enforced in the inclemency of winter, and with the usual Chinese disregard for humanity, gave rise to a most bitter anti-foreign placard calling upon the people to avenge the outrageous proceedings of foreigners, to reduce their buildings to ashes, and to exterminate them, that the anger of all hearts might be appeased—although it was through consular measures that native proprietors obtained compensation from the proceeds of their expropriated land and tenements.

As to the legalisation of native residents, the taotai in a despatch dated 24th February 1855

submitted to the consuls the following regulations, which were forthwith enforced : any native desirous of acquiring land, of renting or building houses within the settlement, must first furnish full particulars concerning himself, the houses to be built, and the use for which they were intended ; and there being no objection on the part of the consular and local authorities, he must enter into securities in his own name if wealthy and of sufficient standing, or otherwise in the person of two wealthy householders, that he would keep the name and age of every tenant duly registered at the office of the local authority as well as upon a board fixed over the door of his house, subject to a penalty of fifty dollars for the first offence, and the cancelment of his licence on a repetition thereof ; and further that he would conform to the land regulations and contribute his share to any general assessments.

Cumbersome as it was, the measure proved abortive ; and the evil it sought to remedy was already past all hopes of redemption, save by an iron hand, fostered as it was by foreign land-renters themselves for vile interested motives, and with a deplorable, cynical disregard of all civic considerations, notwithstanding every effort on the part of Sir Rutherford Alcock to prevent Chinese domicile as a permanent source of danger and a

grievous deterioration of the settlement in all save the immediate dollar value of landed property.

One of the most influential residents was honest and outspoken enough to tell him the whole truth in the course of a conversation: "No doubt your anticipations of future evil have a certain foundation, and, indeed, may be correct enough—though something may be urged on the other side, as to the advantages of having the Chinese mingled with us, and departing from the old Canton system of isolation—but upon the whole, I agree with you. The day will probably come, when those who may be here will see abundant cause to regret what is now being done, in letting and sub-letting to Chinese. But in what way am I and my brother landholders and speculators concerned in this? You, as Her Majesty's consul, are bound to look to national and permanent interests—that is your business. But it is my business to make a fortune with the least possible loss of time, by letting my land to Chinese, and building for them at thirty or forty per cent. interest, if that is the best thing I can do with my money. In two or three years at farthest, I hope to realise a fortune and get away; and what can it matter to me, if all Shanghai disappear afterwards, in fire or flood? You must not expect men in my situation to condemn themselves to years of

prolonged exile in an unhealthy climate for the benefit of posterity. We are money-making, practical men. Our business is to make money, as much and as fast as we can—and for this end, all modes and means are good which the law permits.”*

No wonder that in its first report the municipal council complained of the changing policy of the consuls; and such was the municipal farce that, on the restoration of order through the downfall of the insurgents, a public meeting was convened to consider whether the municipal council and police force should continue, with the result that the small and inadequate number of constables was reduced; while drainage and sanitation and all public works remained for long neglected under an inefficient administrative staff—all this in a most flourishing commercial centre whose growth astonished even those who had seen the rise of Melbourne and San Francisco—a growth, however, devoid of all æsthetic features and of many a sweet blessing of modern life dear to the foreign exiles there condemned to herd with squalid natives promiscuously, to rue inconveniences which did not exist even in the miserable factory days of Canton.

* Sir Rutherford Alcock's *Capital of the Tycoon*, Vol. I., pp. 37-8.

CHAPTER V.

THE TAIPINGS AT SHANGHAI.

AFTER the capture of Nanking, dissensions arose among the rebel leaders, whose rivalry and feud proved almost fatal to their common cause. The imperialists on the other hand succeeded in foiling a projected descent on Peking; and from the northern provinces the rebels, though reinforced, effected a disastrous retreat. Badly equipped as the hordes were then, a crushing blow might have been dealt if the Manchu army had been concentrated upon the rebel stronghold at Nanking. But instead of following up its success in the north, the imperial government was impolitic enough to bring on the war with England and France, which utterly disorganised the army, with the result that the rebels regained their ascendancy, and in the spring of 1860, breaking through an ineffectual siege at Nanking, advanced upon Soochow under the masterly lead of Chung Wang, who looked forward to Shanghai for munitions of war as well as a fleet of steamers.

Such was the plight of the provincial government that Ho Kwei-tsing, the viceroy, ventured upon a course which, to a Chinese official, implied nothing short of self-sacrifice. He memorialised the throne as to the expediency of suing for peace with the Allied Powers, so that the imperial forces might be employed to check the rebels; and while seeking to mediate on behalf of his government, Ho made a vain appeal to the British minister then at Shanghai. He pointed to the friendly relations between foreigners and natives in Kiangsu, and to the commercial interests centred there, as reasons why the welfare of the province should be of mutual concern; and in view of the Allied forces then concentrating at Shanghai for action in the north, he went so far as to urge that they should rather be set against the rebels as a common foe. But his efforts to save the fair province cost his life: Ho was recalled in disgrace and executed; while the imperialists in great numbers joined the rebel camp.

In concert with M. de Bourboulon, the French minister, the Hon. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Frederick Bruce acceded to Wu Taotai's appeal for the protection of Shanghai, it being proclaimed on the 26th May 1860 that measures would be taken to ensure the safety of the city against any attack.

On the other hand Mr. Bruce declined a proposal from General de Montauban to detach an Anglo-French contingent for the defence of Soochow.* Unopposed in spite of the imposing battlements, Chung Wang's army took possession of the famous city, whose inhabitants perished by hundreds of thousand amidst appalling scenes.

Swarming with refugees from Soochow, and imperilled from within by an influx of desperate characters, Shanghai prepared for the worst, when after the departure of the main Allied forces for Taku, the Taipings openly declared that they meant to take advantage of this seasonable opportunity for advancing upon Shanghai; and in this they were encouraged by certain foreign visitors to Soochow, who led them to imagine that they might look forward to the possession of Shanghai, too, and the conclusion of a treaty with them as the rulers of China.

No wonder, then, that in a letter addressed to the foreign ministers, Chung Wang announced that his army was about to start for Shanghai, and enjoined foreigners there to display yellow flags at their houses so as to ensure immunity at the hands of his soldiers pending his arrival.

* See his despatch of 10th June 1860 to the Foreign Office, *Blue Book on China* (1861), p. 65.

Sooner than this message came the rebels themselves, whose approach took Shanghai by surprise, as from information received they were expected a fortnight later. On the 17th August 1860, however, their close proximity was revealed by an ominous clue—to the west the horizon grew dark with the smoke of burning villages. Establishing his headquarters at Sikawei, Chung Wang sent his troops forward the next day. They drove the imperialists out of a battery about a mile away, and chased them to the west gate, evidently to rush with them pell-mell into the city—such being a favourite ruse of theirs in capturing walled cities.

Instead of any yellow flag, the Taipings found the British and French ensigns waving over the ramparts of the native city itself, manned by the allied troops, the French under Colonel Faure, and the British under Captain Budd of the Royal Marines.

At the west gate, the imperialists having got in safely, Captain Cavanagh had the bridge destroyed; and from the walls his Madras artillerymen gave the rebels a warm reception with canister shot.

At various stations along the ramparts, Captain Budd had raised wooden watch-towers, from whose height the rebels could now be seen moving under cover of thickets, grave mounds, and buildings in

the direction of the south gate, held by Captain Budd. As they emerged from the sheltered position, a brisk fire hailed them, directed mainly upon a strong detachment advancing under false colours—imperialist flags captured at the battery, which were soon substituted by its own ones as the force opened an ineffectual fire with jingals. Two Chinese guns rigged up by artillerymen of the Royal Marines proved most serviceable. The Loodianahs with their Brown Bess also inflicted no inconsiderable loss from the small south gate, in charge of Captain Maxwell. Captain McIntyre had scarcely got his guns in position when a fresh detachment came in view displaying a huge black banner amidst numerous other flags; and a shell at eight hundred yards laid low both banner and bearer.

Driven from the south gate, the Taipings moved toward the south-west corner of the wall, when they met with a telling fire from the Marines and Sikhs under Lieutenant O'Grady—a crack-shot, whose rifle could boast of twenty hits with hardly one intervening miss.

In the retreat which ensued, a great number of yellow flags gathered around a foreign-built house three quarters of a mile away, when Captain McIntyre sent a shell through the roof, wounding, it is said, the officer second in command amongst



TAIPINGS IN ACTION

others.* The force numbered some three thousand strong, and among them were to be seen several foreigners, two of whom were slain.

The enemy having retired for the night, parties were sent out from various posts to fire the western and southern suburbs, as they afforded the enemy shelter, the conflagration lasting the whole night. The imperialists at the west gate disembowelled and beheaded a rebel, whereupon orders were issued that no prisoner was to be handed over to them.

During the night the Taipings crept back to the débris of the suburbs, and in large numbers gradually worked their way down towards Namtao, inhabited by the leading native merchants and richly stocked with goods. The rebels counted upon a rising there; and in fact thousands of desperadoes in league with them seized the custom-house, and after distributing badges among their followers, proceeded to pillage and massacre the people, support being also expected from a fleet of junks moored off the custom-house, which, however, had all been compelled to shift to another anchorage down the river. In the morning the rebels appeared, planting their flags at the temple of the Queen of Heaven. The French detachment

* According to another account, Chung Wang himself was wounded by a fragment of the shell, which struck him on the face.

as a defensive measure fired the rich and extensive riverine suburb, thus removing the most serious danger which threatened the city, around which no less than twelve conflagrations now raged with terrific grandeur.

Again the rebels approached the southern gates, but driven from their shelter by double shotted guns, they became exposed to a withering musket-fire from one of the watch-towers, the Enfield range proving most harassing, while the artillery effectively prevented their regaining any sheltered position, so that once more the horde retreated in discomfiture.

The night passed quietly, the country to the south-west being for a considerable distance studded with what looked like camp lights, which were eventually found to be lamps borne by dressed-up straw dummies with flags, too, in their hands.

Considerably reinforced, the Taipings on the morning of the 20th advanced first to the west gate, scarcely replying to a telling fire as they moved along in single file, each carrying a flag. In good order they then turned towards the settlement, whose defence was in the hands of Colonel March. Hardly had they planted their standards close to the race-course when the parties under Lieutenants Williams and Crease

hailed them with shells and rockets. From the river the despatch-boat *Nimrod* sent shell after shell right over the settlement and far out into the fields beyond, while another despatch-boat, the *Pioneer*, approaching the rebels' position from the Soochow Creek, tackled it with 13 inch shells, one of which burst with deadly effect amidst a group of about a hundred red flags, the fire being kept up for two hours as the rebels retreated towards Sikawei.

Within the settlement the volunteers, under Colonel Neale, stood night and day at the barricades raised on every street approachable from the west, where they had quite a pleasant time, being well looked after as to creature comforts of all sorts.

It was only on the 19th that Chung Wang's letter previously referred to was delivered to Mr. Bruce by a chair-coolie who pretended to ignore the person who had entrusted him with it,—supposed to be some foreigner in communication with the rebels. For a reply only a notification was sent from the military and naval commanders, issued on the 16th, to the effect that Shanghai being occupied by the Allied forces, hostilities would ensue if armed bodies of men approached or attacked the positions held by them. This notification was conveyed on the 22nd by Mr. Forrest, the consular interpreter,

who volunteered for the risky mission; and accompanied by a single orderly with a napkin on his bayonet for the usual flag, he rode to the nearest rebel camp, about a mile from the south gate. He was received by an officer dressed in purple, who complained of the resistance met with, alleging that the Taipings had been invited to Shanghai by foreigners of all nations. Mr. Forrest was pressed to proceed to the headquarters at Sikawei, whither he rode the next day with Lieutenant Pritchett and an escort, only to find that the rebels had all gone, the church—which served as their headquarters—being in a topsyturvy, filthy state, the pictures and statues destroyed, with flags and dummies strewn about amidst ghastly vestiges of barbarities—a French missionary and fifteen orphan boys having fallen victims, besides many of the villagers; and all along the way were to be seen *débris* and corpses.

Before leaving, Chung Wang sent the consuls a letter threatening to stop the silk and tea trade as a reprisal for any further aid given to the imperialists, and pretending that he came at the bidding of foreigners to negotiate a treaty only.

It transpired that he had orders to capture the city at any cost, but his troops would not expose themselves any further to the deadly fire—their total loss in killed was said to be three hundred—

and he himself was anxious to withdraw on some plausible pretext. He alleged that owing to a rainstorm the ground was so slippery that neither his men nor horses could advance with him, to the disappointment of his foreign friends awaiting him. But he proclaimed a speedy return, and sent word that as he understood the defence of Shanghai was being undertaken by the Allied forces for five hundred thousand taels, he would guarantee them the customs revenue for a year if they gave up the city. On the other hand Kan Wang, who stood on friendly terms with Protestant missionaries, further stated that his forces could not waive the favourable opportunity for taking Shanghai and compelling the foreign authorities to enter into relations with them, as when the war in the north was over they would have to contend against further forces, foreign and imperialists.

In a memorial to the throne sent at the rate of six hundred *li* a day, Sieh, the acting provincial governor, announced the repulse of the Taipings as due to the officers and troops under his command, the thoroughly foreign defence of Shanghai being quite overlooked. The truth was that during the fray Sieh and his officers, both civil and military, stood in abject fright and helplessness. Yet he pretended to have directed the operations for seven days and nights; and

among the officials reported for their prowess, expectant taotai Yang Fang* was credited with having killed an untold number of rebels with the artillery fire of his Ningpo braves. The imperial rescript conferred various honours on the officials mentioned, Yang Fang having his name recorded for meritorious service on payment of a fee, while Sieh received a button of the highest rank.

In a despatch to Prince Kung, Mr. Bruce exposed Sieh's mendacity, and that no delusion might be entertained on the point, the Chinese government was required to defray the expense of fortifying and garrisoning the city,—although its defence was undertaken merely as a safeguard for the settlement, it being the opinion of Mr. Bruce that a rebel occupation of the city was utterly incompatible with the security and commercial importance of Shanghai.

Nevertheless, Consul Meadows was so partial to the Taipings that, in the course of a lengthy and misleading representation to the Foreign Office,† he pleaded for them as the coming power that was to regenerate China after the crushing blow dealt by the allied arms; against them it would be impolitic to wage war; nay, he ventured to assert

* Better known subsequently as Ta Kee, the banker.

† See the extract of his despatch dated 19th February 1861 in the *Blue Book on China*, 1862, p. 3.

that greater security prevailed under Taiping than under Manchu rule; that the rebels were earnestly desirous of friendly commercial intercourse with the British, and that in the Yangtze regions just then opened to foreign trade hostilities with the Taipings would result in anarchy and desolation,—as if such was not invariably the outcome wherever the horde prevailed.

It was rather significant, in face of such opinions, that Consul Meadows received instructions from the minister to hold no communication with the rebels; still more so that he was soon relegated to a sphere where his blind, dangerous Taiping partisanship could not be a source of misunderstanding as to the attitude of his own government at Shanghai.

The war in the North being over, in February 1861 Vice-Admiral Sir James Hope proceeded to Nanking in connection with navigation on the Yangtze and particularly with the view of arriving at a *modus vivendi* with the Tien Wang as to Shanghai, it being proposed that none of his forces should approach within a hundred *li*, or thirty miles, of Shanghai. Much to the chagrin of his court he acceded, but for a year only. Consequent upon rumours of a meditated descent by Chung Wang towards the close of 1861, Admiral Hope again proceeded to Nanking and warned the Tien

Wang against such a course, but was told that the onset would certainly be made in due time.

Meanwhile the Taipings reduced Hangchow to such extremity in the course of a siege that human flesh was sold at 160 cash a catty when the people opened the south gate and capitulated, while the Manchu troops blew up their quarters, perishing amidst the ruins of the celebrated city.

Shortly after, on the 10th January 1862, Consul Medhurst received an urgent note from the taotai announcing a rebel advance upon Shanghai from Hangchow and Soochow. Both the city and settlement were put on guard against any surprise. As it was rumoured that the rebels intended to invest the place, a public meeting was held on the 12th to concert further measures of defence.

That very night there was a lurid glare in the direction of Wusung; and a night attack being apprehended, the volunteers patrolled the main streets until daylight, when fugitives swarmed in from Hongkew. To prevent rebels in disguise from crossing the Soochow Creek together with the panic-stricken throng, the drawbridge was hoisted by the sepoy guard posted there. Later in the day the main rebel forces appeared further to the west, near the stone bridge, with a large mounted party. But they retreated northward on finding the approaches to the settlement guarded

by British artillery and troops. The taotai ordered out a strong detachment of imperialists from the city, and camped it in the vicinity of the stone bridge, further guarded by a fleet of war-junks. Marauding parties, however, harassed the country to the north, approaching the lines of defence now and then; whilst a powerful horde was reported to be on the way from Tsingpu, with the main army advancing to Pootung, it being evidently intended to invest Shanghai at all points.

The situation was such that the troops were under arms at night, and a meeting to devise measures of defence was held in secret, as it transpired that the rebels had spies at Shanghai who informed them of every movement. Two British seamen, captured near Hongkew, were closely questioned by the rebel chiefs and sent back with despatches, one of which, after descanting on Taiping victories, concluded thus :

“The south being finished with, Chung Wang has arrayed himself and has set in motion five armies to take Shanghai.

“For Shanghai is a little place, and we have nothing to fear from it; while now we own the whole Soochow and Chekiang provinces, we must take Shanghai to complete our dominions. It is so; it is not boasting.

"Now the seaboard is frequented by foreigners for trade, and if troops are sent to exterminate the people there, the friendly feeling between us would, we fear, suffer.

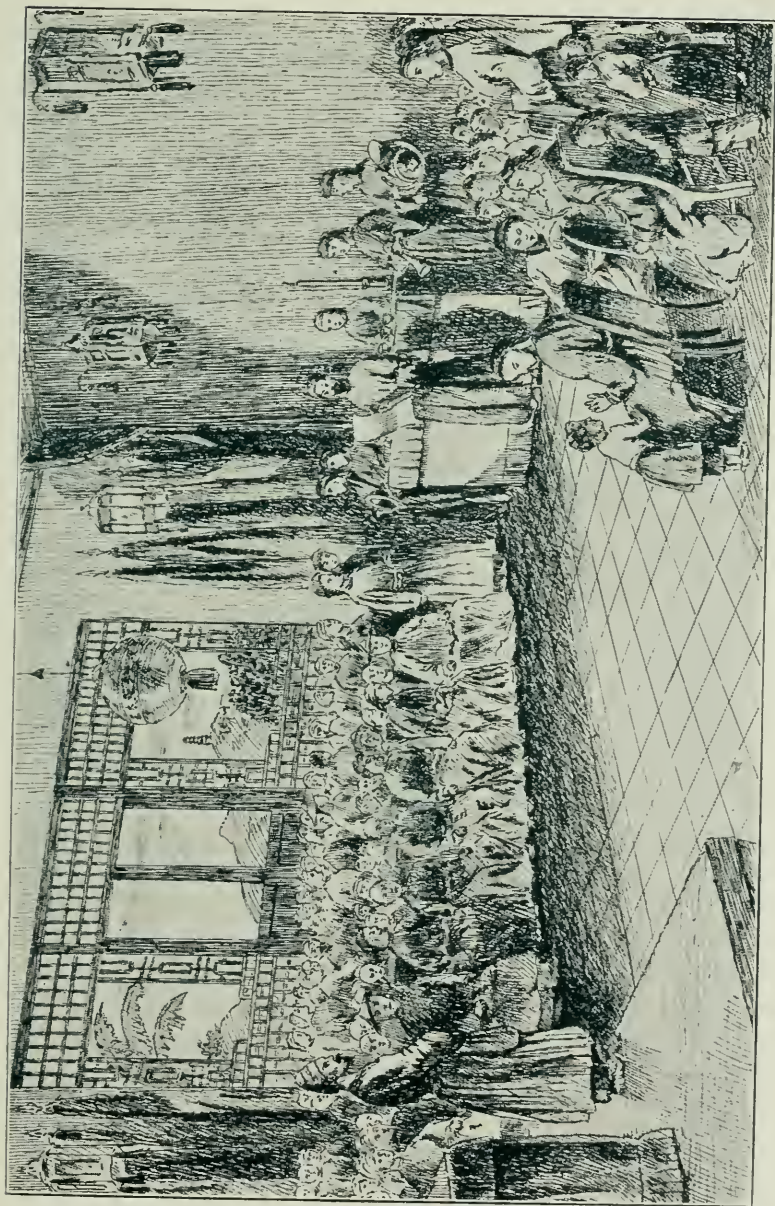
"Considering this, therefore, we send you this warning not to interfere at places belonging to the imps. By this means the foreign hongts will escape injury. But if you play the fool, and think only of gain, not only will Shanghai be ours, but the whole world will be reduced to dependence.

"If on the contrary you do not listen to the imps, but repent and submit, you will not only be able to trade, but will get silk and tea in great abundance, and all will reap the benefit. Think of this, therefore. I am now at the head of my army at Kiating, and you had best send me an answer without delay, lest you repent too late.

"2nd day of 12th moon of the 11th year of the Divine Kingdom of Universal Peace of God the Father, God the Elder Brother, and God Tien Wang.

"Ho, Taiping leader, to the British military commanders, Shanghai."

The wealth of Shanghai, considerably augmented by the hoarded treasures of the refugees, was a great temptation not only to the rebels but also to the desperate characters among the refugees themselves. Rumours gained ground that a secret society was being organised to



A TAIPIING CHURCH

attack Shanghai from within as soon as the rebels appeared,—scarlet cloth being much in demand at Chinese shops to be worn as badges. Moreover, an expedition sent to Plover Point on the Yangtze to recover British property and release prisoners captured by the rebels, found, among other papers, passports and commissions bearing the seals of Taiping chiefs as well as of the Shanghai city officials, together with an agreement whereby all plunder was to be shared by two wealthy and influential Cantonese refugees within the settlement, who were forthwith denounced to the taotai.*

No less sensational was the secession of a notable Taiping adherent,—Rev. I. J. Roberts, the Tien Wang's old preceptor and lately his foreign secretary. In a letter published at Shanghai he related his curious experiences among the "coolie kings"—so he now termed the *wangs*—whom he described as incapable of organising a government, hostile to commerce, and bent on making their burlesque religious pretensions serve their political purposes. The crazy Tien Wang insisted on his preceptor's belief in his divinity unless he would perish like the Jews for not believing in Christ; and instant death was the penalty for a mere word which displeased the tyrant. In a frantic rage

* *Blue Book on China*, 1862, p. 150.

Kan Wang wantonly murdered a boy and then grossly outraged the old missionary, who, finding his life in imminent danger, escaped to Shanghai in destitution, and utterly hopeless as to the cause he renounced.

