自強運動（1861–1895）背景下中國的軍事現代化
與李鴻章的影響

The Military Modernization of China during the
Self-Strengthening Movement (1861–1895) and Li
Hong Zhang’s Impact

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中華民國九十八年六月
Acknowledgements

This study took a very long time to make, however I just did the writing and searching part of this study. As the author of this humble thesis I think the most important people are my teachers who helped me during my study in Taiwan. The department of Political Science gave me a very happy education opportunity that I never forget in my whole life.

First of all I would like to thank my dear advisor As. Prof. Wang Guang Xiong, (王冠雄) he taught me how to write a thesis in a professional way and how to use better English in my papers. Without his help I could not finish this study.

The other very important man is absolutely our department’s chairman Prof. Mr. Qu Zhao Xiang (曲兆祥) I never saw such a kind chairman in my education life in Turkey and Taiwan. He welcomed me his office whenever I knocked his door and shared with me his deep knowledge about China. I learned many things from him. His support for China studies in Turkey is very precious for China studies in Turkey. I want to thank him with all my heart.

The first face that I saw in our department was Prof. Mr. Chen Wen Zheng (陳文政), he opened the way for my education in Taiwan and NTNU. He welcomed me when I came to NTNU 3 years ago. His friendly character and very modest attitude made me happy that I met such an intelligent man in Taiwan. He has a very special place in my heart.

I would like to thank all of my other teachers that gave their knowledge to me during my study in Taiwan. I think all the members of Political Science Department are very precious people. I feel myself lucky to have chance to study here. My classmates especially Zhen Nan, helped me so much. I thank him very much. Our assistant in the office Mr. Wu Jian Zhong (吳建忠) showed me how I handle my things in our school and department. He is a great and very talented guy.

I wanted to thank God that gives me health to finish my study in Taiwan. Maybe the most important person that I need to thank specially is my dear Dad. I dedicate this thesis to him and I would like to thank him for his support since 1980. He is the man never gives up; he is the man who has dreams. He is the man whom I will keep forever in my heart. I love him, I am lucky that I have a dad like him. My late Mum and Aunt see me from paradise that I finish my school in Taiwan. I know they are happy and watching me over there with smile on their face.

Ugur Rifat Karlova 吳承鳳
2009 Taipei/ Taiwan
For My Dad who never gives up
摘要：

本研究作者關注於中國大陸現代化開始的起點。作者認為近代中國大陸的軍事現代化的起始於第一次鴉片戰爭。此次戰事的失敗啓發了中國政治家和學者們對於過去錯誤的省思。中國大陸藉由瞭解西方現代化的經驗開始著手研究學習西方國家的發明。故此中國的現代化時期起始于軍事方面。軍事現代化僅僅只是中國現代化的啓始階段而已，隨之其現代化的腳步蔓延至中國其他的面向。

這份研究包含了1861-1895年中中國現代化的進程。作者想點出中國與西方現代化勢力的第一次接觸和其造成之影響。作者的關注的焦點人物是李鴻章，其生平事蹟和影響在中國軍事現代化時期具有關鍵重要性。

作者聚焦於中國許多不同面向且深入發掘其歷史。內容包含許多重大歷史事件、關鍵人物、叛亂、和中國當時的國際關係等，作者將該些事件以歷史編年順序呈現以幫助讀者瞭解此研究。為了瞭解中國的現代化歷史進程，作者相信鴉片戰爭和自強運動是很好的著手點。對於此時期的瞭解將有助於窺探中國現代歷史後續的事件和關鍵人物的發展。

關鍵字：軍事現代化、李鴻章、鴉片戰爭、中國軍隊、慈禧太后、自強運動。
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The Military Modernization of China during the Self Strengthening Movement (1861-1895) and Li Hong Zhang’s Impact

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Abstract:

The author of this study has an idea of starting point in China’s modernization period. The author considers the starting point of the Military Modernization in China’s modern history is First Opium War. The big defeat in the war led the Chinese politicians and scholars to think about the mistakes in the past. With the understanding of Modernization experience in the West, China has begun to research and get more information from the Western countries about their learning. As a result of that China’s modernization period started in military field at first. The military modernization was just the beginning phase of Modernization period in China. The Modernization period began with military and that showed its effects in other parts and institutions of China.

This study covers the 1861-1895 years of China’s modernization steps. The author just wants to point out China’s first big encounter with the Western force and its effect on China. The author’s key figure is Li Hong Zhang, Li Hong Zhang’s life time, achievements and impact has a big importance in China’s military modernization period.