Still worse tidings soon followed him from Nanking, now reduced by the besieging imperialists to such straits, that cannibalism was the order of the day in its most revolting horrors, wayfarers when captured by the rebels being tied up to trees and devoured slice by slice.

Shanghai was now cut off from all inland communication, as the Taipings held the extensive tracts between the coast and the Grand Canal from Hangchow to Chinkiang; and it was feared that they would station large forces in the immediate vicinity of Shanghai to stop all supplies and starve out the vast native population, which would beget within the settlement a far more dangerous foe than the rebels themselves.

To make matters worse, a large business was done by foreign traders in arms and ammunition, for which, as well as for opium, the rebels paid high prices out of stolen money and jewels; and they moreover succeeded in enlisting several military and naval deserters from Shanghai, so that better equipped and drilled, the hordes were now no despicable foe.

The extremely serious situation called for an efficient garrison at Shanghai. Yet such was the inadequate British force stationed there, that the Defence Committee approached Sir James Hope on the subject, with the view of relieving the volunteers of constant duty and preventing the recurrence of panic. It was pointed out that the Taipings might keep Shanghai in danger and alarm for long, and would probably besiege the place if not dislodged from the adjacent country. But while relieving the volunteers of their night duty, Major Stafford, in command, maintained that so long as the French contingent remained at Shanghai, there was no need for British reinforcement. The situation, however, was so critical, that upon representation from Mr. Bruce, Major-General Sir John Michel proceeded to Shanghai with a company of the 99th Regiment.

The available British force, naval and military, now numbered but nine hundred men, while the French had no more than a thousand. It was arranged between the naval and military commanders that the settlement as well as the north gate should be in charge of the British, who were also to have a movable column of three hundred men for emergency; the French, with a similar column available, were assigned the defence of the city and Tongkadu besides their own concession—the

alarm signal to be two guns from the post in danger; and the naval forces undertook to hold Wusung pending the arrival of military forces, while the maintenance of order in the settlement was left to the volunteers and police, the taotai being responsible for that of the city.

Meanwhile the main body of rebels advancing from Hangchow routed at Sungkiang the imperialists and some two hundred Filipinos, who retreated to Shanghai and on arrival created a panic in the dead of night with the cry that the rebels were coming. Three days after, on the 20th January 1862, the Taipings made a sudden descent upon Wusung, but were repulsed by a French naval detachment with artillery. The horde numbered from two to three thousand, of whom at least five hundred had rifles, which were handled efficiently. Further operations were stopped by a severe snowstorm followed by frost; but as thaw set in the rebels appeared at Pootung ravaging the country and massacring the people ruthlessly.

It grew more and more evident that the Taipings were bent on carrying out their threat of starving out the people before attacking Shanghai, for, while investing the place at all points, they deliberately trampled, burnt, and laid waste the fields whence the native population derived its subsistence.

At the same time native industries suffered greatly. In the silk districts, mulberry trees were cut down for fuel; at the season for silkworm rearing, one after another centre of the industry was destroyed, while marauding parties captured boats laden with silk on the way to Shanghai, for which heavy ransom was exacted, so that in 1862 the export of silk fell to the extent of fourteen thousand bales.

The tea trade was at a standstill. Except from Ningpo and the Yangtze ports, no tea was shipped to Shanghai since 1860; and Ningpo having fallen, no more came from thence; nor was any outlet left on the Yangtze while the rebels held their positions there.

Never had the picturesque neighbourhood of Shanghai been the scene of more appalling calamities than those which now left in desolation the magnificent cities of Soochow and Hangchow as well as the once smiling, luxuriant plains. By night lurid glare, by day obscuring smoke heralded the dreaded hordes; with clanging gongs and waving flags on they came in demoniac frenzy, their hideous yells intermingling with the cries of ravished women, of the perishing multitude of men, women, and children who escaped not; and in the trail of these hell-hounds, the silence of the grave came over smouldering ruins and devastated fields,

strewn with festering corpses up to the creeks and the recesses of thickets and groves.

Such was the terror inspired by the harrowing experiences of refugees, that even within the settlement the consternation among natives was indeed pitiable on the approach of the Chang Mao, or long-haired ones—the name by which the Taipings were known among the Chinese.

On one occasion the cry arose in Nanking Road that the rebels were coming from the Bubbling Well, and in the stampede which ensued a huge mass of natives madly rushed towards the Bund; some in utter despair plunged into the river and perished, while many women and children were trodden to death on the way.

At a public meeting held on the 13th January 1862 it was resolved to carry out the proposal of the Defence Committee for three permanent lines of defence. As the outer line, the Defence Creek was to be widened to fifty feet and extended to the Soochow Creek, with a forty foot bund, three drawbridges, and three turrets, each mounting a 32-pounder howitzer on pivot. The Shakloo (now Fokien) Road was to be the second line, likewise carried to the Soochow Creek, barricaded at every street abutting upon the west, and palisaded at other open spaces. The inner line, at the Barrier (now Honan) Road, was to be similarly barricaded,

supported by guard-houses, and flanked by block-houses at Yang-king-pang and Soochow Creek. The middle and inner lines were also to serve the purpose of controlling the native population in case of panic, and guarding against any possible rising from within in combination with an attack from without, the outer line to be defended by British troops, the inner ones by the volunteers and police.

Notwithstanding several appeals from the country people for protection, Shanghai thus far stood strictly on its own defensive. But such a course was no longer adequate for its own safety, what with the ravaging incursions in the immediate vicinity, and the prospects of a famine among the native population. Hence an auspicious change of front,—Shanghai on the offensive.

CHAPTER VI.

THE THIRTY-MILE-RADIUS CAMPAIGN.

SHORTLY after the fall of Soochow, an association of Chinese merchants at Shanghai under the auspices of Wu Taotai and Yang Fang provided funds for a foreign contingent locally organised by an intrepid American soldier of fortune, Frederick Ward, who, with about a hundred foreigners mostly of the seafaring class like himself, undertook to wrest Sungkiang from the rebels. Undaunted by a reverse, Ward returned to the charge with a reinforcement of Filipinos, and seizing one of the city gates at nightfall, held it against every onset until the main force of imperialists came up in the morning, when the Taipings were driven out of the city. Handsomely rewarded for this feat, the contingent next stormed Tsingpu, but was repulsed with heavy loss, Ward being wounded himself; but with a new levy composed mainly of Italians and Greeks he resumed the attack only to be surprised by Chung Wang, who captured his boats and guns.

and chased him to Sungkiang, where, however, he withstood the rebel forces.

The enlistment of foreigners by imperialists as well as rebels having led to several cases of desertion among the Allied forces at Shanghai, efforts were made by the naval and consular authorities to remove this dangerous element of complications from the contending armies. At Nanking the Taipings were required to surrender all British subjects engaged in their service, and such was the eagerness to ensure foreign non-intervention in the struggle, that mercenaries of British as well as other nationalities were handed over, all in a miserable state. At the same time, while preparing for another attack on Tsingpu, Ward was arrested with some of his followers; and brought to Shanghai, he was tried as an American citizen unlawfully engaged in warfare; but disowning the land of his birth, he claimed to be a Chinese subject and thus evaded the charge.*

It was not long ere the native force drilled by Ward and officered by foreign rowdies and deserters, redounded to the glory of "the ex-Californian filibuster": ten months after yclepting him thus, the British minister, Mr. Bruce, had ample

* He is said to have married the daughter of a Chinese official.

reason to refer to the foreign-drilled force as the nucleus of a military organisation which might prove most valuable, if not the salvation of China.

At the same time a French artillery officer, Captain Tardif de Moidrey, organised a native battalion and field battery officered by French non-commissioned officers from among the forces on the way back from the campaign in the North, the battery in particular proving most serviceable.

Under Ward's command the imperialists in February 1862 sallied forth from Sungkiang and at Kuan-fu-ling inflicted a telling blow on some twenty thousand Taipings, of whom about 2,300 were mowed down by masked batteries which opened upon them as they approached; Ward's drilled troops then rushed forward and took from 700 to 800 prisoners, who were sent to Shanghai for execution. The enemy, moreover, lost a great number of boats intended for a descent on Shanghai.

From Pootung the rebels made an attempt to seize a fleet of junks, the object in view being to form a bridge and cross the river for an attack on Shanghai; but the plan was frustrated by French artillery.

Ward's force then numbered but fifteen hundred, known as the "Imitation Foreign Devils," their



FOREIGN DRILLED TROOPS

quaint uniform being calculated to convey the impression that they were foreign troops; and that their footprints, too, might bluff the enemy, Wu Taotai supplied the force with foreign boots. The uniform somewhat resembled that of the Zouaves or Sepoys—a smart green turban for all ranks, jacket and knickerbocker of one colour for each branch of the service—the bodyguard, dark blue; the artillery, light blue; the infantry, light green, with distinctive facings and shoulder straps, some red, others green, the artillery having also broad red stripes on the knickerbocker; and for summer, white uniform with red facings for all.

Whilst holding Sungkiang after his great victory, Ward was bidden by the viceroy to dislodge the rebels from Pootung, where they occupied several strong positions in the very district whence Shanghai derived its main supply of provisions, notably at Kaochiao,* opposite Wusung.

On the other hand Admirals Hope and Protet regarded the situation as calling for their intervention, the rebel incursions at Pootung being in too close proximity to be consistent with the respect due to the foreign forces at Shanghai. Thus, as Ward could only detach 600 men for the

* Kajow

expedition, the admirals supported him with an Anglo-French contingent of 400 men and three guns.

On the 21st February 1862 the combined forces advanced upon the rebel stockades at Kaochiao, gay with a profusion of banners. Ward's force began by driving the rebels from their outpost and checking the approach of a strong relief party with a ceaseless fire which was briskly returned, while the French howitzers and British rocket opened upon the stockades most thickly studded with banners. Burgevine, next to Ward in command, though severely wounded in the head, stanching his bleeding and led his party forward. A few volleys from the marines cleared the bridge, and Ward's men, having stormed the outer line, now dashed into the village whence the rebels retreated precipitately after a sharp encounter and heavy losses. Many prisoners were taken, and thousands of villagers in chains released, to the great joy of the people.

The capture of Kaochiao much disconcerted the enemy, as Chung Wang was expected there on the very day of the action—the stronghold being intended for a base of operation against Shanghai; but consequent upon the rout, the numerous forces posted in the vicinity retreated towards the south.

Southward, too, Admiral Hope proceeded on the 27th with a detachment of marines for reconnoitring purposes, and at Minghong was joined by Ward with a company of his drilled troops.

On approaching the village of Hsiaotang,* which was found turned into a rebel stronghold, the party met with such a determined opposition that a retreat had to be effected fighting on to the boats, which fortunately lay within easy reach. Reinforcements were sent for, and on March 1st Hsiaotang was attacked by a combined force consisting of an Anglo-French detachment of 500 men with six guns, and 750 of Ward's troops. The Taipings, numbering at least 6,000, at first kept so quiet that it was thought they had evacuated the stronghold; as a skirmishing party from Ward's corps boldly advanced under cover of the grave mounds to the right, the first shots were exchanged.

The defences were found to be exceptionally strong. At the outer line stood a barricade raised out of the débris of several houses; then there were well protected stakes, ditches, and trenches surmounted by earthworks for guns, and thickly loop-holed barricades of coffins, sand-bags, furniture, bales of cotton, cases filled with stones—in short, everything at hand was utilised for raising these defences.

*Tsidong.

To the right the action grew brisker, and as shells were sent in, the rebels replied with jingals and small guns as well as musketry. For an hour or so the fire was incessant, the defence stubborn. But the guns played on the stronghold with great effect, and at last a retreat was observable, when an Anglo-French detachment sent to intercept it on the left kept up a telling fusillade, while Ward's men started in hot pursuit. The fire from the earthworks having meanwhile slackened, Admiral Hope gave orders to storm a breach on the barricade. Within the village the rebels rallied on the main thoroughfare and made a desperate stand, but heavy firing followed by a bayonet charge of the marines carried the day after a hand-to-hand struggle. The village with its heaps of dead amidst the improvised defences presented a gruesome sight, and was set on fire. From six to seven hundred rebels were killed, and over three hundred taken prisoners. Among the killed were two French deserters; and there were other foreigners with them, as an English exclamation was heard in the course of the retreat.

As at Kaochiao, Ward's force seemed to have borne the brunt of the fight, judging by the number of casualties: at Kaochiao, seven killed and over thirty wounded; at Hsiaotang, ten killed and forty wounded, some severely—Burgevine badly again,

through the stomach; whilst in the Anglo-French contingent the loss at Kaochiao was one killed and three wounded, at Hsiaotang only two or three wounded.

In a memorial the throne, Sieh, the viceroy, did ample justice to the gallantry displayed by Ward and Burgevine, as well as to the support given by the admirals, for which Prince Kung expressed the emperor's acknowledgment to the ministers; and at the same time a very eulogistic imperial decree conferred on Ward's corps the high-sounding title of the Ever Victorious Army, Ward holding rank as a brigadier.

Having initiated the campaign, Admiral Hope in his despatch of 22nd February 1862 proposed that Mr. Bruce should concert measures with M. de Bourboulon for the employment of British and French forces to drive the rebels out of a radius sufficient to ensure the supply of provisions and preclude further panic at Shanghai, Ward's force to prevent the rebels from regaining the country so cleared.

In reply Mr. Bruce pointed out that if immediate action was decided upon it would meet with support, but he doubted the expediency of clearing the thirty-mile radius if by this measure the rebels were not likely to abstain from harassing Shanghai, or if the imperialists were unable to retain the posts.

within the limits, in which case he suggested that the admiral should obtain from the rebels at Nanking an order to withdraw their forces from the limit in question, the British troops still in the North to be detained for eventualities pending the admiralty's decision.

It was not long ere marauding parties returned to Kaochia and again harassed the district, so that while reconnoitring the country in that direction a month after the action, Admiral Hope with two officers came across a mounted party by whom they would in all probability have been captured but for a sampan in which they escaped narrowly to Admiral Protet's flagship, the *Renommée*, at Wusung.

Another descent in boats was evidently projected, as on March 13th while up on the river, H. M. S. *Flamer* met a flotilla of three hundred boats of various sizes convoyed by ten war-junks and further escorted by troops along both banks of the river—in all 6,000 to 7,000 men at the least. The gunboat was fired upon, and as the forces came well within reach, opened on them with guns and rifles, put them all to flight, and, giving chase, destroyed nearly the whole flotilla.

While the Taipings suffered one serious loss after another, the imperialists received a reinforcement of nine thousand men from Nganking; and consequent upon the decision of Mr. Bruce to

evacuate Tientsin, the British force at Shanghai, now under Brigadier-General Staveley, was increased to 2,824 men with 22 guns, besides two naval 32-pounders—a force deemed equal to any local requirement, provided the imperialists retained the positions captured for them.

To check the ravages wrought by the rebels to the west of Shanghai, a combined expedition started on April 3rd for Wang Kiasze,* some twelve miles away. The forces consisted of three detachments—the British, of 1,493 men with nine guns, under General Staveley; the French, 410 men and four guns, under Admiral Protet, and the imperialists, 300 men under Ward. The approach of these forces on the 4th led to a panic among the rebels, numbering some 7,000 or 8,000 if not more, who from their intrenched positions fell back upon other lines four miles inward. A party under Ward then tried to force the position, but unsupported by artillery experienced a severe check, with a loss of seven killed and forty-four wounded,—Admiral Hope, who accompanied the party, being slightly wounded in the leg. Next morning a naval party under Admiral Protet and Captain Borlase with six guns captured the stockades and destroyed all the rebel camps in the vicinity, which, like all the others, were found well stocked with provisions.

* Wang Kadza.

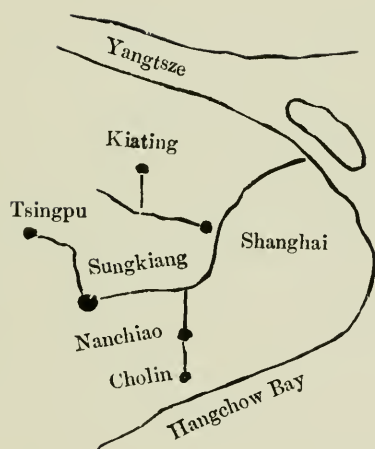
To the east the expedition on April 17th attacked Tsipu, a well stockaded village held by about 5,000 rebels. The guns worked with terrific effect at 500 yards, and in half an hour the enemy was in full retreat, over 300 being slain. A strong Anglo-French detachment, and Ward at the head of about 1,000 imperialists, then fell upon another encampment some four miles up the canal. Ward's force advanced in skirmishing order under cover of the guns; and the rebels, much the same in number as at Tsipu, finding their retreat threatened, forthwith decamped.

The expedition served as the prelude to a plan of campaign agreed to on April 22nd by Admirals Hope and Protet, General Staveley, and the Chinese authorities: to establish a line of defence extending from the Yangtze to Hangchow Bay within a radius of thirty miles from Shanghai. It was accordingly decided to capture and occupy Kiating,* Tsingpu, Nanchiao,† and Cholin—all in the hands of the rebels; and Ward, then at Sungkiang, was to remove his headquarters to Tsingpu and garrison these five towns, supported by British and French forces until he could raise his corps to the desired strength.

The forces put on the field consisted of a British naval brigade numbering 427 men with nine

* Kahding

† Najow



guns, under Captain Borlase of H.M.S. *Pearl*; a British military detachment of 1,640 men with seven guns and six coehorns,* under General Staveley; a French naval and military force of 775 men with eight guns under Admiral Protet; and Ward's contingent of 1,000 men.

Proceeding up the Soochow Creek, this expedition of 3,842 men and 30 guns, while on the way to Kiating, attacked an intrenched camp near Nansiang† on April 29th, the guns opening at 400 yards. The rebels, soon driven out of their stockades, were closely followed up to Kiating. The bridges having been previously destroyed by them, great numbers fell into the hands of Ward's troops in trying to cross the creek; but at the stockades and on the road their losses were but thirty.

On May 1st the guns opened upon Kiating; and a bridge of boats having been formed, the storming parties proceeded to escalate the walls of this singularly well defended town, taking about a thousand prisoners. Within the wall some 130 rebels were killed in action, mostly at the north gate, while 2,300 were reported as having fallen outside the gates in trying to break through the imperialists posted there under Li Han Chang,

* Small bronze mortars mounted on wooden block with handles portable by two men only, and named after the inventor, Baron Coehorn.

† Naizean

a brother of Li Hung Chang. A considerable quantity of silver was found in the town, with many ponies and a large stock of rice. The casualties among the foreign troops were four wounded only. An Anglo-French detachment of 400 men was left to garrison the town until relieved by drilled imperialists, the rest of the force returning to Shanghai preparatory to action at Tsingpu.

An Anglo-French force of 2,613 men with 35 guns, and 1,800 imperialists under Ward reached Tsingpu on May 12th in boats, accompanied by a French gunboat whose light draught permitted of her approach to the scene of action, where her rifled 64-pounder proved most serviceable in effecting two breaches on the ramparts. A heavy cannonade was levelled at the parapet, every gun being brought to play; and the canal having been bridged, the troops stormed and escalated the breaches under a brisk jingal fire which was kept up to the moment when they mounted the wall. A strong stockade which protected the entire parapet from within served to little purpose, enfiladed as it was by four guns. The casualties among the French were two officers and six men wounded, and one marine killed; among the British two men wounded and one killed. The enemy's retreat was so effectively cut off that the whole garrison fell

into the hands of the imperialists under Ward, who was left in charge of the town, the Anglo-French forces proceeding in boats down to the Huangpu and thence to a creek on the right bank leading to Nanchiao.

The outworks having been shelled on the morning of May 17th a storming party dashed through them and under a sharp fire of jingals and matchlocks crossed the ditches and climbed over the stockades on to the embrasures of the walls of Nanchiao. It was while gallantly leading this party that Admiral Protet fell shot through the heart, the other casualties being two naval officers and seven men wounded among the French, and six others among the British.

The admiral's death is said to have led the French to show the enemy no mercy. According to a circumstantial French account, however, Nanchiao was shelled, and the Taipings, put to flight, returned in the course of the day fighting desperately. Of two thousand prisoners some were, after investigation, handed over to the imperialists for execution, while others were released on their promise to Père Lemaître to relinquish the rebel cause.*

* Commandant de Marolles: *Souvenirs de la Révolte des Taiping* in the *Toung Pao*, Vol. III., No. 4, of October 1902.

From Nanchiao the expedition went up the creek and at daylight on May 20th the artillery opened upon Cholin, which was taken at the point of the bayonet and eventually destroyed.

Pending the arrival of drilled imperialists an Anglo-French detachment of 320 men garrisoned Nanchiao, the place being of strategic importance inasmuch as, commanding the approach to Pootung, it threatened the inward positions held by the enemy. Thenceforth no further incursions were made in that direction, the rebels withdrawing altogether from Pootung after the desertion of a chief of some note, who joined the imperialists.

The remains of Admiral Protet, conveyed to Shanghai, were accorded a most imposing funeral,—the Chinese authorities being conspicuous in the homage rendered. Li Hung Chang, then governor of the province, having expressly sent the sad intelligence to Peking, an imperial decree was issued extolling the admiral's heroism, and ordering a sacrificial offering to be made in his honour by two high officials; and with the emperor's condolence to his family were sent some princely gifts of sable and silk from the court; whilst on the scene of action a memorial was raised by the Shanghai officials.

The admiral's remains, interred in a vault, were eventually brought home to Saint-Servan,

his native place. Not long after the French lost another distinguished officer, whose well drilled native corps had taken an active part in the thirty-mile-radius campaign, Captain Tardif de Moidrey, accidentally shot by one of his own men in action at Chaocheng, in Chekiang.

A most regrettable feature in the death of Admiral Protet was that it proved an unavailing sacrifice, the successful campaign being soon marred through lack of co-operation on the part of the imperialists. No garrison was forthcoming for the towns captured; and some six or seven thousand badly armed, undrilled imperialists under Chinese command, abandoning the lines of defence assigned them near Kiating, proceeded to besiege Taitsang.

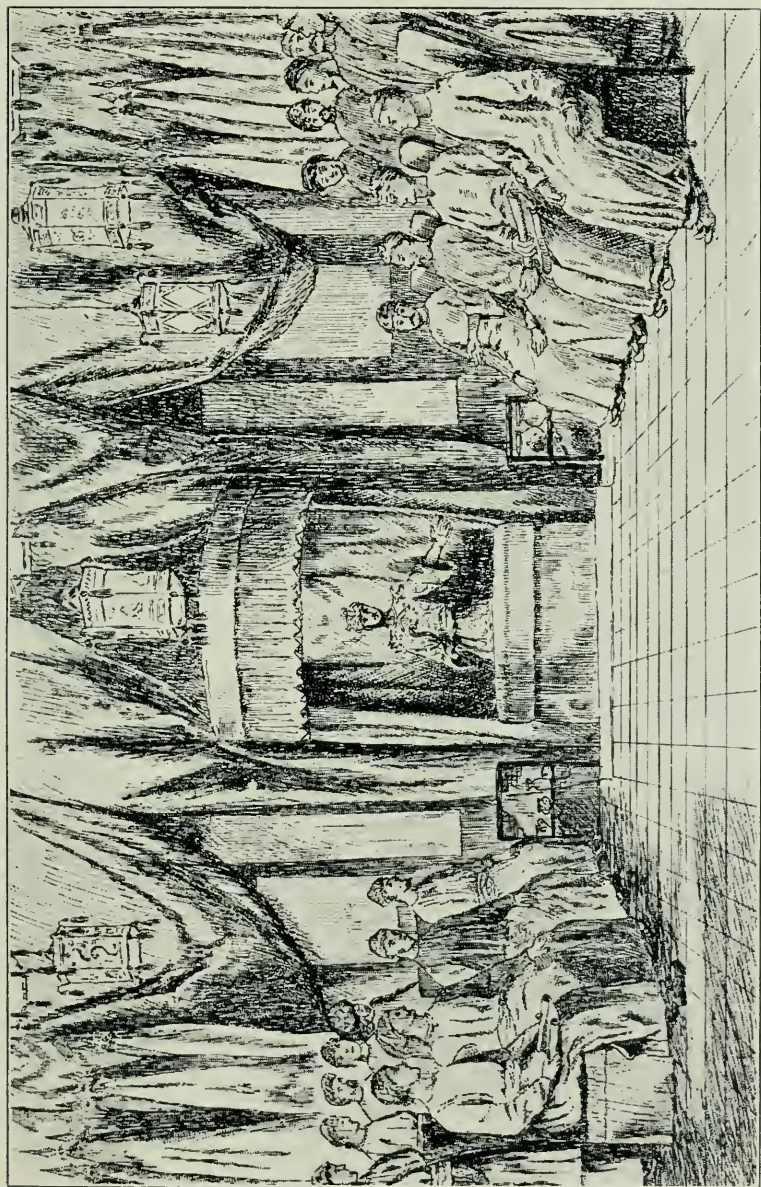
After an encounter there on May 15th,—indecisive evidently because it formed part of the ruse,—two thousand rebels, shaving their heads, offered allegiance to the imperialists and were forthwith enlisted on their side, while Chung Wang, advancing with 10,000 picked troops, manœuvred to prevent a retreat, and then in concert with the shaved detachment fell upon the imperialists, routing and dispersing them amidst fearful carnage. A few hundreds only fled past Kiating to Wusung hotly pursued by the rebels, who would in all likelihood have taken Wusung but for the timely

arrival and effective fire of H.M.S. *Starling*. The rebels then fell back on Nansiang, where they captured a naval howitzer with ammunition and provisions on the way to Kiating, three of the convoys being killed and four taken prisoners.

From Cholin General Staveley with a thousand men and twelve guns hastened through Shanghai to the relief of the Anglo-French detachment left to garrison Kiating, and reaching Nansiang on the same day, May 24th, met with large bodies of rebels who were repeatedly driven from the front, flanks, and rear. A column of five hundred men with four guns under Lieut. Colonel Stanley then proceeded to Kiating, whence the garrison was escorted back to Shanghai.

Meanwhile, roused by the series of reverses suffered by the Taipings, Chung Wang gathered some of his best officers and troops, and at the head of a well-equipped army estimated at not less than 25,000 strong, advanced from Soochow, and after routing the imperialists at Taitsang, re-occupied Kiating and invested Tsingpu as well as Sungkiang, both held by drilled imperialists, who repelled several assaults.

Ward, then at Sungkiang, being unable to maintain communication, decided to withdraw the garrison from Tsingpu, and this was effected on June 10th under the ægis of Admiral Hope with a



CHUNG WANG'S COUNCIL OF WAR

naval brigade supported by a British and a French gunboat. Before leaving, the garrison fired Tsingpu; and the rebels rushing in from the rear took prisoner the officer in command, Forrester, who, although sentenced to torture and death, was, after enduring great hardships, ransomed for muskets and gunpowder.

Simultaneously invested, Sungkiang withstood every onset, on May 30th being nearly taken by surprise but for a British naval party who repulsed the rebels while in the act of scaling the walls, thenceforth guarded for eight days and nights by the naval men, as little confidence was placed on some of the native troops.

In face of the inability of the Chinese government to garrison the places captured as agreed upon, General Staveley decided to withdraw from the campaign; and in concert with him, Admiral Hope and Captain de Kersauson, the French senior naval officer, resolved on June 14th to confine their sphere of action to the immediate vicinity of Shanghai and the temporary occupation of Nanchiao.

The strain entailed on the foreign contingents was aggravated by the prevalence of cholera, whilst a broiling summer heat told fearfully on all, the French in particular being almost all broken down.

The apathy shown by the Chinese authorities led Admiral Hope to impress upon Mr. Bruce the advisability of urging the formation of a foreign drilled corps of 6,000 imperialists, the cost to be defrayed out of the customs revenue; while General Staveley would undertake to drill the men as well as to assume the command of native forces.

In exposing the situation to Prince Kung, Mr. Bruce remarked that no government would for long go to the expense of holding places for another government which was unable or unwilling to do so itself, and that unless the necessary measures of defence were adopted, either the foreign troops would be withdrawn from Shanghai or the revenue of the port applied for the maintenance of the forces required—an alternative which Prince Kung in his reply hoped was not meant in earnest except to rouse his government to action; and at the same time it was rather significantly hinted that Russia had furnished China with ten thousand muskets and several guns.

As a sequence to this, three months later, the Russian minister at Peking informed Mr. Bruce that Admiral Popoff's fleet had orders to co-operate with the British naval forces; and it having been further arranged by Prince Kung that Russian troops were to defend Ningpo and Shanghai, M. Petchroff of the legation at Peking had

several interviews with the Chinese authorities at Shanghai concerning a large force shortly due for service against the Taipings—a service which Li Hung Chang courteously declined.

Serious as was the outlook of the campaign, it became the more so through the sale of arms to the foe. From papers found on board a vessel, it transpired that in April 1862 a Shanghai firm supplied the rebels with 3,046 fire-arms, 795 field-pieces, 484 kegs and 10,947 lb. of gunpowder, 18,000 cartridges, and over four and a half million caps. Several vessels were seized laden with munitions of war for the Taipings, smuggled by foreign firms; and the Chinese authorities bitterly complained that the opening of the Yangtze to trade served to furnish the enemy with arms and provisions under foreign flags, notably at Nanking. Foreigners who were largely engaged in the trade, carried on in luggers up the Yangtze, formed settlements at different points on the river, exempt from consular control; and collisions attended with loss of life took place between them and the native officials and people, engendering bad feeling calculated to prejudice friendly relations in China. Such was the extensive and unchecked traffic in arms, that in one year no less than three thousand guns of various calibre were disposed of at Singapore; while marine stores at Hongkong

and the treaty ports dealt openly in guns and small arms, mainly intended for the use of brigands and pirates, against whom, as Mr. Bruce remarked, the mercantile communities called upon the naval forces to act.*

Nanking being now hard pressed by Tseng Kuo Fan's army, Chung Wang was peremptorily recalled from Soochow to its relief, and much against his will he proceeded thither with his main force; assault after assault was made in vain on Tseng's trenches and bastions, with the result that Tien Wang lost confidence in Chung Wang and degraded to a secondary command this most obstinate and dangerous foe of Shanghai.

Nevertheless on August 17th news reached Shanghai that at Wongdu the waterways were swarming with boats and troops on the way to Tsingpu, retaken by Ward's force on the 9th; and it was not long ere marauding parties wearing the white and orange uniform of Chung Wang's army again harassed the country to the north and west of Shanghai, notwithstanding a military detachment posted at Fahwah. On the 25th, a reconnoitring party of the Volunteer Mounted Rangers came across several bands, of from 50 to

* See Mr. Bruce's despatches to the Foreign Office dated 14th July and 17th September 1862; and Admiral Hope's despatch of October 1862 to the Admiralty.—*Blue Book on China*, 1863.

250, scattered about; and as the main body of some 2,000 advanced to surround them, the rangers withdrew after taking a prisoner with a flag. On the 26th the rebels, part mounted, passed in upon the right front and ventured as far as the Bubbling Well plundering, massacring and burning, whereupon Colonel Thomas, then in command, sent a force of 900 men in three columns to cut them off; but they were too quick, escaping to the north side of Soochow Creek across a floating bridge. To preclude another similar surprise, an outpost was placed in that direction, it being further decided to extend the military road to the spot where the bridge was formed.

On the 28th a large rebel force being reported to be in the vicinity of Sikawei, a French column of 500 men with two howitzers went forward under Captain Faucon and dispersed the force after a skirmish in which ten rebels were killed and twenty-four taken prisoners, from whom it was ascertained that the main body had fallen back upon Kiating.

Operations at Ningpo now led to Ward being despatched thither with a contingent, and but three days after arrival,—while directing the assault at Tzuchi* on September 21st—he fell mortally wounded by a stray bullet through the breast.

*Tseki.

His troops scaled the walls and carried the town, inflicting on the enemy a loss estimated at 7,000 men against seven killed and twelve wounded. The Chinese government was not insensible to the worth of such a dedicated soldier of fortune as Ward was; his remains were received at Sungkiang with general manifestation of respect; and by the side of his simple grave mound was raised a little temple where to this day homage is rendered to the hero on the very scene of his first exploit, as well as at another shrine dedicated to him at Ningpo.*

The command of the Ever Victorious Army—declined by Forrester, the senior officer, in consequence of ill-health,—was then assumed by Burgevine, like Ward, an American military adventurer, but with superior training, and the reputed ambition of founding an oriental empire.

The Chinese authorities now seemed more energetic in military affairs; and Li Hung Chang having undertaken to garrison Kiating efficiently if recaptured, General Staveley on October 24th attacked the place with a combined force of 4,273 men and 38 guns, the British contingent being a military detachment of 1,310 with 6 guns and 12 mortars, and a naval brigade under Captain

* Ward is said to have left a fortune estimated at £60,000, of which but a fourth part was realised out of the muddle of his accounts with those of Takee, the banker, and others.



WARD'S MEMORIAL TABLET AT SUNGKIANG

Borlase with 7 guns; the French, 493 men and 5 guns under Captain Faucon; and the imperialists, 1,900 drilled men with 8 guns led by Burgevine. The defences at Kiating were now stronger than when first taken, the walls being flanked by well-protected outworks. The artillery having been got into position at night, opened upon the walls at the first glimmer of dawn; two breaches were effected, whereupon bridges were laid, and storming parties proceeded to escalate the wall, taken at the cost of four killed and twenty-nine wounded, the enemy escaping by the the other side, and Burgevine with his troops being left in charge of the place, which was this time well garrisoned and provisioned, with a strong outpost at Nansiang.

It was not long, however, before a large rebel force under Ting Wang, Mu Wang, and Ha Wang proceeded for the recapture of Kiating, the ulterior aim being to advance upon Sungkiang, as well as Shanghai and Paoshan. On the way to Tsingpu, Li Hung Chang with a strong detachment from Shanghai, and Burgevine with about fifteen hundred drilled men from Sungkiang, fell in simultaneously with the enemy at the village of Powokong on November 16th, and a stubborn fight ensued for several hours. With his artillery Burgevine dislodged the main force from a well stockaded position, and in the rout which followed,

the rebels suffered heavily, Mu Wang being badly wounded, his promising son slain, Ting Wang drowned, many officers killed and others taken prisoners, in consequence of a floating bridge giving way under the first rush of the retreating force, so that only some ten thousand were said to have escaped, many as deserters.

This crushing blow—which Li attributed to himself in the main—not only vindicated the prestige of the imperialists, but, as expected resulted in the thirty-mile radius being now thoroughly cleared of the scourge, and at last relieved from further cruelties and desolation.

The untold atrocities there perpetrated by the Taipings seemed to have called forth some terrible retribution at the hands of the imperialists. Ghastly stories were told of the treatment of rebel prisoners at Shanghai, old and young of both sexes being, it was alleged, disembowelled alive and their hearts torn out—horrors before which one of the English spectators fainted, the overpowering effect being such as to turn him into a raving maniac.* These scenes were detailed in a virulent

* It is hard to believe that even the Chinese could be guilty of such unspeakable cruelty as this: "A young female apparently about eight months pregnant, who never uttered a groan or sigh at all the previous cruelties she had endured from the surrounding mob, had her infant cut out of her womb and held up in her sight by one of its little hands, bleeding and quivering, when, at the sight, she gave one heart-rending, piercing scream that would

letter in the *Times of India* of 13th May 1862, which gave rise to official enquiries, with the result that, on the strength of the taotai's statements, the tale of horrors was reported to be grossly exaggerated, and a pure fabrication so far as the execution of women was concerned.

In approving the campaign within the thirty-mile radius, Earl Russell remarked that to crush the rebellion implied a war the burden and cost of which China would not likely share. The rational course was then to safeguard British interests and encourage Chinese military organisation, British forces to remain at Shanghai as long as necessary.

have awakened pity in a tiger, and after it had been in that state dashed on her breast, she with a last superhuman effort released her arms from those holding her down, and clasped her infant to her bleeding heart and died holding it there with such force that they could not be separated, and were thus thrown together on the pile of other carcasses."



CHAPTER VII.

FROM BURGEVINE'S FALL TO GORDON'S MASTER-STROKE.

ON assuming command of the Ever Victorious Army, Burgevine improved the defences of Sungkiang—his headquarters—by constructing roads, digging trenches and razing suburbs,—measures which so exasperated the inhabitants that they stood on the point of rising against both foreign and native authorities there. After his great victory at Powokong, Burgevine agreed to an expedition for the capture of Nanking, when steamers were chartered and equipped for action; but according to his version, the Chinese authorities failed in their engagement to supply all necessary funds; the British and French naval as well as military authorities all objected to the withdrawal of his forces from Sungkiang; while he insisted that all claims in arrears should be settled before departure; and this being refused, he postponed the expedition, with the result that the Chinese

authorities sent the transports away in such haste that there was scarcely time to remove all the guns and stores on board. The outlay thus came to no purpose; and at the same time large deficits in the funds at Shanghai involved Wu Taotai and Yang Fang, alias Takee, the banker, in serious difficulties which eventually culminated in their official disgrace for peculation. Under Ward the corps cost about £360,000 a year; under Burgevine the outlay amounted to £180,000 in three months. Apart from the lavish expenditure of the corps, Burgevine's imperious bearing, his usurpation of civil authority, his refusal to follow the Chinese commander's plan of operations, all engendered friction, notably with Li Hung Chang, who found reason to regard the Ever Victorious Army as a peril rather than as the bulwark that it had once been to China. Even Ward was said to have entertained the ambition of founding an independent state of his own in China, and now Burgevine's attitude unmistakably tended in that direction.*

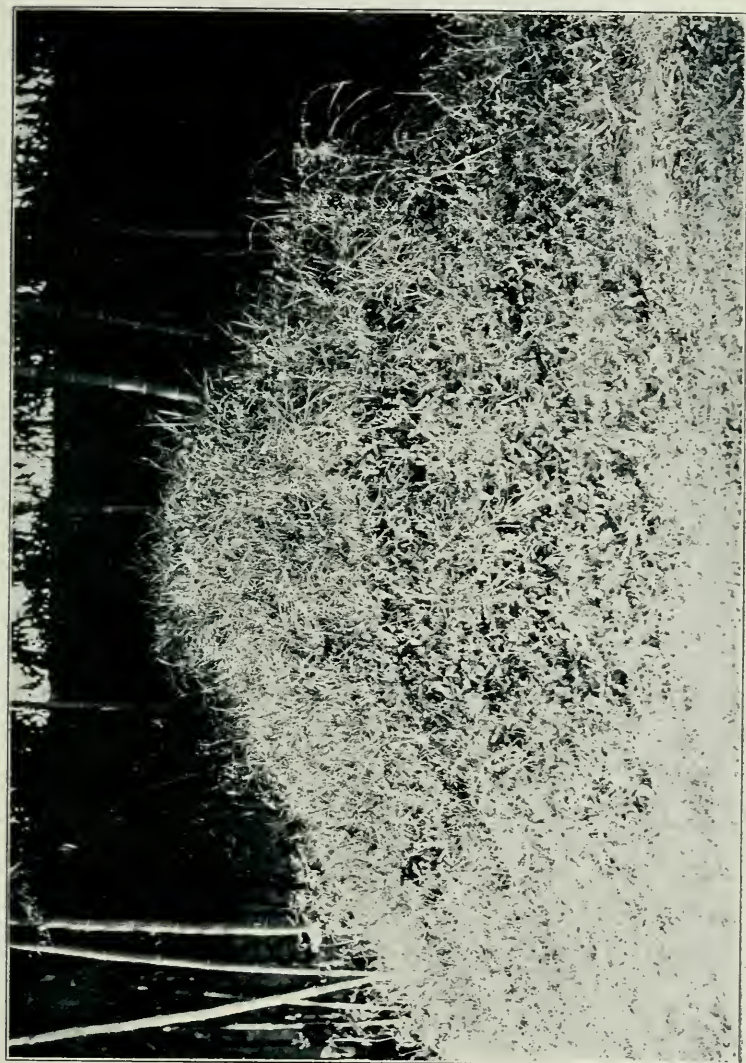
At the same time much discontent prevailed among the corps, what with arrears of pay and the pretensions of Chinese officials to hold court-

*Such were not the only instances of megalomania among foreigners in China at this epoch, in view of the free-city scheme of Shanghai, and the preposterous terms of Mr. Lay in connection with the Lay-Osborn flotilla which led to such a deplorable fiasco.

martial: and finally a mutiny broke out, the troops closing the gates and threatening the officials with decapitation. The cause being traced to the arrears, at a general parade Burgevine warranted the clamouring troops payment within two days; and proceeding forthwith to Shanghai, on the 4th January 1863, he had an altercation with Takee, the banker, whom he struck in the face; while his guard forcibly took away the necessary funds*—withheld because the force did not proceed to Nanking. Returning immediately to Sungkiang, Burgevine succeeded in restoring order, but only to find that he was dismissed, the information to this effect being made through General Staveley, who advised him to relinquish his post quietly.

On the other hand the officers of the Ever Victorious Army protested against the action of the Chinese authorities inasmuch as the straightforward proceedings of their commander—necessary for the maintenance of the corps—in no way infringed the military law of civilised nations, to which alone they considered themselves amenable; they further protested against the authorities for offering a reward of fifty thousand taels for Burgevine's head, and they solemnly pledged that in the event of his being murdered they would no longer serve under

* Forty thousand taels.



WARD'S GRAVE

those authorities, but would make such representations as would lead to the just punishment of the murderers.

It was arranged between Li Hung Chang and General Staveley that Captain Holland of the Royal Marines should temporarily take up the command pending a permanent appointment, provided that the proposal should be officially made and the necessary funds for the corps regularly forthcoming. These negotiations, by a strange coincidence, were effected simultaneously with the issue of an Order in Council dated 9th January 1863 sanctioning officers of the British army to serve under the emperor of China,—Li Hung Chang having two months previously proposed the substitution of Burgevine by an English officer.

In relinquishing the command pending reference to Peking, Burgevine published a statement justifying his procedure in all but one point—that of having struck the official banker, for which he expressed his regret; and he declared that as his commission was granted by the imperial government, he did not recognise the right of the local authorities to deprive him thereof without the emperor's sanction.

Wu Taotai, however, maintained that Burgevine—whom he publicly accused of treasonable and rebellious proceedings—was appointed by Li Hung

Chang, to whom, as provincial governor, all officers, civil and military, were amenable; and on him rested the decision as to their appointment or dismissal.

Captain Holland inaugurated his command with an expedition to Taitsang, on the 10th February a force of over 2,500 men with 22 guns advancing thither from Sungkiang and joining on the way another force of 5,000 undrilled imperialists. Without effecting any reconnaissance, Captain Holland shelled the outworks to the south of Taitsang for two hours and to no purpose. while on the creek row after row of stakes impeded the approach of the boats, well supplied with portable bridges. It was then decided to storm the outworks, but on the approach of a reconnoitring party the handful of rebels retreated. The Chinese commanders affirmed that around the walls of Taitsang there was no creek, but only a dry ditch; and on the strength of this assertion, Captain Holland had the guns landed and set in position against the south wall, and after four or five hours' shelling on the 14th, proceeded to storm the place, but when close to the wall came across a deep moat which the troops could not ford, the bridges having been left behind. A ladder was thrown over, but it gave way and the few who crossed the moat fell in the attempt to scale a breach, while the force, huddled

up, became the target of a telling fire. In this wretched plight a retreat was effected under cover of the guns, of which two 32-pounders, being stuck fast in the swamp, had to be abandoned after an ineffectual attempt to spike them under a sharp fusillade, followed by a charge of the rebels.* Heavy were the casualties in this first serious reverse suffered by the Ever Victorious Army, the number of killed, wounded and missing being first said to be about 500, but afterwards officially given as 200, whilst of the foreign officers ten were wounded, and four killed—Captains Maunder, Macarthy, Macleod, and Bosworth. Such was the first and last expedition under Captain Holland,—insisted upon by Li Hung Chang as the alternative of reducing or disbanding the corps.

The command was then given to Brevet-Major Gordon of the Royal Engineers, then engaged in a survey of the thirty-mile radius.

As to Burgevine, the British minister at Peking regretted that misunderstanding should

* In recording this reverse, one of the rebel chiefs wrote thus: "Oh, how we laughed, on the morning of the assault, as they advanced nearer to the creek which they brought no bridge to throw over! how we laughed as we saw the ladder they had thrown over getting weaker and weaker beneath them, and at last fall into the creek, leaving half the party on one side and half on the other. 'What general is he,' cried our chief, 'who sends his men to storm a city without first ascertaining that there is a moat?' 'And what general is he,' cried another of our leaders, 'who allows a storming party to advance without bridges?' See, O chief, these unfortunates!"

have arisen between the Chinese officials and an officer generally well spoken of, under whom the corps scored its proudest victory, and whose high-handed procedure was not unjustifiable since it only sought to prevent the break-up of his forces. But while desirous of seeing his services duly requited, Sir Frederick Bruce was alive to the danger of leaving the corps in the hands of that class of adventurers to be found among its officers, inasmuch as the large foreign interests at Shanghai were tempting, and forces intended for the protection thereof should therefore be such as might be thoroughly relied upon.