The author focuses many different parts of the China and digs out different points from her history. The incidents, important key figures, rebellions, international relations of China and etc... The incidents were set up by author with an historical order and this makes the study fluent for readers. The author thinks that in order to understand China’s modern history, the Opium Wars and Self-Strengthening Movement would be the good starting points. The understanding of this period will open the doors of upcoming incidents and key figures in Chinese modern history.

Key words: Military modernization, Li Hong Zhang, Opium War, Chinese Army, Ci Xi, Self- Strengthening Movement.
# CONTENTS

Acknowledgments \hspace{1cm} A
Abstract \hspace{1cm} I
Contents \hspace{1cm} II

## Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Purpose \hspace{1cm} 1
1.2 Methodology \hspace{1cm} 5
1.3 Structure \hspace{1cm} 7
1.4 Problems and Limitations \hspace{1cm} 9
1.5 Literature Review \hspace{1cm} 10
1.6 Motivation \hspace{1cm} 12

## Chapter Two: Background of Self-Strengthening Movement

2.1 Weakness of China and Foreign Interest \hspace{1cm} 14
  2.1.1 Foreigners in Borders \hspace{1cm} 18
  2.1.2 First Challenge Against the West \hspace{1cm} 29
2.2 China’s Social and Economic Environment in the Beginning of 19th Century \hspace{1cm} 31
  2.2.1 Qing Society in 19th Century \hspace{1cm} 34
  2.2.2 Qing Economy in 19th Century \hspace{1cm} 39
  2.2.3 Qing Administration \hspace{1cm} 41
2.3 East India Company and English Trade in China During 1800’s \hspace{1cm} 46
  2.3.1 Opium and Lin Ze Xu \hspace{1cm} 48
  2.3.2 The Precautions in Canton Region \hspace{1cm} 51
2.4 Declaration of the First Opium War, Nanjing Treaty and Aftermath \hspace{1cm} 54
  2.4.1 Treaty of Nanjing (1842) and Aftermath \hspace{1cm} 55
Chapter Three: Self-Strengthening Movement 1861–1895

3.1. Self-Strengthening Movement and Empress Dowager Cixi’s Effect on the Movement

3.1.1 Empress Dowager Cixi’s Effect on the Movement

3.2 First Steps and Military Establishments during the Movement

3.2.1 First Military Establishments

3.2.2 Some Important Military Units, Arsenals and Dockyards during the Movement

3.3 The Shanghai Jiangnan Arsenal

3.3.1 Shipbuilding in the Jiangnan Arsenal

3.4. The Fuzhou Navy Yard

3.5. Hanyang Arsenal

3.5.1 Establishment of Hanyang Arsenal

3.6 Chinese Maritime Customs Service

3.7 The First Impact of Military Modernization in Chinese Society

3.8 Foreigner’s Role in Military Modernization

3.8.1 Some Important Foreigners during Military Modernization

3.8.1.1 Léonce Verny (December 2, 1837-May 2, 1908)

3.8.1.2 Prosper Giquel (1835-1886)

3.8.1.3 Sir Robert Hart (20 February 1835 – 20 September 1911)

3.8.1.4 Horatio Nelson Lay (1832 –May 4, 1898)

3.8.1.5 Thomas Francis Wade (25 August 1818 – 31 July 1895)

3.9 China’s New Modernized Army during the Movement

3.9.1 Beiyang Army

3.9.2 Beiyang Fleet

3.9.3 Guangdong Fleet

3.9.4 Fujian Fleet
Chapter Four: Li Hong Zhang and His Role in Self Strengthening Movement

4.1 Li Hong Zhang’s Life

4.2 His Role in Self-Strengthening Movement and Military Modernization

4.2.1 Chinese Maritime Customs and Li Hong Zhang’s Role

4.2.2 Patriotism: Li Hong Zhang and the Foreign Threat

4.2.3 Li Hong Zhang’s Germany Visit and Policy

4.2.4 Li Hong Zhang’s United Kingdom Visit and Policy

4.2.5 Business Institutions in 19th Century in China and Li Hong Zhang’s Role

4.2.6 Li Hong Zhang and the other Reformist Leaders

4.2.7 Peking Syndicate, The Rothschild Archive, Li and the Role of Angelo L.

4.3 Remarks

Chapter Five: Aftermath of the Self-Strengthening Movement and Military Modernization

5.1 Discussion of Success and Fail in the Self Strengthening Movement

5.2 The Opinions of the Other China Studies’ Researchers

5.3 Chronology of Modern China and West (1583–2000)

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Annex

Bibliography
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

1.1 Purpose

It is believed that the first Western style of modernization steps started in China after the First Opium War (鴉片戰爭) in 1839. The First Opium War has opened the way of modernization in China’s modern history. Most of the historians agree that the Opium Wars have made a very deep impact on China and her future. The topic of this study aims to focus on the Self-Strengthening Movement (洋務運動 or 自強運動) and especially its military modernization phase. The author wants to draw attention to the turning point in the history of China which especially happened after the First Opium War in 1839.