To vindicate himself, Burgevine proceeded to Peking, and succeeded in securing the good graces of all the foreign ministers, what with his gentlemanly bearing and military prestige, and the pathos of his wrongs in face of still unhealed wounds received in the imperial service. The diplomatic corps advocated his cause, the British minister addressing the Tsungli yamen strongly in his favour, while the American minister tendered an apology for the untoward incident, with the result that Burgevine returned to Shanghai with a commissioner sent to accommodate matters with Li Hung Chang.

To General Staveley, Sir Frederick Bruce expressed the opinion that Burgevine was the

victim of intrigues and jealousy on the part of the Chinese officials, against whose injustice it was absolutely necessary to support foreign officers; and the general was accordingly requested to use his influence in reinstating Burgevine, for the sake of justice.

Notwithstanding the instructions from Peking, Li Hung Chang declined to supersede Major Gordon without further reference to the imperial government; and at an interview with Major-General Brown, who replaced General Staveley, Li declared that the officials, gentry, and people were all averse to Burgevine's reinstatement as likely to renew troubles, and the force if placed under him would again become uncontrollable and dangerous alike to natives and foreigners.

In reply to an official enquiry from Vice-Consul Markham, Li further stated that he could not reappoint Burgevine in view of the difficulties raised by him, and his extravagance having involved Wu and Yang in disgrace. Moreover, Major Gordon gave every satisfaction, so that instead of superseding him, Li memorialised the throne to confer upon him the rank of *tsung-ping*, or general of division.

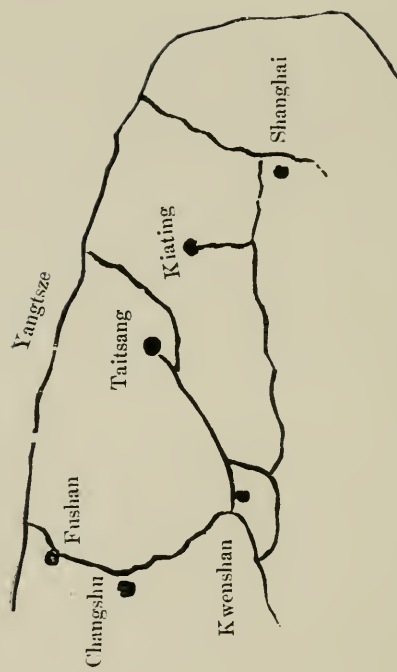
On military grounds General Brown concurred with Li Hung Chang in supporting Major Gordon, whose ability and energy, he pointed out to Sir

Frederick Bruce, fitted him for the command; and in the event of his removal therefrom, every other British officer would withdraw from the corps.

Sir Frederick Bruce, however, maintained that it was inexpedient to employ British officers beyond the protection of legitimate British interests, and that unless relieved of further obedience to the orders of the Chinese authorities, the commander would find himself in a position incompatible with his profession and with what was due to a British officer. Under the circumstances Sir Frederick declined the responsibility of employing British officers beyond the thirty-mile radius, apprising the Chinese government of his objection thereto, to little or no purpose.

Meanwhile an imperial amnesty having been availed of by the rebels at Changshu,* the surrender led to the place being beleaguered by some thirty or forty thousand rebels under Chung Wang and several other chiefs. From Taitsang the Taipings brought the two 32-pounders captured there; also a prisoner who was sent with the heads of three foreigners to be exhibited at Changshu as trophies. For three days the rebels shelled Changshu with the 32-pounders until one burst. Attempts were then made to mine and

* Chanzu.



scale the walls, defended by eight thousand ex-rebels successfully. But some ten miles off, the Taipings recovered Fushan after its surrender—a notorious pirates' nest on the canal leading from Changshu to the Yangtze, whence the rebels drew their supply of arms.

Two expeditions sent by Li Hung Chang having failed to retake Fushan or relieve Changshu, Gordon was required to initiate his campaign there—thirty miles beyond the thirty-mile radius; and on the 31st March 1863 he embarked at Sungkiang with a regiment, four 12-pounder howitzers and a 32-pounder siege-gun. Proceeding up the Yangtze the force landed near Fushan, and the locality having been thoroughly reconnoitred, on April 6th the guns played with terrific effect, silencing the stockades and keeping away large reinforcements swarming thither, while a storming party pushed through, with the result that the enemy retreated, abandoning two strong lines of defence between Fushan and Changshu, then serving as Chung Wang's headquarters—where thirty-four imperialist prisoners had been crucified and burnt to death with red-hot iron. Changshu stood in dire extremity when thus relieved, part of the rebel forces retreating with the wangs, and part offering their allegiance, which the imperialists accepted in good faith.

The casualties of the expedition were but slight—one officer wounded, two men killed and two wounded. Leaving a small detachment to garrison Fushan, Gordon forthwith returned to re-organise the force at Sungkiang, it having been but a week since he assumed command when called upon for his first campaign.

The Ever Victorious Army—now raised to about 4,000 men—was formed into five infantry regiments and one of artillery, the officers being as originally foreigners of various nationalities, and the non-commissioned officers invariably natives. The infantry had mostly Tower muskets, with a good proportion of Enfield rifles. The artillery—the most important part of the force—consisted of two 8-inch howitzers, four 32-pounders, three 24-pr. howitzers, twelve naval and eighteen mountain 12-pr. howitzers, fourteen mortars, and three rocket tubes—the guns all mounted on siege carriages, with special boats for their conveyance. Another flotilla carried mantlets for the gunners, planks for platforms and bridges, and Blanchard's pontoons; and moreover each regiment had its own bamboo ladders strapped with planks, which served as bridges, too, so that the whole force could cross the waterways simultaneously. No less important were four paddle gunboats of light draught, mounting a 32-pounder forward and a 12-pounder aft on swivels,



REPULSE OF MANCHU CAVALRY BY TAIPINGS.

with loopholed mantlets all around, each of these boats being considered fully a match for a force of three thousand rebels, the *Hyson* in particular,—which had the peculiar knack of being amphibious, for with her powerful wheels she could paddle along the mud beds of the canals when the water was too low even for her light draught. There were, besides, two siege boats and some fifty war-junks drawing but two feet of water. The force was thus capitally adapted for action among the network of canals; it could swiftly close in upon any position and take the enemy by surprise from least expected quarters however sheltered by nature.

After the relief of Changshu, while Gordon planned operations at Kwenshan,* Li Hung Chang negotiated for the allegiance of Taitsang, whither he despatched his brother with two thousand men, who first stockaded themselves at the outskirts of that town. Wei Wang, better known as Tsah, the rebel leader there, deluded them so well that in the course of the negotiations four hundred mandarin hats and robes were sent in for him and his officers with complimentary cards from Li Hung Chang himself. The capitulation was fixed for April 26th, when the imperialists entered the town only to be treacherously attacked, about a thousand being

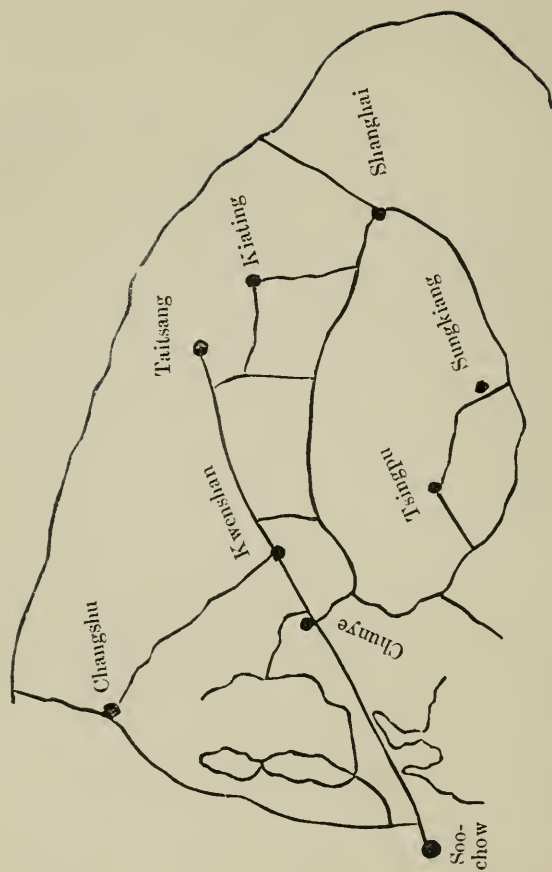
* Qu'nsan.

taken prisoners; but Li Hung Chang's brother managed to escape with a spear wound in the rump. Of the prisoners three hundred were beheaded and the rest sent to Kwenshan and Soochow, or detained as prisoners.

Gordon was already on the way to Kwenshan when news reached him of the disaster; and at Li Hung Chang's instance he forthwith led the expedition to Taitsang. The outworks to the south of Taitsang were occupied unopposed, though of strategic importance; those to the left were next approached, on May 1st, the troops advancing gradually to overlap and threaten the rear, while the artillery opened fire, when the rebels abandoned this position too. On reconnoitring the locality it was ascertained that the defences to the west of the town mainly centred upon the outworks thus easily taken; the creek leading thither was clear of stakes, so that boats could be brought up to bridge it, the only drawback in view being the bastion projecting from the west gate. The troops lay under cover, one regiment being detached to protect the left flank and cut off a retreat from the north gate, and at a range of only five or six hundred yards the guns, protected by mantlets, worked most efficiently, moving closer and closer as the defence gave way; and a practicable breach having been made, the boats were ordered up with

the storming party, at whose approach the rebels, thus far well concealed, rushed forward to man the breach. The garrison numbered some ten thousand strong, including two thousand picked braves, and several foreign auxiliaries to whom Tsah awarded gold medals before the action commenced. Amidst a brisk fire from the battlements, fused bags of gunpowder were hurled upon the approaching boats, with the result that one was sunk. At the breach a bristling forest of spears repelled every onset, although under a ceaseless fusillade, and enfiladed with canister shot. Blind shells from the 8-inch howitzers then mowed down the defenders. But Major Bannen who led the assault mounted the breach only to be killed in a hand-to-hand struggle and repulse. Again the artillery crashed on the walls, which, crumbling away, buried many of the braves in the débris. Yet Tsah's snake-flag waved over the breach defiantly, and as long as it was there his followers stubbornly stood their ground. Another assault ensued under Major Brennan—a desperate hand-to-hand encounter during which the contending forces swayed to and fro at the breach. At last Captain Tchirikoff's men planted the colours of the 5th Regiment on the rampart. Tsah's snake-flag now vanished, he escaping with a wound on the head; and as the gallant stormers rushed into the town, the enemy fled in every

direction, many in the stampede being trampled to death, drowned in the creek, and mowed down by heavy firing from the *Hyson*, sent in pursuit. Several British and French deserters fell in defence of the breach, and others on being taken prisoners, including two Americans who had figured conspicuously, were shot in spite of some of them pleading for mercy. The casualties in Gordon's force were heavy: one officer and twenty men killed, eight officers and ninety-three men wounded, twenty mortally. The rebels—whose losses were estimated at two thousand—must have been well armed, as Enfield cartridges were found at their headquarters. Treacherous to the last, Tsah had his house mined and so fused that it was not until the dead of night that the comfortable but unoccupied premises blew up. Two mandarins of rank, found tied up there, had been released together with some three hundred imperialists. On the other hand several rebel prisoners, said to be officers of some note, were brought to the imperialist camp, and there tortured to death with the most refined cruelty, arrows being driven through them, slices of flesh cut and hung by the skin, while for hours the wretches writhed in agony until at last partially decapitated; and according to another account seven rebel prisoners were roasted alive after having their eyes pierced with arrows—atrocities



After the Diagram given in *Gordon's Campaign in China*,

said to have been exaggerated, but which were nevertheless brought to the notice of Li Hung Chang with the warning that if similar cases were reported again, the imperialists must no longer look for British co-operation on the field.*

The position of Gordon meanwhile grew extremely difficult. The discipline enforced by him gave rise to considerable discontent, accustomed as the soldiers of fortune were to every sort of indulgence. In Ward's days, for each town taken from the rebels, the corps received prize-money varying from £15,000 to £20,000, stipulated for previous to action; and after every capture the force obtained leave to dispose of the spoils. To discard this demoralising habit, Gordon proposed that, instead of looting, the corps should be given gratuities on special occasions—a measure which, while distasteful to Li Hung Chang for economical reasons, led almost to a mutiny after the capture of Taitsang, so that Gordon found it necessary to return to Sungkiang for re-organisation, the troops

* These atrocities greatly roused the indignation of the British people, and yet an apologist was not wanting: "We are apt to attach an exaggerated importance to the cruelty of Chinese punishments from our superior sensitiveness to pain. What might be exquisite torture to the nervous, vascular European is something much less to the obtuse-nerved Turanian: and it may be safely affirmed that the Chinese penal code, as actually carried out, is, considering the nature of the people, not a whit more severe than that of any European country." Wilson: *Ever Victorious Army*, p. 155.

as usual laden with booty, and Taitsang being left in charge of General Ching, an ex-rebel chief, supported by the *Hyson*.

The reform effected at Sungkiang, particularly in connection with the commissariat, was resented to the point of several officers in command tendering their resignation, which Gordon accepted, although the force was to start for Kwenshan on the following morning. At the appointed hour, only his bodyguard fell in. Suasively, however, Gordon carried his point. The officers withdrew their resignation, and the mutineers all answered the call, so that on May 25th the whole available force numbering about 3,000 men with the artillery park left Sungkiang for Kwenshan.

On arrival there, Gordon found the imperialists stockaded off the east gate, where, thanks to the *Hyson*, the rebels had been repeatedly checked. To the right of the imperialist stockades stood the rebel outworks, held by ten or twelve thousand picked men, including Tsah and his braves. Gordon's first operations were directed against these outworks, whither on the morning of May 28th the field artillery with the 4th and 5th Regiments as well as the imperialists advanced to flank the position, repulsing a sortie from the east gate. With the flanks now seriously in danger, the rebels promptly withdrew, hotly pursued. At

the east gate the defences were under foreign supervision, the lead-coated shots from an 18-pounder being directed with remarkable precision.

A difference now arose as to the plan of operations. Regardless of the heavy casualties experienced at Taitsang, General Ching, who commanded the imperialists, proposed to breach and storm the strongly defended east gate, while Gordon first sought to reconnoitre the other side of the city with the view of striking at its communications, if possible, as a less costly and equally telling process.

By a détour along the canal to the south, the *Hyson* with both commanders on board proceeded westward on the 29th, and her unexpected appearance on the main canal leading from Kwenshan to Soochow created quite a scare among the large rebel forces moving then along the adjoining road—the only one between the two cities, and quite exposed to a sweeping fire.

From the reconnaissance effected, Gordon resolved to attack the west gate instead of the east, much to Ching's chagrin; and returning, the *Hyson* at daybreak on the 30th escorted from the east gate a flotilla conveying the 4th Regiment and the field artillery,—the boats with their profusion of multicoloured flags and their expanse of white

sails forming quite a picturesque group around the redoubtable paddle-steamer.

From the commanding but unfortified heights of Kwenshan these manœuvres were not unobserved by the rebels, who, divided into factions in consequence of differences among their leaders, seemed already to realise their doom in face of this strategical master-stroke; and as the *Hyson* once more debouched upon the Soochow-Kwenshan canal, they abandoned the stockades at Chunye, a portion of the large force taking flight to Kwenshan, and the main body in the direction of Soochow.

While the flotilla removed the stakes and advanced towards Kwenshan, the *Hyson* with Gordon on board took the opposite direction. Hundreds of boats drifting on the canal blocked the way, and yet the main rebel forces were doomed to be overtaken, the road or rather causeway along which they fled having for its background only deep canals here and there expanding into lagoons. Thus, though delayed for over three hours, the *Hyson* ultimately overhauled the fleeing forces, now harrying them from the rear, now going ahead to foil their chance of rallying at the stockades on the way. At sunset, as the pagodas and walls of Soochow hove in sight, the *Hyson* turned back after taking on board a hundred and fifty

prisoners—although Captain Davidson had with him but five or six foreigners with about thirty native artillerymen.

On the way back, large bodies of rebels were met rushing forward pell-mell in the dark amidst mounted parties galloping madly as best they could along the narrow, crowded road; and upon these compact masses not six yards away, the hail of canister and grape shot wrought fearful havoc. The confusion, the crush, the flight degenerated into an indescribable stampede at the sound of the *Hyson's* steam-whistle, which, to those benighted country people who had never heard the like of it, evidently sounded like the howl of some terrible monster let loose upon them. Yelling in despair, those terror-stricken masses—the garrison of Kwenshan—turned back upon the doomed city they had abandoned. Further on, at Chunye, in spite of a tremendous fire from the captured stockades, the imperialists stood in imminent danger of being surrounded by other desperate masses, when the *Hyson's* shelling consummated the disastrous rout, while from the east gate Ching's forces entered the city.

The picked garrison was a total loss to the main army at Soochow, what with the telling fire and the no less fatal meshes of deep canals, whence but a few of those who attempted to escape

returned in a piteous plight. Altogether the rebel losses in killed were estimated at four thousand; and if Gordon had a larger force at hand, thousands might have been taken prisoners. On the other hand the imperialists under Ching lost about three hundred, whilst in Gordon's force the casualties were but two killed and five drowned. During the whole of this decisive action the rebels seemed dazed, paralysed by the bold and quite unexpected mode of attack.

Thus fell Kwenshan—the most important rebel stronghold thus far captured—whose strategic position led to its being chosen by Gordon for his headquarters, instead of Sungkiang. This change proved so unpopular that a mutiny broke out among the artillerymen, whereupon one of the ringleaders, a corporal, was shot as a deterrent, which fortunately spared Gordon the necessity of resorting to sterner measures resolved upon. But many of the rank and file soon deserted, the gaps being filled up by recruits from among the rebel prisoners.

At Shanghai General Brown was meanwhile in raptures over Gordon's success at Taitsang and his plan of operations at Kwenshan. As graphically related in Michie's *The Englishman in China*, the doughty general, then the guest of one of the leading houses at Shanghai, (Dent) early one morning received a missive which sent him

rushing about, *déshabillé*, in search of his host and enquiring: "Do you know Major Gordon?"—"Why, yes," replied the host, "a very nice fellow, and reported to be a first-rate officer."—"But he is a genius!" exclaimed the enraptured general. "Just look what I have received from him from the front," and he unfolded a piece of ordinary Chinese brown paper, on which were some pencil diagrams and scrawls. Another similar missive came, and again the general burst forth: "I tell you that man is a military genius, that's what I call him, a military genius. I'll support him for all I am worth."

In those cryptic plans lay the doom of Kwen-shan; and commanding that highly important point and its waterways, the strategist barred the most dangerous route from the enemy's base of operation at Soochow—the crowning stroke of the whole campaign.

No wonder, then, General Brown now felt so confident as to the safety of Shanghai that shortly after he despatched home most of the European troops still left behind, the sepoy regiments and a contemplated force of drilled natives being now deemed sufficient for garrisoning Shanghai.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FALL OF SOOCHOW.

THE possession of Kwenshan augured well for the capture of Soochow, likewise admirably adapted for investment from the waterways, for which purpose it was now only necessary to command two strategic points on the Grand Canal: Wusieh, to cut off communications from the north; and Wukiang,* to guard the southern route as well as to get a flotilla into the Taihu to bar the approaches from the west; and this accomplished, the fall of Soochow could not but be a mere question of time.

From Kwenshan Gordon's force with the paddle-steamers *Firefly* and *Cricket* proceeded on July 25th to Wukiang, and at the junction of the Grand Canal with the creek leading from Kwenshan, outflanked and took two commanding stockades at Kiapu,† abandoned by the rebels as they found a retreat to Soochow threatened. Moving southward, Gordon then advanced upon

* Wukong

† Kahpoo.

the walled town of Wukiang on the 29th, taking by surprise the bridge close to the east gate; and as the rebels rushed towards a stockade near the north gate, a detachment of Gordon's force raced along with them and succeeded in driving them back into the town. A large stockade at the south gate had scarcely been taken next, when a flotilla of thirty-five war-boats passed by and met with such an effective fire that they surrendered. A sortie was expected from the beleaguered town, which, however, quietly capitulated on the 30th, and of the four thousand prisoners taken, several hundreds of them were enlisted in Gordon's force in place of deserters, while of those handed over to Ching, some were beheaded—though Gordon had promised them good treatment. The rebel loss was said to be but twenty wounded, thirty killed. The leader, a brother of Chung Wang, managed to escape in a boat at night. The casualties among Gordon's men were one killed and eighteen wounded, three of the latter being officers.

The capture of Wukiang disposed of the only route from Hangchow to Soochow, and effectively cut off the latter city from the south and east; moreover it blocked another waterway leading to Shanghai, and dealt a blow at the surreptitious trade in arms.

But far from recognising these master-strokes, Ching never forgave Gordon for rejecting his plan of operations at Kwenshan, and went so far as to attribute it to defection from the imperial cause, hinting even at Gordon having been bought over by the Taipings! Friction grew more and more evident. When after the capture of Kwenshan the imperialists proceeded to entrench themselves on the road to Soochow, a detachment of Gordon's force co-operated with them in clearing the adjacent districts of rebels, and whether purposely or otherwise, some of Ching's war-boats fired upon the detachment in spite of its being easily recognisable from its red and green ensign, whereupon Gordon at the head of another detachment started for the purpose of returning the compliment in case of another such attack on the part of Ching, who seemed at first disposed to treat the matter in jest; but eventually he tendered an apology at the instance of Li Hung Chang.

At the same time pecuniary difficulties again beset the force as in Burgevine's days; and rather than be a suppliant for what was well known to be necessities, Gordon resigned the command after the capture of Wukiang, the situation being deemed derogatory to him as a British officer—just as Sir Frederick Bruce had foreseen.

Meanwhile, Burgevine was by no means idle. Finding that Li Hung Chang ignored the instructions for his reinstatement, he returned to Peking with the view of having at least his claims settled. But notwithstanding the diplomatic support accorded him, the baleful influence of Li prevailed in the end,—the government not only repudiating claims incurred by the corps on Burgevine's own responsibility, but also discarding proposals made by the ministers which tended to divert Burgevine from the last, desperate resort to which he was driven, what with the perversity of the Shanghai officials, the effeteness of the Peking government in tolerating its orders to be set at naught, and the encouragement given to Li in thwarting the arrangement made by the foreign ministers with the Tsung-li yamen.

Thus stung to the quick, and despairing of redress, Burgevine now sought to avenge his wrongs by joining the rebels, although his health was impaired in consequence of the serious and badly tended wounds received at their hands for the imperial cause. From Shanghai he went over to the rebels in July 1863, with a contingent of over a hundred foreigners mostly seafaring men, who, it was said, had full liberty to loot every place they captured, Shanghai included.

The Taipings were known to have foreign agents at Shanghai, whose extraterritorial status deprived the Chinese government of the power to put a stop to the enlistment of foreigners for the rebel army. In vain the American consul issued a warrant for Burgevine's arrest; and to prevent further enlistment the consuls notified that suspected vessels were liable to search, and offenders punishable with the utmost rigour of the law.

To make matters worse, serious defection was noticeable in Gordon's force, the best officers like the rest seeming inclined to side with Burgevine, who was reported to have been made a "wang" and placed in command of the whole forces, twenty thousand of whom were being drilled by foreigners at Soochow—whither Burgevine proceeded in an armed steamer, the *Kajow*, captured at Sungkiang.

Thus arose the most serious situation which ever confronted the Ever Victorious Army, the immediate outturn of which was to reduce that force to defensive action, marring the hopes of a speedy capture of Soochow.

Such was the critical state of affairs when, after the capture of Wukiang, Gordon gave up the command in disgust. But no sooner had he reached Shanghai, on August 1st, than, impelled by chivalrous feelings in face of the serious news, he rode

back alone to Kwenshan that very night to resume the command until the perils of the new situation were averted.

Grave anxiety was felt as to the safety of Gordon's siege train, the more so since there was none to match it at Shanghai. To guard against any possible surprise, therefore, Gordon ordered the removal of the guns and ammunition from Kwenshan to Shanghai, and this was effected under the escort of over a thousand men expressly sent from Shanghai, consisting of detachments from the Royal Artillery and the Beloochis Infantry under Captain Murray, R.A., as well as from Captain Bonnefoy's Franco-Chinese force,—two hundred Beloochis being left behind with Gordon at Kwenshan as that point was believed to be Burgevine's first objective.

Led by foreigners with a howitzer, the rebels in large numbers threatened Kiapu, which Gordon was determined to hold so as to cut off all communications between Soochow and Shanghai. Repeatedly the rebels attacked the place and were driven back every time; but their shelling succeeded in blowing up one of the war-junks alongside the *Hyson*. For three days stubborn fighting went on at the stockades; a desperate assault was made on them at dusk on August 17th, when repelled again at close quarters, the rebels withdrew at last from Kiapu. From the prisoners taken it transpired

that Burgevine was then at Soochow, where from two to three hundred foreigners were training the force and making shells.

Gordon's next move, in conjunction with Captain Bonnefoy's detachment, was on another stockaded position of strategical importance further up the canal and but a mile and a half to the south-east of Soochow: Paotaichiao, the fifty-three arch bridge, which was surprised on the morning of September 29th and taken almost without resistance. In the course of the same day the rebels sought to regain the position but met with a repulse, as did also an attempt to close on the *Hyson* by the foreign contingent, whose action, however, fell rather short of expectations.

A portion of that fine bridge having been removed to let the *Hyson* into the lake near by, the weakened structure became the scene of a truly providential escape. One evening as Gordon rested there enjoying a cigar, strange enough a rifle shot and still another struck the very slab of stone on which he was seated, whereupon, regaining his boat, he was returning to the camp when all of a sudden that portion of the bridge where he had been resting came down with a crash, so that one danger saved him from another which might have been worse.*

*According to Wilson's *Ever Victorious Army*, the shots were accidentally fired from Gordon's own camp.



PAO-TAI-CHIAO
THE SCENE OF GORDON'S NARROW ESCAPE

Meanwhile Burgevine had the audacity to visit Shanghai in quest of arms; he narrowly escaped capture on the way, and much to the disappointment of Mo Wang returned to Soochow without the desired supply. On the very day of his arrival, October 1st, Burgevine advanced upon Paotaichiao with the *Kajow* and two improvised gun-boats as well as large land forces under Mo Wang, whose artillery worked with great precision; and matters looked serious indeed for the small defending force when the *Hyson* appeared on the scene. After some hesitation, however, the rebels approached to storm the stockade, but flanked by a vigorous fire from the creek to the west, they withdrew under cover of their 32 and 12-pounders, ultimately falling back upon Soochow after an unsuccessful attempt to surprise the stockade at night, when Burgevine had another narrow escape, one of the rockets fired hitting the pony he rode. The heaviest gun in the stockade, a 24-pounder, was disabled during the action; and in face of the enemy's superior forces Gordon lost no time in sending for more guns and men.

For the relief of Soochow, Chung Wang was now sent from Nanking at the head of considerable forces; and while Wukiang was being invested by another force under the redoubtable Tsah, Gordon's serious position was aggravated by Ching, who,

rasher than ever, projected an onset upon the stockades to the north of Soochow, for which he desired support. It was given him only for defensive purposes, as his position was threatened. Ching, however, attacked and took some outworks to the north-east, whence he had soon to withdraw without even an attempt on the main stockades.

At Wukiang the imperialists stood for days in a precarious situation. This was not ignored by Ching, who nevertheless withheld the information from Gordon—whom he reported as being possibly in league with Burgevine. It was only after a serious reverse suffered on October 12th that intelligence reached Gordon at Paotaichiao of the actual state of affairs, whereupon he proceeded instantly for the relief of Wukiang with about five hundred men and some artillery. The rebels there numbered from twenty to thirty thousand, and their stockades were manned by picked troops, of whom about two thousand were armed with muskets. Another army of thirty thousand expected from Huchow had not yet arrived when Gordon fell upon the stockades, and after desperate fighting for three hours succeeded in dislodging the enemy, who retreated with considerable losses, including several notable leaders. It was one of the severest encounters of the Ever Victorious Army, though the casualties

were but ten killed and thirty-five wounded, three of the latter being officers.

Meanwhile large imperialist forces under Li Hung Chang's brother, after capturing Kiangying on the Yangtze, secured a strong position to the north of Soochow—at Tachiaokio—whence Burgevine undertook to dislodge them; and the foreign contingent stood ready for the assault, on October 12th, when the *Kajow* blew up, followed by another explosion, on board a magazine boat taken from the imperialists, whither the wounded had been removed from the *Kajow*,—disasters which reduced the foreign contingent to almost half its strength, and roused deep mistrust on the part of the rebels,—Burgevine with the rest of his party being ordered back to Soochow by Chung Wang, whose attitude towards him had never been of a friendly nature.

On the other hand pourparlers had been going on between Burgevine and Gordon after the capture of Paotaichiao. At the high bridge not far off, the foreigners among the contending forces—some of them comrades at one time—often met as friends, and from the interchange of views it transpired that the foreigners in rebel service were by no means satisfied with their lot. This was confirmed in an interview which Gordon had with Burgevine, who expressed his willingness to quit the service with his officers and men, provided their immunity was

guaranteed against any legal proceedings. This was agreed to, Gordon even offering to take as many of them as he could into his own force and help the rest to quit the country, to Burgevine being left the option of fixing the day for surrendering.

At a subsequent interview, however, a strange proposal was made, quite characteristic of the man whose ambition was to found an oriental empire: Burgevine suggested that Gordon with his force should join his own, seize Soochow, organise an army and march upon Peking, for all of which the necessary funds could be found in Soochow itself—a proposal which Gordon viewed with indignation. Burgevine's next plot was to seize Gordon in the course of the *pourparlers*, but the officer to whom this was broached cried down such treachery. It only remained for the wretch now to surrender as agreed upon, under the auspices of that chivalrous friend rather than foe whom he failed to tempt and to ensnare.

Accordingly, after the *Kajow* disaster, word was sent that Burgevine and his men meant to place themselves in Gordon's hands under cover of a feint. They pretended to attack the *Hyson*; and as they rushed forward, thousands of rebels unsuspectingly followed them only to be repelled with shot and shell, while the deserters embarked in safety. Burgevine, however, was not among

them. Grave apprehension was felt as to his safety; and Gordon at once sent an appeal to Mo Wang with presents and all the rifles taken away from the deserters. To the credit of that rebel leader, Burgevine was given up most courteously, if not magnanimously.

According to Burgevine's statement,* the *Kajow* disaster, added to the stoppage in the supply of arms, rendered further operations impracticable; while his failing health hindered him from taking an active part in the command. He made various proposals to Chung Wang, which, if adopted, would have altered the situation, it being suggested that unless foreign forces withdrew from the outskirts of Soochow, the silk trade should be ruined in reprisal by the destruction of all mulberry plantations in the silk districts; and failing this, to abandon Soochow as well as Nanking, and concentrate the whole force in the north. Mo Wang, however, in more than one way gave the foreigners to understand that their services, engaged by him and unpaid for, were no longer desired—a lack of confidence in them being manifest; and when in face of all this they determined to leave, he declared that they were at perfect liberty to do so, Burgevine on his departure being accorded full military

* Published in the *North China Herald* of 24th October 1863.

honours—which bespoke not the thorough renunciation of the Taiping cause expected of him.

Through Gordon's intercession, no proceedings were instituted as promised, although according to Li Hung Chang's view Burgevine had incurred the penalty of death, whether judged by the laws of China or of foreign countries. But the American consul was called upon to deport Burgevine as a dangerous character. Ere long, however, implicated in the seizure of the steamer *Firefly* at Shanghai by a band of foreign desperadoes, Burgevine was arrested by the Chinese authorities and handed over to the consul to be kept in confinement pending his deportation.*

The investment of Soochow now proceeded in earnest, several important outworks being carried before relief could reach them from the main

*From Shanghai Burgevine proceeded to Japan, whence he was in 1865 prevailed upon to return to China, and at Amoy he rejoined the last of the Taipings only to be forthwith arrested and detained at Foochow pending the question of his extradition. The American government, however, regarded him as no longer entitled to its protection. Eventually he was conveyed by the overland route to be handed over to the Kiangsu authorities; and what happened subsequently is a tragedy still wrapt in mystery. Officially he was reported to have been drowned on the way, during a flood in Chekiang; and consular investigations failed to substantiate the prevailing rumours as to foul play, although a strip of flayed skin was said to have been found within his coffin, his body—reported to be fearfully mutilated when found in the ditch of a village near Ningpo—being identified through a fracture on the skull received while fighting for the imperialists. Such was the tragic end of a former hero whose career was like a romance, whose wrongs at one time had deep sympathy from high quarters, and whose downfall was in a great measure the outcome of those unredressed wrongs.

defences. To the south, a well stockaded position at Wulungchiao, west of Paotaichiao, fell on October 23rd, and an unsuccessful attempt upon Wukiang three days later cost the rebels heavily. To the north, Liku was captured on November 1st, and Huangtai* on the 11th, the artillery tearing the stockades away; but what with a stubborn resistance and their own cross-fire, the storming parties suffered heavily at Huangtai, an officer and ten men being killed and about forty wounded. To block the Grand Canal between Wusieh and Soochow, Hushi† was taken on the 19th, a tardy reinforcement being driven back to Soochow. In the Taihu, forty rebel gunboats, attacked by the *Hyson* and *Tsatlee*, took refuge at a stockaded island, where the boats were hauled up, the defences manned, and a heavy fire kept up, which disabled the *Tsatlee*, a shot being sent through her boiler. The *Hyson* then brought her out of range, and returning to the charge, took eight of the boats. Off the island at nightfall the two steamers came across a larger flotilla laden with troops on the way to Soochow, which the *Hyson* bore down upon, sinking several boats and dispersing the force.

The investment of the outer line of defence was now completed, and the combined imperialist forces extended from the vicinity of Wusieh down

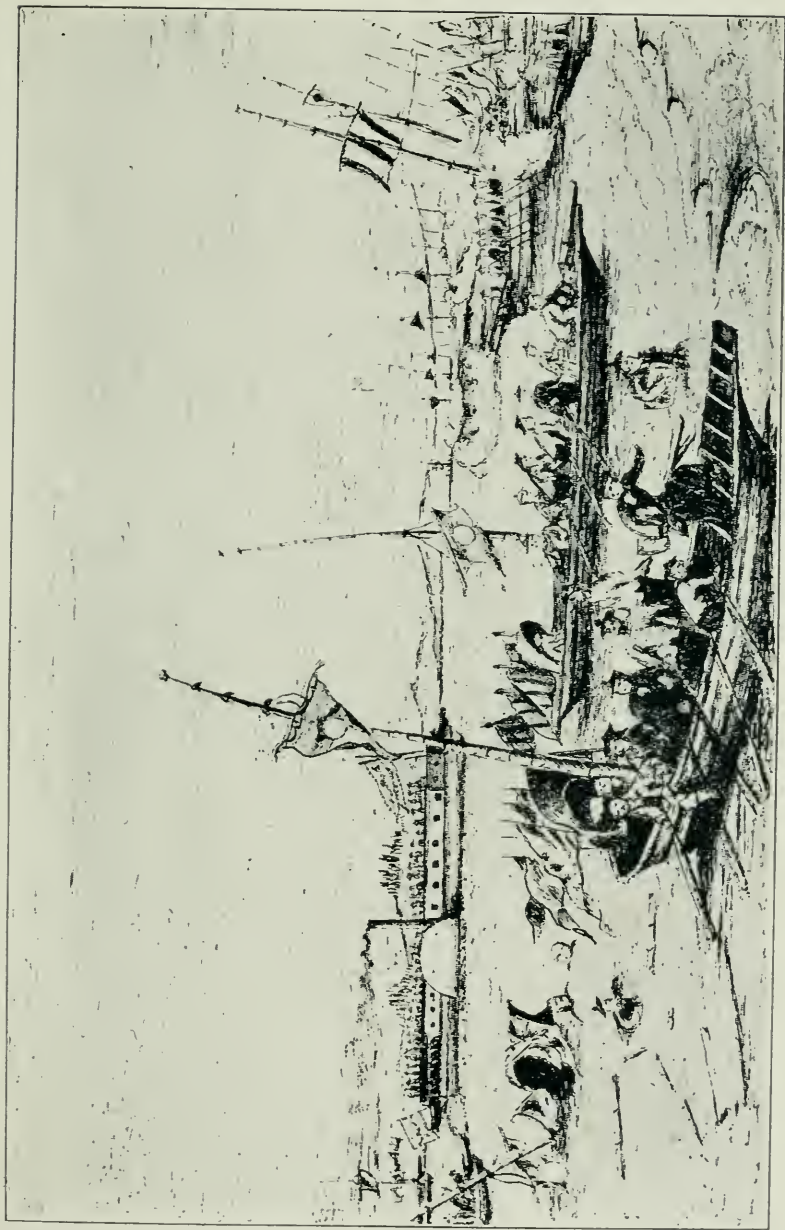
* Wanti.

† Fusaikuan.

to Wulungchiao, while a strong flotilla guarded the approaches from the lake. The force under Gordon numbered about 3,500 men, including 400 from the Franco-Chinese contingent ; Ching led about 10,000 well-armed imperialists, and Li Han Chang from 25,000 to 30,000, altogether a match numerically to the rebel forces within the defences of Soochow, estimated at 40,000 strong ; but about as many more stood at Wusieh and Matangchiao under Chung Wang.

From two intercepted despatches it transpired that, while planning a combined action for the relief of Soochow, Chung Wang was nonplussed by serious news concerning the safety of Nanking, in face of which he almost gave way to despondency, the more so since the critical situation at Soochow was aggravated by dissensions among the leaders.

The capture of Hushi proved a serious drawback to Chung Wang's advance upon Soochow ; it barred the last open approach thither, with the exception of a circuitous road along the hills near the lake. But at the moment when Gordon needed every available man for action, he had to detach a regiment to garrison Hushi, as Ching declined to do so in view of the perilous position between two rebel armies. The occupation of Hushi, however, eventually led Chung Wang's advance-guard to fall back on a line with the Grand Canal.



ENCOUNTER IN THE TAIHU LAKE

On the other hand, consequent upon deliberation with Ching as to expected overtures for the surrender of Soochow, Gordon now sent Mo Wang a note to the effect that the last moment was at hand for negotiations, every assistance in his power being proffered.* Mo Wang, however, was the last of the rebel leaders to entertain such a proposal—the staunchest of them all, who, on the contrary, upbraided the others for wavering in the defence of their stronghold.

The investment of the second line of defence was a most hazardous task for such a small force as Gordon could rely upon. At a distance of about five hundred yards from the walls, the city was girded with a line of exceptionally strong stockades, admirably situated as redoubts commanding the breastworks which edged a broad creek along the entire front, while the walls close at the rear mounted several guns—notably the 32-pounder from Taitsang—so that even if the breastworks were carried, the stockades remained tenable and a retreat quite covered.

It was ascertained, however, that at night these formidable defences were left insufficiently guarded, and accordingly Gordon determined upon a night surprise at the weakest point—the stockade nearest

* Hake's *Events in the Taiping Rebellion*, p. 359.

to the Lou Mun, or east gate. The assault having been fixed for 2 a.m. on November 27th, the force pushed up in boats during an eclipse of the moon, although it was known—from the signal of a lantern hoisted at the east gate—that Mo Wang himself stood there on the alert. The landing was effected quietly, unopposed; it was only when scaling the breastwork that the troops met with cheers and volleys on their faces. The position was nevertheless carried, but the force could not be got to advance upon the stockade, now a line of fire whence came a deadly hail of musket and grape shot. Mo Wang was there, fighting like a common soldier amidst his bodyguard. Field pieces were brought to bear upon the stockade, and to little purpose shot, shells, and rockets were belched forth from twenty guns for nearly three hours. The position being untenable, a retreat ensued; and heavy were the losses suffered—two officers killed, two wounded; rank and file, sixty wounded, and a hundred killed, drowned, and missing. At the stockade the casualties must have been severe, too, Mo Wang being said to be much depressed by the loss of many among his braves, including several picked foreigners retained in his service.

For another assault the siege guns and mortars were brought up, and on the morning of the 29th

opened upon the stockade. The defence was sturdy, conducted by Chung Wang, who with a bodyguard of four hundred men had come by the mountain path the previous night; and such was the telling fire that Gordon's column, on advancing, had to fall back with considerable loss. Again the artillery crashed upon the battered stockade, followed by another advance; and this time the place was carried gallantly. To the left Gordon next gained another stockade; and turning to the right, captured a 24-pr. howitzer and cleared the whole line of defence, no less than twenty-five stockades being abandoned during a panic which ensued among the rebels.

Thus fell the second line, which cost Gordon dearly—six officers being killed and three severely wounded, with close upon two hundred killed and wounded in the rank and file.

It was remarked during the attack that Mo Wang's forces were not supported by those of the other wangs—a dereliction which greatly incensed Chung Wang, who in vain sent for Na Wang and his troops repeatedly. Nay, on the very morning after Gordon's unsuccessful night attack, the faction was already so pronounced that Na Wang proposed, on another assault being made upon the stockade, to shut Mo Wang and his forces out of the city, and then negotiate for the surrender of

himself as well as several other wangs with thirty thousand men.

The doom of Soochow was thus in more than one way sealed. After the loss of the stockades, Chung Wang proposed to abandon the city; but to this Mo Wang strenuously objected, whilst between him and Na Wang plots and counterplots were hatched to defeat each other's end. Chung Wang, on leaving for Wusieh under cover of night, is said to have been much affected by the impending fall of the city, and remarked that he would not have wept if it had not been for Soochow.

Stubborn and undaunted to the last, Mo Wang fell a prey to the conspiracy roused by his uncompromising attitude. At an assembly of the wangs in his palace, as he descanted on the loyalty of his troops in face of difficulties which caused others to falter, an altercation arose, amidst which he was stabbed to death and beheaded by the wangs—his head being sent to Ching; while Gordon, aware of another plot to betray him, was striving to place this brave and staunch foe under his own auspices when captured; and what deepened the pathos of this tragedy was that, close to Mo Wang's body and stained with his blood, Gordon found the touching appeal he once sent him for Burgevine and his followers' lives, to which Mo Wang so generously responded.



CHUNG WANG'S TENT

Even before the fall of the Lou Mun stockades, pourparlers were going on between the disaffected wangs and Ching, in the course of which, at the latter's instance, Gordon met Na Wang, who appealed for his help and was reassured as to mercy being shown on surrender. The east gate was given up after Mo Wang's death, and two days later, on the 6th December 1863, the capitulation was to take place. It was obviously Li Hung Chang's plan that Gordon should not be present on that occasion; there had been friction between them leading almost to Gordon's resignation; and his forces had been removed to Kwenshan on the verge of a mutiny in consequence of not being allowed to share in the expected looting at Soochow. Unobtrusive, self-sacrificing as usual, Gordon stood aloof from the capitulation, though greatly concerned as to the due observance of the terms agreed upon, so much so that he contrived to meet the wangs on the way to the imperialist camp for surrender, and was assured on enquiry that all went well.

From an official report it appears that on reaching the camp the confiding wangs met with a friendly reception at the hands of Li Hung Chang, who mentioned to each of them the rank and decoration to be expected from the throne, and then relegated them to Ching, with whom they

remained in conversation until—like a bolt from the blue—the executioners rushed upon them.* According to a native version, Li Hung Chang promised not to behead them, and deemed his word kept by having them cut to pieces.† In fact, the six bodies seen by Gordon were cut down the chest, the head horribly gashed.

At the sight of these mangled victims who had trusted to his assurances of mercy, Gordon experienced what must have been the bitterest moment to that noble soul—the more so in view of the perfect immunity which had attended his sojourn in the distracted city, amidst the very relatives of the wangs, after the terrible tragedy. The perfidy, the atrocity was more than he could bear; in a frenzy he declined to have any further communication with the prevaricating Ching, and seizing a rifle he proceeded to hunt for Li Hung Chang, on whom summary justice would have been inflicted if he had not taken to flight. For him was left a note in which, reproaching him for the infamous treachery, Gordon resigned the command. Such was the intensity of his feelings that he is said to have meditated going over to the rebels and reconquering for them every stronghold he

*Report from Mr. Mayers, British consular interpreter. *Blue Book on China*, No. 3 of 1864, p. 190.

† *Suppression of the Taiping Rebellion in the departments around Shanghai*, p.V.

had wrested from them; and such too was the dangerously responsive attitude of his mutinous forces, that General Brown deemed it well to proceed from Shanghai and formally place both Gordon and the corps under his command at Kwenshan.

Amidst conflagrations the imperialists meanwhile gutted the fallen city; and the reign of terror which ensued may be gauged from the creek adjacent to the execution-ground becoming so blocked with corpses that the mandarins employed boatmen to push them on to the main stream with boat-hooks: and after twenty days of butchery, the creek became reddish, the execution-ground—the courtyard of the Twin Pagodas—soaked, stunk with the blood of thirty thousand victims.* No wonder, in his memorial to the throne, Li Hung Chang reported the extermination of the Soochow rebels.

For the capture of the city, an imperial decree conferred on Li and Ching the yellow jacket besides other high honours; whilst to Gordon was awarded a military decoration with ten thousand taels. The under-rated hero of the campaign was still fuming over the fate of the wangs when Li's emissaries brought him the money, whereupon,

* *Ti Ping Tien Kwoh*, Vol. II., pp. 722-3.

seizing the very stick with which he used to direct field operations—"the wand of victory" as it was called—he drove away the astonished emissaries, the decoration too being declined.