In the author’s usage of the term “Turning point” was aimed to state the before and after periods of Western influence in China. Here the author means China’s new learning, experiences and some serious decisions in her old Confucian thought.

As the hundreds of historical researches indicated that, after the big defeat in the First Opium War, China woke up from her long and deep sleep. The results of this big defeat have forced China to adopt Western technology and its military experience\(^1\). Thus, China has decided to change and start to criticize her thousand year long Confucian thought in order to survive. The period after being attacked and invaded by foreign powers\(^2\) the traditional Chinese basis for values, with its principles in

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\(^2\) Throughout history, China was invaded many times by Western countries such as Portugal, Spain and Netherlands. However, in this study what the author calls Western countries are; France, Britain, Germany and Russia. These countries have directly occupied China but besides USA, also wanted to get more control over China after “Nanjing Treaty.”

\(^*\) Japan would be the biggest threat over China in later periods.
Confucianism, fell into dire straits, in the late 19th and early 20th century. The First Opium War and its later period mean for Chinese people a starting page of “Defeat and Invasion”.

The huge defeat in this war against to British forces caused Chinese people to start to question themselves about the mistakes in the past. Chinese scholars have begun to raise questions about the change in their society and Confucianism. They emphasized on need for modernization in China. They decided to follow the modernization path which was followed by Western countries. The learning of the Western countries taught the Chinese people new systems, techniques and new ideologies in many areas such as education, military training, army etc…

As a result of being invaded by Westerners, China has opened a new page in her history. The Western invasion resulted with the start of modernization of China’s military.

This study will focus on the “Military Modernization”, the words “Military” and “Modernization” will be the key words and all the incidents will be explained under this title. The main purpose of this study would be arranged as follows:

1- Anaylze the background and starting point of the military modernization.
2- Historical research of Self-Strengthening Movement and focus on its military modernization.
3- Case study on Li Hong Zhang (李鴻章) and his effects on the modernization of China and her society.
4- Discuss the Success and Fail of the military modernization.

As we can see, these four critical points would be the main frame of this study. Thus, the author aims to reach answers for the following two questions: Why China has started her Western style of modernization? And, what is the “Change” of China during the period of 1839–1895?

Till 1840, China could not imagine the power of Western countries and their modern army. China has made a big mistake to catch up the Western technology and unfortunately till the danger came from the Western countries. China and Chinese people lived behind closed doors more than a couple of hundred years. At that time Western countries have already made reforms in their armies and the other army units such as modern navy and stronger weapons. Being closed to the Western reforms caused China to miss a very important era in the world.

Edwin Hoyt writes very clearly in his book about that period; “Chinese society thought that Chinese technological development was far superior to the West. In fact, this superiority had existed since the Song dynasty (960–1279), but Chinese technology stabilized after that and did not develop much further”. Chinese society was totally lost in her and was not aware of the other countries’ modernization steps. China’s close community and limited relations with West gave China a false path in her historical journey. When she met the advanced power of Westerners it was already late for China to turn back and make up her mistakes in the past. Because of all these mistakes and reasons China had to reform her thousand year old thought and open up to the new changes in her society. First of all China needed to make reform in her weak army and outmoded technology. This was the first rule of the modern wars against to West.

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As the author mentioned before, Western influence has began after the defeat in First Opium War⁵ and gradually turned in to an invasion on China. We can easily say that after this war, even the Chinese people could not imagine the size of damage and turbulence in their life. It is very clear that the First Opium War was a kind of earthquake for whole China which was felt in every level and area their life.

After the defeat in the Opium War, Chinese scholars have started to speak out an idea; “Let’s make something in order to get strong a soon as possible. Otherwise we will be vanished.”