In the course of an interview with General Brown, Li Hung Chang declared that he assumed the full responsibility for the execution of the wangs and completely exonerated Gordon of all blame in connection therewith; but he declined to enter into any explanation as to his line of action though deprecating a rupture in the friendly relations through questions which, while justifiable from the standpoint of Chinese ethics, in no way concerned foreigners.*

Through Gordon's representations to Sir Frederick Bruce, however, the fate of the wangs became the subject of discussion with the Tsung-li yamen; and with the view of effecting a *rap-prochement* with Gordon, Li Hung Chang at last sought to justify his procedure in a proclamation, wherein stringent measures were announced against the circulation of false and inflammatory reports. In this cleverly devised proclamation,—drawn up

* It is noteworthy that in a memorial to the throne on Ching's death, in April 1864, Li Hung Chang attributed the execution at Soochow to the suggestion of Ching, who pretended that having once been a rebel, he well knew their ways. "Cut off" said he "the heads of their leaders, and their myriads of followers will instantly subside into insignificance." Thereupon the execution was ordered. See Wilson's *Ever Victorious Army*, p. 230.



STOCKADED CAMP WHERE THE WANGS WERE EXECUTED
AT SOOCHOW

with the help of Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Hart,—Li Hung Chang pretended that, when the wangs were summarily executed, the terms of capitulation agreed upon stood in imminent risk of being upset; and Gordon being away, ignored the situation; moreover, it could not be maintained that, once arranged, the terms were unalterable, even when the amnestied wangs on capitulating enforced claims and manifested in more than one way rebellious tendencies: Na Wang had not even shaved his head in token of submission; and bold, fierce in his bearing, he refused to disband his troops; he insisted upon their enlistment in the imperial army as the garrison of Soochow, with high ranks for his adherents, who were to be left in command of these troops. Thus confronted at the last moment by this unexpected turn of affairs, Li Hung Chang had to guard against the perils thereof, and by solving the difficulties on the spur of the moment, saved the multitude in the city from further bloodshed, which was of the utmost concern to him as well as to Gordon, whose main and identical purpose was thus served in the midst of the urgency and danger involved, which called for the instant infliction of the penalty prescribed by military law.*

* *Blue Book on China*, No. 7 of 1864, p. 16.

In face of these revelations Gordon himself now expressed the opinion that if Li Hung Chang was to be believed, he had some extenuating circumstances in his favour; and under Mr. Hart's masterly auspices the *rapprochement* became an accomplished fact.*

To Sir Frederick Bruce, moreover, Mr. Hart addressed an exhaustive exposé, in which he dwelt on the danger of acceding to the demands of the wangs in view of the treachery experienced at the surrender of Taitsang; he pointed to the injustice of charging Li Hung Chang with premeditated treachery inasmuch as he suddenly, unexpectedly found himself in a dilemma from which he saw no other way of extricating himself with safety to general interests than by acting as he did; and as to the cause which led the wangs to capitulate, it seemed to be not so much their reliance upon Gordon as the conclusion they had come to through him that further resistance was unavailing; nay, it was Ching, rather, who inspired them confidence; and Li, who took the whole responsibility on himself, was content to abide by the decision of his government.

* It is noteworthy that notwithstanding the fate of the wangs at Soochow, Tsah (Wei Wang), in command at Haining, made overtures and surrendered with his troops on January 25th, as did also several other leaders elsewhere.

Prince Kung also addressed Sir Frederick Bruce in much the same strain as that of the proclamation, adding, however, that Li should have thoroughly explained matters to Gordon after the tragedy, and that in future foreign officers were to be consulted with the view of avoiding differences of opinion and difficulties.

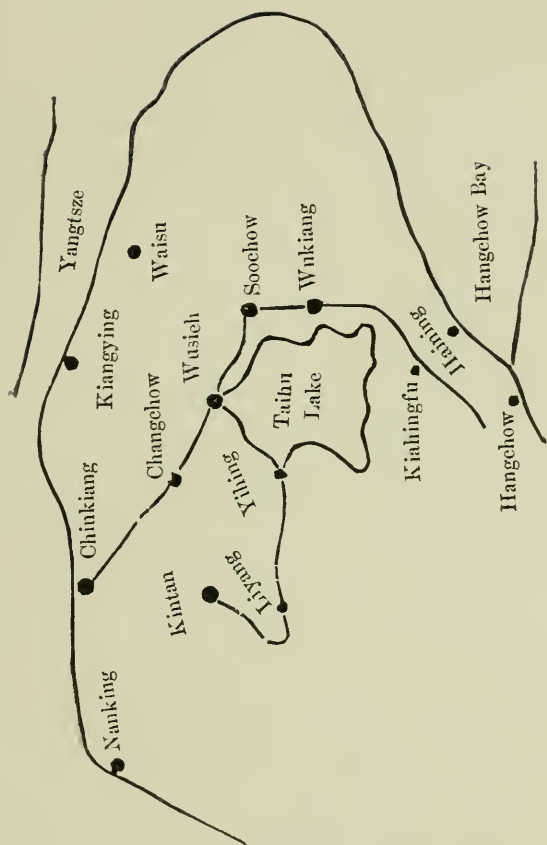
Sir Frederick Bruce, however, thought it unlikely that the wangs would have placed themselves in the hands of Li without full assurances as to their safety and a definite settlement of the terms of capitulation; and by executing them precipitately Li deprived himself of their evidence for his statements; evidently he had secured them by fair promises, and he availed himself of trivial pretexts to put them to death. Under such circumstances he could no longer expect any British officer to serve under him; but pending orders from the British government, it was proposed that Gordon should remain in charge of the force solely for the protection of Shanghai and its vicinity independently of Li Hung Chang.

The Order in Council sanctioning the employment of British officers in Chinese service was revoked, and a War Office despatch dated April 26th 1864 placed Gordon under direct orders from Major-General Brown for defensive purposes within the thirty-mile radius of Shanghai.

Previous to this, however, urgent military as well as political reasons led Gordon to resume action, operations being limited to the district immediately to the west of the Taihu, as an advance upon Nanking was not desired in view of Tseng Kuo-fan's sanguine expectations to take the doomed city he had so long and so well besieged.

From Nanking down to Hangchow the rebel forces were grouped in the shape of an hour-glass, the neck at Yihing* and Liyang, close to the western border of the Taihu; and Gordon's plan was to cut these forces in twain by a dash first at Yihing. A clever ruse succeeded in carrying the outworks and turning the position there on February 28th, whereupon the wangs escaped in boats and the city capitulated. While the rebels suffered heavily, Gordon's casualties were but one officer and four men killed, and eleven men wounded. The land and river forces with a strong detachment of imperialists next started on March 7th for Liyang, for whose surrender overtures had already been made, although the garrison was no less than twenty thousand strong. Shih Wang, in command, remained staunch to his cause, but while reconnoitring he was shut out of the city by the other wangs, and on the 8th Liyang opened its gates, much to the relief of Tseng Kuo-fan, whose

*Yesing



covering forces deployed in that direction were thus able to concentrate on Nanking.

Gordon's next move was northward, to cut off Changchow from Nanking by a dash on Kintan; and arriving there on March 21st, the forces proceeded to breach and storm the wall, but a heavy fire repelled three successive assaults, inflicting serious losses—two officers and thirty-five men killed, eleven officers and eighty men wounded, Gordon himself being wounded in the leg. The 1st Regiment, moreover, lost its colours at the breach after a gallant resistance; and the bearer, a native, though wounded, stood on the spot in the hope of recovering the flag, even when the last storming party had been repulsed! Tidings now came of large rebel forces moving eastward from Changchow, which created considerable alarm at Soochow and Kwenshan, sparsely garrisoned as these places were. Further action at Kintan was abandoned, the land forces with reinforcements falling back on Liyang, Yihing and Wusieh, and thence to Waisu,* which it was resolved to attack as the Changchow rebels were being concentrated there. The river force too proceeded thither and met with obstinate resistance on the way, as did also the land forces, which suffered a disastrous reverse, and the retreat was harassed by mounted rebels,

*Waisso

so that, out of a force of two thousand, no less than four hundred and fifty, including seven officers, were killed and taken prisoners. Reinforcements soon came, and eventually the rebels found themselves hemmed in, whilst by an unexpected rush the 4th Regiment swooped upon their weakest point, and turning the position compelled a retreat which degenerated into flight, hardly a thousand of the rebels reaching Changchow, cut up as they were in every direction even by armed bands of peasants.

To the south, the imperialists sustained the loss of their ablest general, Ching, mortally wounded at the storming of Kiahingfu*; but the capture of this city was followed by that of Hangchow by the Franco-Chinese contingent under Lieutenant d'Aiguebelle, after a serious reverse.

To the north, Changchow, held by Hu Wang, was now invested by eighty thousand imperialists, for whom was reserved the first assault, which proved a failure. The rebels likewise repelled two assaults by Gordon's force, capturing a pontoon bridge, which they hauled up the breach into the city. It was replaced by a bridge of casks, and notwithstanding desperate resistance a combined assault on May 10th carried the breaches—at one of which a

* Kashingfu.

32-pounder, which missed fire, was found loaded to the muzzle with grape shot. As it was, however, the action cost Gordon's force one of the heaviest losses on record: ten officers killed, nineteen wounded; forty men killed and two hundred and sixty wounded. The rebel loss was estimated at fifteen hundred; most of the prisoners were allowed to leave for home; but Hu Wang and his Kwangsi men—to whom was due the stubborn resistance—were executed, for having ravaged Li Hung Chang's native city.

There remained only Nanking—whose plight was such that, in despair, the Tien Wang resorted to suicide. The rampart—forty-two feet broad—was extensively mined from one of the stockades; and on July 19th a charge of 40,000 lb. of gunpowder brought down the wall for over a hundred and fifty feet; and through this rent the once superb city was taken by Tseng Kuo-fan's army. It lay in ruins, even the famous Porcelain Pagoda having been destroyed. Chung Wang defended the place to the last, and then took to flight with the Tien Wang's son, but was captured and executed with some seven thousand followers, time being allowed him to finish his autobiography.

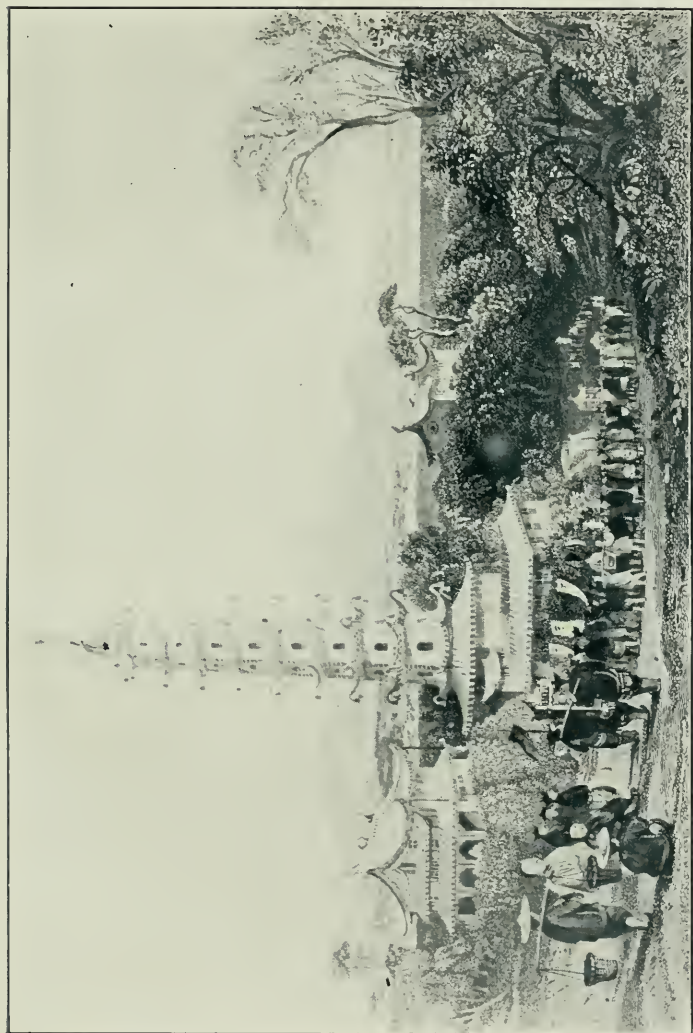
Meanwhile, with the capture of Changchow ended the campaign of the Ever Victorious Army; and to Kwenshan Gordon then brought the force,

which was there paid off and disbanded before June 1st—the date on which the Order in Council came into force withdrawing British officers from the service.

Of the foreigners who officered the corps—one hundred and thirty in all—as many as thirty-five were killed and seventy-three wounded—figures these which eloquently bespeak the gallantry displayed by these soldiers of fortune. In the course of four years the Ever Victorious Army took from the rebels some fifty places, of which no less than twenty-three were captured under Gordon's direction,—each a telling blow under which the cause of the Taipings waned.

With Chung Wang perished the last prop of the rebels, and after a reign of terror lasting fourteen years China was left to moralise over the ruins of six hundred cities, the desolation of her fairest provinces, and the loss of twenty million lives at the very least,—calamities whose magnitude stands unparalleled in history.

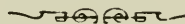
The emperor of China now conferred on Gordon the highest military rank as well as the most coveted honours of the land—the yellow jacket and peacock feather. Prince Kung further desired that Gordon's distinguished services should be recognised by his own government, and in transmitting this request Sir Frederick Bruce



THE PORCELAIN PAGODA
DESTROYED DURING THE TAIPING OCCUPATION OF NANKING

rendered homage to the hero's skill and courage, and to his disinterestedness, which elevated the national character in the eyes of the Chinese: he not only refused any pecuniary reward, but spent more than his pay in contributing to the comfort of his officers and in assuaging the distress of the starving population, whom he relieved from the yoke of their oppressors; and in resuming operations after the fall of Soochow, it was a feeling of the purest humanity that impelled him to save the people from further miseries entailed by the cruel civil war.

Yet, in memory of this chivalrous, saint-like hero, Shanghai has no monument! Oh, prosperous city, in the midst of thy wealth and pleasures, pause a moment and recollect that thou hast a great civic duty to perform in honour of one of the noblest names in thy history !



CHAPTER IX.

MUNICIPAL EVOLUTION.

WHAT with the insecurity prevailing in the neighbouring districts during the Taiping rebellion, and the good report spread by refugees as to their new and safe home at Shanghai, thousands upon thousands of wealthy families flocked thither entreating to be accommodated at any price within the settlement. The restriction on native domicile was cast to the winds, and every available space devoted to the construction of tenements, including the race-course, and the gardens and compounds of foreign establishments. Land-jobbing and jerry-building became the order of the day, many a fortune being rapidly amassed thereby, while on the other hand the cost of living rose abnormally. A maze of new streets and alleyways with thousands of new tenements sprang up in hot haste; and such was the strain entailed by all this and the land mania as well, that a breakdown was feared in the municipal régime, conducted by a

council engrossed in mercantile business, with a solitary secretary for all executive functions. On the other hand the ever-increasing native population stood in an anomalous situation, being under consular protection and yet subject to the squeezes of mandarindom, with an infinitude of petty cases for reference to the native authorities through the consulate.

To relieve the consular service as well as to prevent the municipal breakdown, Consul Medhurst proposed a new régime evidently suggested by the success which attended the reform in the customs service: in his despatch of 26th June 1861 to the minister at Peking, it was recommended that at the head of the municipal council there should be a new member, elected by the community, but, together with his staff of foreign officials, liberally paid by the Chinese government, so as to ensure independent action; and that as permanent chairman of the council, with a casting vote, this leading functionary should control the financial, land, police, and harbour-master's departments—the assessments serving to meet the cost of lighting, drainage, roads, and such-like expenditure, for which purpose, it was estimated, a sufficient income might now be looked to.

This scheme, amplified by the municipal council, was laid before a public meeting held on 8th September 1862, when Mr Henry Turner, chairman of the council, frankly exposed the inadequacy of the municipal system in vogue; and while advocating the proposed new régime, he dwelt upon the obligations of the Chinese government towards the settlement for the protection afforded to its revenue as well as to its subjects—in face of which it was but right that the customs dues of the port should be liable to such a proportion of the settlement's expenditure as was directly due to governmental shortcomings in China which not only led to the influx of refugees but also involved heavy outlay for measures of defence.

Meanwhile the unsatisfactory state of affairs brought forth a still more momentous scheme from the Defence Committee, consisting of Messrs. Edward Cunningham, James Whittall, James Hogg, J. Priestley Tate, and Edward Webb. In a letter to the Municipal Council dated 20th June 1862, these leading citizens unfolded the outlines of a free-city under the protectorate of the four Great Powers most in touch with China, but exercising its own government through its own officers, to be elected under a system of suffrage that should give the controlling power to the owners of property,

native and foreign—the city and its environs to be incorporated under a strong government with a revenue and authority which would ensure order and safety, and render Shanghai the chief city of the empire.

Consul Medhurst, to whom the question was submitted, preferred his own scheme as being more feasible; but moderate as it comparatively was, even this, he pointed out, could not be carried out without the sanction of the ministers as well as the concurrence of the Chinese government; while the independence of the settlement under a constitution and government of its own could only be secured by a grant or charter from the emperor of China, for which there was hardly any hope. Nor was it to be merely inferred from this that in Consul Medhurst's opinion the land-renters had no right to entertain the free-city project: he plainly set forth that they could not legitimately adopt the scheme in view of the settlement's merely extraterritorial status. To this the acting chairman of the council, Mr. Alexander Michie, replied that, from the bare outlines given of the scheme, it did not appear that any measure was contemplated except with the concurrence of the foreign ministers and Chinese high functionaries, it being only desired to have the subject fairly

and fully discussed at a public meeting as a preliminary step.*

Ambitious as the scheme might seem from a local standpoint, it was sheer bagatelle in face of Russian pretensions and achievements at this epoch, when profiting by the dilemmas and calamities amidst which the Chinese empire seemed doomed to fall, General Ignatieff's diplomatic master-stroke secured from the terror-stricken ministers of China the cession of the vast Amur and Primorsk regions with some six hundred miles of sea-coast—the foundation of Russian influence and power in the Far East,—all for a promise of Russian support.

On the other hand the Chinese government was well aware that Shanghai had been saved from the Taipings by foreign arms, and that if Shanghai had fallen, the imperial cause would have suffered a blow from which it could hardly have rallied. What more natural, then, than to expect some adequate recognition for a foreign settlement that had rendered inestimable services to China, not only from a military and political but even from a fiscal point of view.

*The question was discussed at great length in the *North China Herald*, as may be seen from the pamphlet *Correspondence on the Better Government of Shanghai*.

But to the misfortune of Shanghai, the British minister at Peking was neither an opportunist like General Ignatieff, nor even a sympathiser with the aspirations of the settlement. In his despatch of 8th September 1862 to Consul Medhurst, Sir Frederick Bruce began with the reminder that the settlement stood on merely extritorialisised Chinese soil, and that through the acts of foreigners themselves it was no longer a foreign establishment but a Chinese city; that the security, the comfort of the foreign community had thus been sacrificed, and land acquired not for legitimate purposes but for building native tenements let at high rates to natives attracted by foreign protection and by immunity from their own jurisdiction. As to the proposal for rendering Shanghai a free-port with a mixed consular and municipal government under the joint protectorate of the treaty powers, it was his duty to point out that the Chinese government had never formally abandoned its rights over its own subjects, nor had the British government ever claimed or expressed any desire to exercise a protectorate over them; and he did not understand what interest there could be in supporting a system unjustifiable in principle, fraught with embarrassments and responsibility, and to which, moreover, the Chinese government would never

submit willingly. Therefore he most strongly impressed upon Consul Medhurst the importance of not lending himself to any such proposal, being convinced that the British government would rather prefer to see the limits of the settlement reduced to exclude the Chinese as a most fertile source of misunderstanding; and it was of the utmost importance that no step should be taken which could not be defended upon sound international principle.

Nay, in submitting the matter to the Foreign Office, Sir Frederick Bruce questioned the expediency of the settlement's expansion being left in the hands of any local authority, tending as this would to encourage land speculations and increase the native population, which was the cause of all the difficulties experienced, some of which, he opined, might be removed if the assistance of Chinese authorities were sought for instead of being discarded.

It was the policy of Sir Frederick Bruce to discountenance any administrative system which set at naught the territorial rights of the Chinese government, on the principle of international relations in China being based upon the exclusive jurisdiction of each nation over its own subjects, foreign and Chinese alike.

Thus, when the taotai sought leave to levy one after another kind of tax on native residents within the settlement, Sir Frederick Bruce, on being referred to, repeatedly upheld the right of the local Chinese authorities to do as they pleased in the matter, when it was rather the municipality that should levy a capitation tax on native refugees, to compensate in some way for the serious embarrassments and jeopardy they caused in the midst of the rebellion, all through the inability of their government to afford the necessary protection. To the British minister, however, the municipal council had no right to impose taxes on Chinese subjects residing within the settlement unless with the consent of their authorities.

In face of all this it seemed rather significant to find, in 1862, the French concession withdrawn from the municipal system of 1854, it being alleged that the Land Regulations, though signed by the French consul, had never been ratified by the government; and the concession was turned into a separate municipality under the consul's control, and with exclusive territorial jurisdiction, notwithstanding the difficulties raised by several foreign powers. The Chinese government, on the other hand, did not leave unrequited the services rendered by the French against the rebels—the

concession being extended to the east gate of the city after the great fire in the riverine suburb. But in spite of the *entente cordiale*, no Chinese taxation was allowed within the concession.

On the other hand, for his pains in championing the cause of mandarindom at Shanghai, Sir Frederick Bruce found ample reason to complain to Prince Kung of breaches in treaty regulations, as well as of the tone adopted by Chinese officials towards foreigners, despite all they did for China.

Yet Mr. Burlingame, then American minister at Peking, secured the assent of his colleagues to a *modus vivendi* at Shanghai decidedly pro-Chinese: that whatsoever territorial authority there established should be derived from the imperial government through the ministers, for purely municipal purposes and subject to consular jurisdiction; that just as in the native city the Chinese should be under the control of their own officials, with the exception of such as were actually in foreign employ; and that in the municipal administration there should be a Chinese element whose assent must be had for any measure affecting Chinese residents.

The foreign land-renters appointed a committee consisting of Messrs Moncrieff, Cunningham, Dent, Hogg, Hanbury, and Cock, who, in a representation dated 12th June 1863 laid a counter-proposal before

Sir Frederick Bruce. They suggested a new code of land regulations applicable to all foreign settlements; they assented in the main to the provisions for territorial and consular jurisdiction, municipal procedure, and the control of Chinese subjects by their own authorities; but they deprecated Chinese taxation within the settlement to the point of proposing that, in lieu thereof, a percentage of the revenue should, if necessary, be paid to the imperial treasury in return for the grant of territorial jurisdiction. In reviewing the circumstances which led to the anomalous state of affairs, they laid stress on the necessity of restricting the action of local Chinese officials within the settlement, inasmuch as the taxes there imposed by them were constantly on the increase both in amount and variety, some being tantamount to an additional impost on foreign trade, unwarrantable in face of the treaty; and such measures, if unchecked, might be recklessly carried to the point of ruining a trade already under a heavy burden of taxation. It was obviously in connection with the proposed Chinese element in municipal concerns that the committee pointed to the danger of placing the settlement under Chinese domination, regardless of the uncertain action and systematic peculation of native officials, and their indifference to the maintenance of order, to sanitary and other

local requirements tending to the progress and prosperity of the settlement. As a safeguard to life and property, it was but just that, in providing for the government of the place, the spirit rather than the exact wording of the treaties should be adhered to when necessary, and when consonant with the dictates of reason and humanity. The land-renters would gladly relegate their heavy burden of responsibilities to a reliable territorial government if it existed, but in the absence thereof they felt bound to seek on behalf of the community such governmental powers as might avert the calamities of anarchy and pestilence,—to the benefit of the territorial sovereign who would thus find safeguarded the welfare of a place which, commercially and politically, was of vital importance to China.

By an alleged oversight, this highly important and sensible representation remained unanswered for two months, and in merely acknowledging its receipt Sir Frederick Bruce reverted to the Burlingame proposal whose aim, in his opinion, was to weld all foreign concessions under one municipal system, which, besides preventing conflicts of jurisdiction, tended to promote common welfare by unity and concerted action.

Rigid in his adherence to the strict letter of an inadequate treaty, Sir Frederick Bruce was

moreover a doctrinaire of the most redoubtable type, impassive to his golden opportunities. An unmitigated acerbity, if not supreme disdain, characterised his attitude towards the foreign community of Shanghai; and at an epoch fraught with grand possibilities, his obstructive policy succeeded in blighting the aspirations of the settlement, in the absence of any spirited opposition like that which set at naught his efforts to withhold Gordon from action at the outset.

Thus, from the most momentous crisis in its history Shanghai emerged inglorious amidst the confusion worse confounded of an international Babel, when out of the chaos a bold man of action might have evolved order and reform as had been the case but a few years previously.

Every scheme for the betterment of Shanghai having been discarded, it only remained now to patch up the unsatisfactory régime and attend to the crying needs of the day.

A burning question was the jurisdiction over the greatly increased native population. Hitherto, all cases involving only natives were relegated to the district magistrate, whilst in the few cases of foreigners suing natives the proceedings were watched by consular representatives, to little or no purpose. In the absence of an adequate police system, *yamen* runners preyed upon the settlement.

To safeguard native residents it became necessary to have every case investigated at the British consulate before being handed over to the Chinese authorities. On the other hand, criminals continually escaped due punishment. In civil cases, the unconcern of native officials for evidence, and their dilatory procedure, enabled defaulters to make away with their property, or to tamper with witnesses just as it suited their interests, so that hardly ever foreigners obtained redress in their lawsuits.

It was hoped that such a state of affairs would find a remedy when, under the auspices of Sir Harry Parkes, the Mixed Court was established in 1864—with civil and criminal jurisdiction not only over the Chinese but also over foreigners without consular representatives in the settlement.* The court, however, failed to answer expectations. For such important functions was appointed a low-graded, decrepit mandarin who turned the court into burlesque: now he had to be cautioned by the foreign assessor against encouraging roguery through misplaced benevolence in paying fines himself rather than punish transgressions of municipal regulations, which he evidently did not recognise as punishable offences; now his

* The court was originally installed at an out-house of the British consulate.

subordinate official position exposed him in the very court to the jibes and threats of natives holding superior rank; and thus in important cases he appealed to the taotai and district magistrate to be relieved, which was precisely what those officials expected. In criminal cases the sentences were often ridiculously lenient; in civil suits, as usual, delay and prevarication frustrated redress, and otherwise the court found itself at a loss how to carry out its decision. Thus, without a definite code of law, and even without the power to enforce judgment, the Mixed Court became a byword, specially in face of the ever-increasing foreign interests at stake, without any safeguard against bad faith on the part of native traders or against miscarriage of justice on the part of native officials.

To crown the dilemmas, serious doubts were entertained as to the legal status of the municipal council, inasmuch as it was vested by consular representatives not duly empowered to that extent. Such at least was the opinion of the legal authorities at Hongkong to whom the point was referred. But shortly after the establishment of the British Supreme Court at Shanghai, in 1865, the Wills case served as a test, wherein the council's right to levy land tax was contested: in giving judgment for the council, Sir Edmund Hornby maintained that the council had

a legal status and was a legally constituted body possessing the chief and material if not all the requisites of self-government.

In a similar test at the French Consular Court, also in 1865,—the Fierz and Bachmann case—the rights of the municipal council were likewise upheld by Vicomte Brenier de Montmorand, it being pointed out that the Land Regulations of 1854 were binding on French subjects in the settlement.

But several Prussians declined to pay taxes on various excuses—one for the simple reason that he objected to his Chinese neighbours,—and as the Prussian consul-general declared that he could not uphold the council in such cases, a resolution was passed in 1868 to debar defaulting firms and individuals from police and other municipal protection, although it was pertinently asked at the meeting what would be the outcome for the neighbours if the premises occupied by such defaulters were on fire and the service of the fire brigade was withheld therefrom.

From the American standpoint, Consul-General Seward questioned the rights of either consul or minister to pass the Land Regulations unless so empowered by Congress. Yet, in the Fogg case, in 1875, he decided in favour of the council's claim for tax, as a matter of law, though not without

some juridical qualm frankly exposed. The Reid case, in 1881, served as a solution to the question, the defendant disputing the council's rights to tax him as he was liable to Congress laws only; but in giving judgment for the council the court regarded the municipal regulations as sanctioned under treaties and acts of Congress relative to foreign jurisdiction.

As to the American or Hongkew settlement, no formal negotiations with the Chinese authorities seem to have been made prior to the agreement whereby its boundaries were in 1862 fixed by Consul-General Seward and Huang Taotai as extending from a point opposite the Defence Creek down the Soochow Creek and Huangpu to three *li* up the Yangtzepu and thence in a straight line to the point facing Defence Creek. This tract was in 1863 incorporated with the municipality; and Hongkew rapidly developed into a populous, bustling district, what with its cheapness of land and the growing demand for wharves and warehouses as well as residential quarters.

At this epoch, too, the French concession began to assume importance under the new régime, with its own municipal council and its police under consular control, and a mixed court similar to that of the settlement but with its own regulations.

The Conseil d'Administration Municipale, which held its first sitting on the 9th May 1862 originally consisted of five members, all French, whose functions were only deliberative, subject to the consul-general's decision.* Acting independently, however, the council in 1865 found itself in conflict with Vicomte Brenier de Montmorand, who dissolved it on the charges of arrogating consular powers, of convening a land-renters' meeting apart from the consulate, and of maladministration in municipal affairs. A provisional council, which included British land-renters, was appointed, and a municipal code framed—the Règlements d'Organisation Municipale, consisting of but eighteen neatly defined articles.

A notable feature in the newly constituted council is that of eight members—elected by ballot—four should be of other than French nationality, the presidency devolving originally upon the consul-general, who might if desirable convene the whole constituency as well as all other French and foreign residents to deliberate on questions of general interest. In all matters concerning the maintenance of order and public safety, the code vested the consul-general with the sole charge thereof, placing also the police force under his

*The members of council were Messrs E. Brissonet, (chairman), H. Meynard, E. Schmidt, J. S. Baron and C. Lemaire.

exclusive control; and originally no arrest was permissible within the concession unless sanctioned by him and effected by the concession's own police; but in lieu of this clause in the code of 1866, it was provided in 1868 that warrants served on the concession, save in case of the utmost urgency, should first be presented to the consul-general, or at least to the police superintendent, who should render assistance if required—this modification being effected in consequence of an agreement with the consular body on grounds of reciprocity.

Meanwhile the Land Regulations of 1854 being inadequate for the maintenance of law and order under the altered situation in the settlement, a revision was made in 1866 by the land-renters in concert with the consuls. The municipal council was increased to nine members, vested with amplified powers, personally exempt from any claim arising out of their administration, but as a body liable to be sued before a court of consuls established for this special purpose; and it was provided too that on the requisition of twenty-five land-renters the consuls might jointly or singly convene a public meeting and adopt measures which, if passed, should have the force of law, in this case absent land-renters having the right to vote by proxy, though not at the elections then.

To the revised Land Regulations and by-laws the ministers at Peking in 1869 accorded their formal sanction in a joint minute, which also recognised the new régime at the French concession as a separate municipality, which had been a subject of considerable discussion at the land-renters' meetings.

It was proposed by the consuls to extend the municipal franchise, but this did not altogether meet the approval of the ministers, who evidently countenanced the council's policy in placing the qualifications of voters beyond the reach of a certain undesirable element.

It was also provided by the consular body that the taotai should appoint three Chinese representatives to be consulted in municipal matters affecting native interests, inclusive of sanitary and police regulations and taxes. Though agreed to by the council, this amendment failed to receive the sanction of the ministers, the clause being eliminated by them from the regulations: needless to say, the originator of the idea, Mr. Burlingame, was no longer American minister at Peking, and Sir Frederick Bruce had been replaced by Sir Rutherford Alcock.

What with the removal of the two quixotic champions of mandarindom at Shanghai, and the influence of environment which the autonomy of

the French concession had upon the settlement, the little republic ceased to be overshadowed by the vexed question of China's prerogatives of sovereignty, mutually set at rest evidently because it was to the advantage even of the Chinese government that the vast foreign interests vested at Shanghai should be under adequate protection and administration.

Thus, the new regulations, unlike previous ones, were framed independently of the taotai; and in the formal sanction given thereto in their joint minute the ministers abstained from any reference to the Chinese government; while such was the revulsion from Sir Frederick Bruce's egregious theory of native taxation within the settlement, that the taotai's consent came to be dispensed with in the collection of municipal taxes from Chinese residents, though the regulations were not officially assented to by the Chinese government, which nevertheless tacitly agreed to this equitable measure, and also accepted the rules for the Mixed Court, framed in 1869 under instructions from Sir Rutherford Alcock.*

From the control vested in the consular body over the municipal council there arose a certain

* In 1902 the powers of the mixed court in the settlement as well as in the French concession were defined in rules drawn by the diplomatic corps; and amendments were proposed in 1906 to the settlement's mixed court rules.

tendency to friction which found ample expression at the ratepayers' meeting in 1881, when the land regulations were again revised. Up to this period no suit against the council had been brought before the court of consuls. Yet, the court was looked upon as a grievance, which in the course of the revision gave rise to the longest debate without leading to any satisfactory conclusion. So too on other points implying consular preponderance. On one hand it was recognised that the council could give but not take away powers from the consular body; on the other hand it was pretended that a self-governing community might well dispense with consular control; and the discussions culminated in the following amusing passage:

Mr. Robert Little—"The consuls are practically our senate.

Mr. Robinson—I simply wish to deprive consuls of any power except as judges. We are more capable of governing ourselves than the consuls are of governing us. That is the idea I want to express, and that idea is not inconsistent with the regulations as drawn. I propose to withdraw from the consuls all unnecessary authority which these regulations give them. They ought to be our servants.

Mr. Little--But they are our masters.

Mr. Robinson—I say they ought to be our servants.

Mr. Wainewright—I do not think the people at Peking will agree with you.

Mr. Robinson—We may never get the people at Peking to adopt these rules at all; but we should not recommend their adoption as they stand at present.

Mr. Forbes—The regulations have worked in this particular respect satisfactorily for many years, and there is no reason to suppose they will not work satisfactorily for many years to come.”

The revised code, however, sought to do away with the control of ministers and consuls on vital points, while vesting the council with plenary powers of self-government verging in some instances upon absolutism. Some of the regulations were relegated to the by-laws, which numbered no less than ninety-three, while the regulations were eighteen only; and by-laws were to be made, altered, or repealed locally without reference to the ministers at Peking. The municipal constituency was increased by lowering the franchise; the qualifications for councillors also underwent reduction; and voting by proxy was allowed at all public meetings. The extended powers of the council included the right of imposing new taxation,

and of compelling surrender of land for roads. Street nuisances, detailed with an exhaustiveness worthy of a better object, were liable to fines with or without imprisonment not exceeding three months, even for shouting, making any noise or conveying squeaking vehicles calculated to cause annoyance. The authority conferred upon the police was arbitrary in the matter of arrests, and unrestricted even as to entry into private domicile without a warrant—at an epoch when the police force, enlisted from among beach-combers, gave rise to serious complaints involving nothing short of public scandal.* In the event of a riot or grave disturbance the council, having notified the senior consul at once, was at liberty to adopt such measures as it might deem necessary for public safety. A volunteer corps was to be organised under the command of the council's chairman; and in case of serious danger to the settlement, the council was empowered to place all residents under such laws as circumstances might require, subject to the consent of the consuls or a majority among them.

On the other hand the ministers made considerable amendments which tended to restrict the council's status to that of a merely executive

*This is referred to in the course of the debates at the Ratepayers' Meeting of 23rd February 1883.

body, to consist of not less than nine nor more than fifteen members, whose electoral qualifications were still lessened. The approval of the consuls as well as of the taotai, and the sanction of the ministers, must be had for any alteration in the by-laws, and for any new or increased taxation found to be expedient. The authority of the police underwent considerable modifications; the clause relative to arrests in private domicile without warrant was struck out; and even for minor offences the prosecution should be at the court of the offenders' nationality. The action of the council in a riot or serious disturbance was limited to the mere sending of instant notice to the consuls—the by-laws in connection with the municipal volunteers and disposal of residents on emergencies being entirely eliminated, as was also the code's preamble, which looked like an agreement between the ministers and the Chinese government. And in matters affecting general interests not provided for in the code, decisions arrived at in public meeting, to be valid and binding, must first be approved by the consuls.*

The code, duly amended, was again revised, and before its adoption a legal authority, Sir Richard Rennie, the chief justice, desired that it should first

* A printed copy of the code with the amendments side by side was published in 1882.

be submitted to an experienced lawyer. How sweeping the revision was may be gauged from the regulations being increased from seventeen to thirty, and the by-laws reduced from eighty-eight to forty-two,—the code being based upon that of 1869; and for any amendment thereto, its confirmation by the Peking government was required, although from the regulations of 1881 the ministers had expunged a similar clause.

The new code was submitted to the ministers in 1883 only to be shelved for fifteen years, that of 1869 remaining in force all the while. Other regulations followed and likewise remained in abeyance. The delay was believed to be due to difficulty in obtaining the formal approval of the Chinese government. Through the taotai, however, the viceroy in 1898 expressed himself as unconcerned in municipal regulations which might well be arranged satisfactorily between the council and the consular body. The senior consul then announced that the ministers had approved the regulations, already printed, and urgently needed particularly in connection with road-making, for which the council was now vested with power, as desired, to compel the surrender of land required.

On the other hand the control over the council was now exercised even by the representatives of minor powers whose interests at Shanghai could

hardly be said to be in consonance with such hegemony,—the crowning anomaly of a situation which could not but be keenly felt by the council when contrasted with the self-governing attributes wherewith Consul Alcock originally vested the municipality.



CHAPTER X.

HALCYON TIMES.

WITH the fall of the Taipings the history of Shanghai regained its even tenour, and thenceforth it was but a record of progress and prosperity which fully realised Montesquieu's famous saying : *Heureux le peuple dont l'histoire est ennuyeuse.*

But at the outset the new era was by no means unclouded. The pacification of the country, and particularly the recovery of Soochow, led to an exodus from Shanghai, almost half of the native quarters being left tenantless—a deathblow to investors who were having extensive blocks of native tenements built at a greatly enhanced cost of land, materials, and labour.*

To a certain extent the exodus was also due to the enforcement of sanitary regulations, to which even the better classes among the refugees professed such abhorrence that they petitioned the provincial

* It had once been such a paying concern that fortunes were made in a few months; in 1862 the tenements were said to yield in some instances as much as ten thousand per cent.



From the Painting of V. C. Prinsep, A.R.A.

GENERAL GORDON

governor against the proposed opening of Soochow to foreign trade and residence, lest the foreigners should bring with them their troublesome sanitary system. Nevertheless, transplanted during the rebellion, the silk industry of Soochow and Hangchow began to take root in Shanghai.

There, too, tarried the scum of the refugees. Within the settlement in 1864 one sixteenth of the total number of tenements was taken up by houses of ill-fame. Gambling dens also abounded. But it was not long before measures were enforced to purge the settlement and concession of these pests. Yet, in 1869 the Duke of Somerset still yclept Shanghai a sink of iniquity, much to the community's indignation.

The number of refugees at Shanghai was never properly ascertained, and this led to various conjectures, some officially estimating the population during its densest period at a million and a half, and others at a million, the settlement, concession, and city all included. A subsequent enquiry set the number at about three hundred thousand only. While the exodus was subsiding in 1865, a census gave the native population as ninety thousand in the settlement and fifty thousand in the concession, while the foreign population totalled 5,589, of which 2,357 were residents in the

settlement and 400 in the concession; the remaining 2,832 represented the military and naval forces and shipping in port.

Misfortunes never coming singly, the exodus was followed by the great commercial crisis of 1865, when out of eleven foreign banks no less than six suspended payment. The gloom was still deepened by the insolvency of the princely and historical house of Dent, shortly after floating under its auspices the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, which, however, tided safely through the financial crisis as well as the opposition of an influential clique.

Such was the outlook that capitalists regretted having invested millions upon the ranges of empty warehouses and factories which now lined the river,—millions which might otherwise have relieved the stress and deadlock of the situation; and altered circumstances were the more keenly felt in consequence of the ostentatious and luxurious style of living to which the inflated prosperity has given rise lately.

But the gloom which then palled Shanghai was but that which preceded the dawn of a golden era arising from the opening of the Yangtze and northern ports to foreign trade, although the

simultaneous opening of Japan created a rival factor for Shanghai in the silk trade.

In the early days of Japan's awakening, however, rich indeed was the harvest of the Shanghai merchants, Dent & Co. being said to reap about a quarter million sterling as one of the first-fruits. An outcome of Japan's seclusion of ages was a thorough ignorance of actual commercial values; and an element of fairyland characterised the early ventures at the newly opened ports.* The disorganised Japanese currency proved a veritable mine to the foreigners in 1859, for the ratio between gold and silver in Japan was barely five to one when all over the world it was fifteen to one: four silver *ichibu*—equal in weight to about one and a third Mexican dollar—was worth a gold *koban* which at Shanghai fetched eighteen shillings at the very least. The outcome was a gold fever, and even naval officers, resigning their commission, started converting silver into gold at over a hundred per cent. sure profit even

*For instance, an American merchant held a shipment of 8000 piculs of sapanwood from Manila unsaleable in China even at its original cost of \$1.25 per picul; but on the opening of Simoda to foreign trade, the shipment, sent thither, fetched \$35 per picul. The proceeds he then invested in vegetable wax, which, bought at \$6.50 per picul, was disposed of at \$17 in China, the ventures yielding altogether a profit seventy-fold of the capital invested, all in one short trip from China to Japan and back.

when the *kobang* was raised in value to check exportation.*

It was not long, however, ere the Japanese ceased to be duped; and in June 1862 there appeared at Shanghai a Japanese ship, the *Zensai Maru*, to open a trade there, and with government commissioners in search of commercial, statistical, and geographical informations—the first sign of awakening.

Meanwhile the opening of the Yangtze, though deferred by treaty until the restoration of peace, was effected in the very midst of the Taipings. For protection of the river factories, Admiral Hope proposed to station a gunboat off Nanking; the Tien Wang on the other hand pretended that in a vision he was advised not to sanction the proposal; but the interpreter, Mr. (afterwards Sir Harry) Parkes, was equal to the occasion: "Tut, tut, tut," exclaimed he impatiently. "Won't do at all. He must have another vision!" and the "lightning of blue eyes"

*To the diplomatic, consular and naval service the very limited supply of *ichibu* was liberally furnished by the treasury officials, while to merchants in general it was on requisition doled out *pro rata*. Nothing short of madness ensued, and the demand for *ichibu* went from millions up to sextillions of Mexican dollars, requisitioned even for such fictitious friends as Snooks and Tooks, Moses and Hookem, Bosh and Nonsense, to say nothing of more objectionable names. How these demands were met may be gauged from the experience of two representatives of a leading British firm, who requisitioned for a change of \$5,400,000, but received no more than \$746 worth of *ichibu*. Interesting details on the subject are to be found in the Blue Books on Japan, and Sir Rutherford Alcock's *Capital of the Tycoon*.

flashing from one disconcerted wang to another had the effect of begetting a more propitious vision for the Heavenly King.*

Thus, in spite of hostilities between the imperialists and rebels, the noble river was in 1861 thrown open to foreign trade, and ere long bustled with traffic. Thenceforth the tea trade of the central provinces was diverted from Canton to Shanghai via Hankow, the new route proving to be both quicker and cheaper. An important trade soon developed, and steamers came into such demand that, as early as 1862, Russell & Co. floated the Shanghai Steam Navigation Co. with a capital of one million sterling, the first local concern in which the Chinese were associated with foreigners as shareholders. Surviving a keen rivalry, the company more than doubled its capital in eight years, and owned a first-class line of eighteen steamers. By subsidising Chinese merchants, however, the Chinese government gradually created such a powerful opposition that in 1877 the whole concern was bought over and merged in the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company.

Originally all import and export duties on the Yangtze trade were payable at Shanghai or Chinkiang; and at one time great expectations

*The story, related in *Sir Harry Parkes in China*, is from Mr. A. Michie, who was present at the negotiation.

were entertained as to the prospects of Chinkiang in view of its admirable position at the junction of the Yangtze and the Grand Canal. Nay, while the silting port of Shanghai began to inspire serious concern for its future, Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Hart ventured to predict in 1875 that Chinkiang would supplant Shanghai in twenty years; and he foresaw, too, the day when the coasting trade would be in native hands, and the Chinese flag displayed even in London and Liverpool docks.*

The opening of the Yangtze afforded facilities never before enjoyed for exploring the richest regions of China, and this was availed of among others by Baron von Richthofen, whose famous series of letters to the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce was nothing short of a revelation to the mercantile world of grand possibilities for the future.

The conservatism of China, however, for long stood as a stumbling block to the advancement of Shanghai, particularly so in the matter of railways. As early as 1862 a line was projected between Shanghai and Soochow, but promptly tabooed by the provincial governor. With the connivance of Chinese officials, the country people in 1865 destroyed a private telegraph line between

*The national flag of China, originally triangular, was adopted only in 1862 as a naval ensign. At Shanghai it was first flown by the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Co.'s fleet.

Shanghai and Wusung. A proposed railway to Wusung was also tabooed. Yet the project was eventually carried out in 1876 as far as Chiangwan. Though popular among the people, the iron horse roused official opposition. It was contended that the viceroy's sanction had never been duly obtained; nor could the taotai's approval of a mere carriage-road be construed into permission to build a railway. To create another grievance, a native brave purposely placed himself on the way of a coming train and was run over. The officials then stirred the people; a riot grew imminent, and affairs took such a turn that the viceroy had to intervene. Sir Thomas Wade, then minister at Peking, recommended the line to be closed pending a settlement; and the decision come to was that the Chinese government should purchase the railway. Amidst the mournful silence of a large crowd, the Mixed Court magistrate and a posse of mandarins inspected the line in their sedan-chairs, not deigning to proceed in the train. No sooner was the concern handed over than the rails were torn up and shipped off with the rolling stock to Formosa. Such was the fate of the first railway in China—verily a triumph of the sedan over the train—though not for very long, as the line was rebuilt twenty years later, and now connects Wusung with Nanking.

In one respect the Chinese officials at Shanghai were quite up to date, and that was in the working of the Kiangnan arsenal, established in 1865 under foreign supervision, and subsidised out of the customs' revenue. The factories turned out rifles, field-pieces, as well as heavy rifled guns of excellent workmanship; and in the adjoining dockyard were built and engined not only gunboats but even a small ironclad.* Attached to the vast establishment, an educational department translated and published various scientific works, and it attained such a standing in official circles that many of the native staff obtained important government appointments, several of the directors being even chosen as diplomatic representatives abroad. Such was the marvellous development of a small foundry established by Li Hung Chang during the Taiping war.

A notable feature of Shanghai is its growth by natural reclamation along the riverside, and this process is well shown in the origin of the Public Garden: the alluvial formation arose from the foundering of an old brig which for long lay moored close to the Bund, and as the derelict lay there the accumulation of silt around it soon

* Bygone were the days when the Chinese called their Shanghai brass guns "tamers of the barbarians"; now it was the foreigners who sportively yeapt this Shanghai-built ironclad *Terror of Western Nations*.

produced what was called the "consular mud-flat," from its fronting the British consulate, whose right to this new foreshore was met by the taotai's claim of *shen-ko*, whereby all alluvial soil appertains to the emperor. Both claims, however, gave way in face of the long-felt need of a public garden; and to meet this the gift from the waters of the Huangpu was in 1868 handed over to the municipal council and turned into one of the pleasantest summer resorts—where the memory of an old resident—Sir Thomas Hanbury—will ever be as green and grateful as the umbrageous plane trees sent by him from the Riviera.

Amongst other improvements the settlement now expanded in the direction of the Bubbling Well, where the country began to be dotted with picturesque villas of well-to-do residents, now that the Taipings no longer deterred the community from seeking relief in suburban residence, away from the congested quarters.

The French concession, too, was paving the way for an expansion in the direction of Sikawei, and the first section of a road leading thither, across a cemetery of the Ningpo Guild, gave rise to difficulties which culminated in a riot. Stirred by the guild, a mob gathered in that locality on the 3rd May 1874, and outraged several foreign residents, while some tenements were set on

fire. Affairs took such a serious turn that foreign residents were armed for emergency, the volunteers were called out, detachments landed from the French gunboat *Couleuvre* and the United States despatch-vessel *Ashuelot*; and from the city Chinese troops also proceeded to restore order.*

The consul-general, M. Godeaux, proved quite unequal to the crisis, and pending instructions from the minister at Peking, seemed inclined to yield to the clamours of the guild. The council on the other hand declined to reconsider its plan for the projected road, and ascribed the riot to the lack of energy displayed by the consul-general. As a solution to his difficulties, M. Godeaux went so far out of the way as to propose to amalgamate the concession once more with the settlement. From start to finish his conduct was the subject of considerable animadversion, and even drew forth a protest from the non-official French element.†

The outcome of all the trouble was that out of deference to the ancestral susceptibilities of the Chinese, the road question remained peacefully buried in the Ningpo cemetery until 1898, when

*Six of the rioters were shot, and compensation was given to their families. But Prince Kung eventually demanded justice at the hands of the French minister, who pointed out that the alleged murderers only acted in self-defence in killing their aggressors.

†The Swiss residents also joined in the protest with the result that M. Godeaux declined to recognise them as any longer under his protection.

a projected extension of both the settlement and concession westward, led Comte de Bezaure, the consul-general, to settle matters, not with the guild as hitherto, but with the taotai. All negotiations having failed, the compulsory surrender of the cemetery was resolved upon, the taotai being informed that the value of the land duly assessed was at the disposal of the lawful owner thereof; and though the taotai anticipated trouble from the expropriation, early on the 16th July 1898 Comte de Bezaure with the municipal chairman and a naval party from the *Éclaireur* proceeded to take possession of the cemetery, whose walls were forthwith demolished.*

A crowd gathered there, but it was only on the following morning that a mob armed with shortswords, pikes, and bamboos, began to pull down a wall at the police-station, and stone the naval party. Blank cartridges failing to produce any impression, Commander Texier ordered his men to fire on the rioters. Altogether twelve were shot down, whereupon the howling mob dispersed, not without stoning and wounding several foreigners. Business was entirely stopped, the shops as usual being all closed. But soon the

* From a sanitary point of view the cemetery was most objectionable, as it served as a temporary resting place for hundreds of coffins intended for conveyance to Ningpo, some interred, others exposed.

leading Ningpo merchants succeeded in appeasing the people with the news of an amicable settlement.

In consequence of an increase in the wheelbarrow tax, there was rioting in the settlement, too, on the 5th April 1897, to quell which the volunteers were called out and bluejackets landed. The council, however, restored order by revoking the increased tax temporarily. This measure, regarded as an impolitic and undignified surrender, led to a largely attended indignation meeting on the 7th, and as the outcome of an almost unanimous vote of censure the council resigned shortly after.

Apart from any generous sentiment towards the poor wheel-barrowers, and whether indicative of a *faux pas* or not, the tame procedure need not be wondered at when bearing in mind how the diplomatic corps had restricted the council's action on such emergencies; and moreover the conciliatory attitude might have had an ulterior purpose, as the Tsung-li yamen had then under consideration the question of the settlement's extension.

This question being still unsettled in 1898, the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce at a public meeting held on June 17th resolved upon an appeal to the ministers at Peking to insist individually and collectively on imperial sanction being given to the urgently needed extension of the settlement.

It was precisely at this juncture that the baleful question of the Ningpo cemetery indisposed the Chinese government towards a similar aspiration for the French concession. Nevertheless, quite undaunted, Monsieur Dubail, the minister at Peking, pressed forward an ambitious plan of extension, not only in the direction of Sikawei, but also on the right bank of the Huangpu—the Pootung frontage of the French concession,—at a time when the British government, elated by the Fashoda incident, seemed more than ever bent on thwarting the aspirations of France.

Thus, in December 1898, when from Shanghai the French consul-general proceeded to Nanking for an interview with the viceroy, two British war-vessels and still another followed him thither, to give Liu Kun Ye moral support against his demands,—demands which Lord Beresford, who happened to be there too, qualified as exorbitant, and even possibly in excess of instructions given on the point. At the same time the British minister at Peking received telegraphic instructions to use pressure on the Chinese government against granting the extension for the concession, and to accommodate French requirements within an extension of the settlement, obviously in the direction of Sikawei.

On the other hand the French government, abandoning its pretensions to the Pootung frontage, sought by every possible means to accommodate British requirements within the expected expansion of the concession towards Sikawei. To ensure this, the Rue du Consulat, extended westward, barred the way against any possible encroachment on the concession's hinterland, further guarded by the Avenue Paul Brunat up to the immediate vicinity of Sikawei, where it found a terminus in another road leading from the Bubbling Well,—a little tangle of cross-purposes whose most knotty point the Chinese government handled well and delicately when assigning the Great Western Road in 1899 as the new southern boundary of the settlement, with a compensating expansion northward. And the concession's new boundaries, deferred for awhile, also fell short of expectations, notwithstanding a network of new roads and avenues, which have nevertheless developed the localities into some of the finest foreign residential quarters of Shanghai.

By its extension the settlement's area, formerly measuring 10,606 mow, was more than trebled, being now 32,110 mow, or 8.35 square miles. This ample increase, in satisfying all requirements, forestalled a German settlement projected at this epoch, and thus tended to consolidate the interests of the international settlement.

Yet, it is quite characteristic of Shanghai to find, beyond the boundaries, roads and suburban quarters under the peculiar status of new districts out of municipal control, in some instance availed of to set the law at naught with impunity, in other instances the scene of ever-increasing friction between the municipal and Chinese police.

Nothing so well attests the prosperity of Shanghai as this constant need of extension—a prosperity which seems to bear a charmed life in the midst of all the upheavals in China. All parties respected the neutrality of Shanghai during the Franco-Chinese hostilities of 1885, the war with Japan, and the Boxer rising, as well as during the Russo-Japanese war. On the other hand, from the industrial and economic development of China a notable influx of wealth and population ensued at Shanghai,—the empire's commercial metropolis, whose gross value is not far short of a thousand million taels.

Within five years since the Boxer crisis the trade of Shanghai almost doubled, the yearly turnover exceeding six hundred million taels. The activity of the port, whose yearly shipping totals over seventeen million tons, may be gauged from the fact that it is not unusual for a coast steamer, say of two thousand tons, to discharge, load, and leave within twenty-four hours.

In landed properties the vested interests at Shanghai exceed two hundred million taels. Thousands of new buildings—some of palatial proportions,—factories, mills, and silk filatures in every direction, an expanding railway system full of promise, all bespeak the rising star of Shanghai.

The population verges upon a million, that of the settlement being over five hundred thousand, of which only fifteen thousand at most are foreigners, including a very noticeable influx of Japanese—possibly the nucleus of a new settlement.*

The municipal budgets, too, well attest the halcyon days. In fifty-four years the settlement's revenue has increased from twenty-five thousand dollars to two and a half million taels, while that of the concession now exceeds half a million.

The progress of Shanghai in recent years has been remarkable, and the improvements effected reflect very creditably on the administrative system which, though found inadequate long ago, still awaits solution. The city-fathers, all business men, have hardly the necessary time for the increasing exigencies of the régime. Its difficulties, moreover, are manifold, what with an ill-brooked consular ascendancy in municipal concerns, and the baleful intermixture of Chinese jurisdiction—

* By the protocol of 1896 Japan was to have a settlement of her own at Shanghai.

fertile sources of friction and complications, sometimes aggravated by cavalier proceedings, all tending to render Shanghai the most ebullient and contentious among the foreign settlements in China.

To crown all this, there are the laws of eighteen nations disintegrating into as many differing sections an essentially international community for which the need of a common law is growing more and more evident. And there is the anomaly, too, of immense vested interests being left exposed to great risks on emergencies, regardless even of the immediate danger to life in case of an organised riot like that of the 18th December 1905, when, as the sequence of a mixed court conflict, foreigners were simultaneously attacked and rioters killed in several districts, whilst a police-station was wrecked, and policemen stood even without ammunition to quell the mob—the volunteers and bluejackets saving the council from great responsibilities by their prompt action.

As the outcome of a policy of drift, Shanghai is curiously a city of anomalies—at once a republic and an oligarchy, whose council holds its meetings with closed doors, the proceedings, howsoever important, being sparingly, tardily reported to the press. The ratepayers are powerless to carry out their pet schemes however popular, if opposed by the council with its influential clique, with plural

votes and proxies of ever-absent landlords to turn the voting of ratepayers into a mere farce. The unremunerated city-fathers have not even an honorific title. In the midst of affluence and luxuries, of lavish expenditure if not actual waste of public funds, it is the Model Settlement that leaves its heroes like Alcock and Gordon still unhonoured, its shabby museum as a byword, and its public libraries as monuments of past favour and present unconcern. It is within a most progressive city noted for the excellence of its public works that the insanitary Yang-king-pang festers between two municipalities as if in commemoration of their cross-purposes. Nay, it is at the very centre of modern enlightenment among the Chinese that first an impassive attitude and now slow action meets China's appeals for closing the many hundreds of opium dens, even when those of the native city are all closed by imperial decree. And it is over a community disintegrated by no less than eighteen law-courts and even by seven post-offices of as many nationalities—it is over this veritable Babel that the municipal motto dares blazon forth: *Omnia juncta in uno.*

Thus much for the heterogeneous, vicarious system of administration arising out of China's dormant sovereignty over this quaint international republic—a sovereignty which may some day be

found to be hardly worth the responsibilities entailed by the vast foreign interests, for which no adequate safeguard is vouchsafed. In the natural order of things that sovereignty should have passed out of China's incapable hands during the chaos and perils of the Taiping rebellion. Another golden opportunity to rectify matters went by on the annexation of Kiaochow and Port Arthur, when a more compensating acquisition than Wei-hai-wei and Kwangchow-wan might have been found in consolidating the vast interests centred at Shanghai. To redeem the past there was still the Boxer crisis—possibly the last opportunity, now that the integrity of China is assured by treaties.

But for international jealousies the military occupation of Shanghai after the Boxer upheaval might well have been less ephemeral, in view of the new situation in China. Apart from any exigencies of foreign interests at the Yangtze ports in case of emergency, locally a permanent military detachment, or say a reserve for the legion guards at Peking, would act as a salutary check on growing Chinese pretensions and oft-recurring difficulties which might at any moment lead to a serious crisis.

The absence of a foreign garrison should at least warrant the settlement against the presence of objectionable Chinese troops. Repeated remonstrances from the municipal council, before

and after the Boxer period, elicited the avowal that the consular body was never empowered to hinder the passage of such troops through the settlement*—obviously deemed by the diplomatic corps as an incontestable prerogative of the territorial sovereignty.

Such deference thereto often found a contrast in the unconcern with which treaty stipulations concerning likin were violated within the settlement notwithstanding repeated protests.

Still worse has ever been the vexed question of mixed jurisdiction—actually one of the most intricate problems of international law, and the source of ever-increasing difficulties, what with the unsatisfactory Chinese procedure and the municipality's well-meant efforts to be as little overshadowed as possible by the baleful prerogatives of China's jurisdiction. From the day when the Mixed Court was informally installed in an out-house of the British consulate, the Chinese authorities have never overcome their indifference to the settlement's need for an effective administration of justice on their part. The provision to this effect in the Chefoo convention of 1876 served but as a mere dead letter. Likewise the conference held by the foreign ministers in 1879 failed to provide

*Senior Consul's despatches of 4th September 1899 and 22nd April 1901.

against the deficiencies of Chinese law, and what is more to be regretted, discarded the proposal for an international court similar to that which has worked so satisfactorily in Egypt. Shanghai's greatly needed judicial reorganisation remained unattended even when the Chinese government waived jurisdiction over its subjects at Kiao-chow, at Port Arthur and Talienwan, and out of the walled city at Wei-hai-wei. The peace protocol of 1901, while providing for the Huangpu Conservancy, likewise overlooked the question, of no less vital importance for the conservancy of Shanghai's welfare. The Mixed Court rules of 1869 as well as the amendments thereto were mainly intended for safeguarding foreign interests involved in Chinese litigation. Beyond the ruling that no prisoner shall be handed over to the Chinese city authorities without a preliminary enquiry at the Mixed Court, no adequate regulation has ever been enacted in the interests of over half a million natives whose domicile within the municipality should warrant them protection against the notorious malpractices of their law-courts—the *raison d'être* of the settlement's extritoriality. In the name of public weal as the supreme law, at least there must be some limitation to any jurisdiction if, perverted and abused, it becomes the source of crying wrongs and oppression arising from a corrupt system, which

besides being derogatory, is utterly incompatible with the welfare of the municipality, in whose good government should be found an object-lesson for the judicial reform on which China seems to be so eagerly bent.

Perhaps it has never occurred to the Chinese government that, just as its fiscal reform was due to the integrity of foreign administration first tested at Shanghai, so too may the still more momentous judicial reorganisation find its initial stage through ready acquiescence to the principles governing the foreign tribunals there; and such a reorganisation may perhaps serve likewise as a favourable occasion to place extraterritorial jurisdiction on the common basis of an international code, thus obviating the manifold encumbrances and divergencies of the present régime.

In more than one way the hand of destiny seems to mark Shanghai as the birthplace of China's regeneration. From an educational and social standpoint the prospects are most encouraging. Almost every epoch-making improvement in the empire is initiated at Shanghai, each a triumph of modern civilisation and a blessing for one third of humanity, as well as a source of pride for the most progressive and pro-foreign city of China, before which have paled all the ancient glories of Soochow and Hangchow.

The time may come when, in the wake of Japan, China may attain a status and prestige incompatible with exterritoriality. The time will come when, through natural cause, Shanghai will experience a greater change than a new China can possibly effect.

History never repeats itself so surely as when actuated by nature's law. The same cause which led to the ruin of Tsinglung and the consequent rise of Shanghai now threatens in turn to ruin the prospects of Shanghai; the same silting process is still at work, more actively now than ever, for as the lake basins of the Yangtze are all being silted up, the stupendous quantity of silt brought down by the mighty river tends more and more to add a new coast-line to the delta.* Thus, in course of time, what is now but shoals will become mud flats; and just as the hills to the west of Shanghai now stand amidst verdant fields, the hilly islands at the offing, such as the Saddles and even the Chusan group, are all destined to become mere hills among new plains which are being reared by the deposits of every flood-tide. Year by year the Yangtze already yields about two square miles of alluvial soil. Between the island

* See Mr. Archibald Little's *Through the Yangtze Gorges and The Far East*, also Père Richard's *Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire*.

of Tsungming and the Haimen promontory a new island is rising to bar the channel. Within the last ten years the outer Wusung bar has risen seven feet. At Shanghai itself the growth of foreshores has, in less than half a century, taken away from the Huangpu no less than a third of its former width. To remain navigable the tidal waterways of Shanghai will soon have to depend greatly on conservancy work, recently begun at last, in a manner which has given rise to considerable criticism and uneasiness. But the river's mightier working must anyhow prevail sooner or later, unless it is possible to cope with the formation of an extensive new coast-line, already so active that Mr. Archibald Little draws therefrom a startling conclusion: "within the lifetime of men now living Shanghai threatens to be left an inland city unapproachable by tidal waters"—a prognostic which may be somewhat premature, but is too well grounded to prove ultimately as fallacious as the prediction of Chinkiang supplanting Shanghai.

As Venice was wedded to the Adriatic, so is Shanghai to the deep,—nay still more closely, since to her very name is linked the word for sea; and to sever her from the source of her greatness is indeed to depose the Queen of the Western Pacific. There is the hope, however, that railways may to a

certain extent avert the doom to be decreed by the fateful river, most probably not in our days, and yet inexorably, like all decrees of fate whereby so many great cities sternly realised the transientness of their glories.

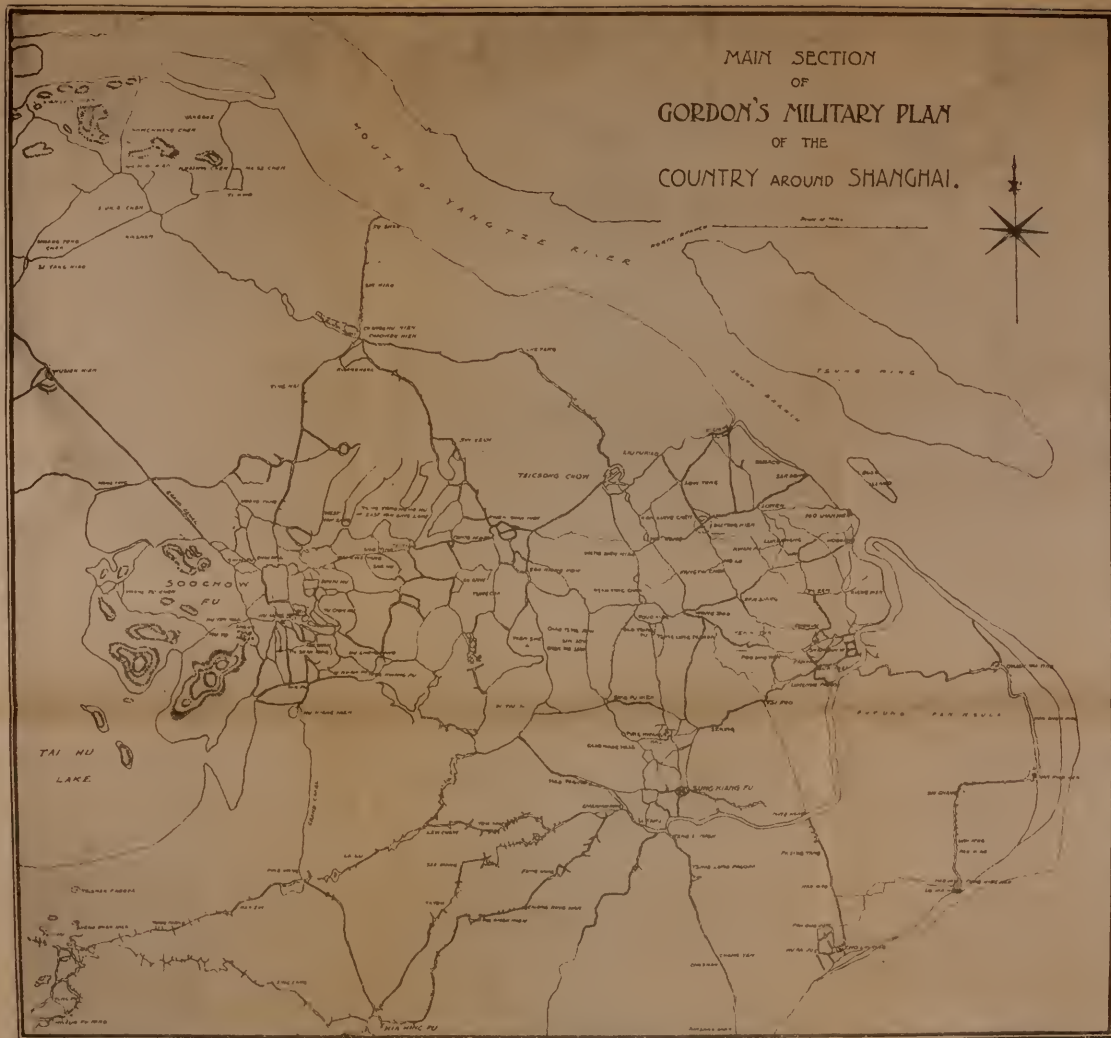
THE END.

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TARY PLAN

SHANGHAI.





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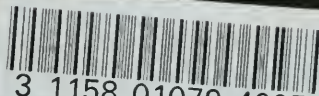
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