So, why did the “Military Modernization” come first? This is a very critical question in author’s study on military modernization of China. The answer would be the following couple of words as we have already mentioned; “First Opium War in 1839” and following the “Second Opium War in 1856–1860”

In order to fight with invaders, China had to be strong and need to have stronger army. For instance, new arsenals, new navy and new weapons all had to change in order to build a strong China. Scholars and regional leaders like Li Hong Zhang, Feng Gui Fen (馮桂芬), Lin Ze Xu (林則徐) etc… encouraged Chinese people and made very big changes on the military modernization movement. As we look some of these scholar’s words we can understand the need of starting the military modernization in China.

In 1842 Lin Ze Xu wrote “Ships, guns, and a water force are absolutely indispensable,”⁶ in which he pointed out the weakness of China and her army. In addition to his words maybe the one of the most important explanation about the Self-Strengthening Movement came from Feng Gui Fen. He said:

“Yet we are shamefully humiliated by the four nations (England, Russia, US, France) not because our climate, soil, or resources are inferior to theirs, but because our people are inferior. Now, our inferiority is not something allotted us by Heaven, but is rather due to ourselves. Since the inferiority is due to ourselves, it is a still greater shame, but something we can do something about. And if we feel ashamed, there is nothing better than Self-Strengthening.”

In order to understand the path which China has followed in her history, the author thinks that Self-Strengthening Movement is a good and very critical starting point. This starting point, figures and the incidents during the movement will bring many ideas to readers and probably it will help others to commence new studies about this period.

1.2 Methodology

In this study the author prefers to select the latter to interpret modernization. Moreover, apart from the interpretation and evaluation of traditional historical methods, the main methodologies applied in this thesis will be documental review and analysis in order to present through case study the sought-for successful way to military modernization in Self-Strengthening Movement. Basically, the concentration
and scope of this research will rely on interdisciplinary fields of political, military, social and cultural views to reexamine the paths of modernization of China.

In general, scholars of Asian Studies agree China started its modern history from the Opium War in 1839, in 1860s China and Japan embarked on significant programs for the introduction of Western science and technology. It should be noted that some Marxist scholars claim China started her Self-Strengthening Movement from 1864 (to 1895). Some scholars’ think that the years are the starting point of modernization in China 1861 to 1895 based on the theories of Kim and Hsu.

The case study method has its place in chapter 4 the study on Li Hong Zhang, covers his life and made a detailed discussion of his role in the military modernization. In his study authors does not totally agree with these latter scholars that the movement started after the Arrow War (1858-1860). The author thinks the first phase starts with First Opium War and continues with Second Opium War (第二次鴉片戰爭是1856-1860). After all these incidents and wars the most important shock and the most effective phase of modernization in China begins with the first Sino-Japanese War (中

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10 The Arrow Incident happened in October 1856. In order to exact revenge on Qing China, British and French Allied Forces captured Guangzhou in 1857, and continued to march forwards into northern China until the concluding of the Treaty of Tianjin in 1858 and the Convention of Beijing in 1860. The Second Opium War and Arrow War are both used in the literature. “Second Opium War” refers to one of the British’s strategic objectives: legalizing the opium trade, expending coolie trade, opening all of China to British merchants, and exempting foreign imports from internal transit duties. The “’Arrow War” refers to the name of a vessel which became the starting point of the conflict. The importance of the opium factor in the war is in debate among historians.
日戰爭) in 1894. The modernization phase of China after 1895, would be another study of the author in the future.

1.3 Structure

The basic structure of this study will comprise six chapters in total.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This first chapter of the study gives the introduction phases about the author’s study. Purpose, methodology, structure etc... The starting of the study and the author’s aims were given in this chapter. A short definition of modernization and the born of modernization ideas will be discussed in chapter 1.

Chapter 2: Background of Self-Strengthening Movement

The background of the Self-Strengthening Movement was given in chapter 2. Before diving into Self-Strengthening Movement and its military modernization the reasons of modernization must be known generally. Especially First Opium War has a great importance in this chapter. In this part of the thesis the author focuses on the years 1800–1842 and the incidents of that period. In chapter 2, the author aims to make clearer what happened afterwards of First Opium War.

Chapter 3: Self-Strengthening Movement

In chapter 3, the author focuses Self-Strengthening Movement itself. The military modernization steps and the foreigners are the key titles of this chapter. China’s new emerging army and the impacts of military modernization shall be
discussed. Key persons were given in order to understand the figures that have impacts on the military modernization and Chinese society.

Chapter 4: Li Hong Zhang and His Role in Military Modernization

Chapter 4 has cases study on the key person of Self-Strengthening Movement and his impact on military modernization phase. In the author’s study the key person of this period is Li Hong Zhang. In this chapter the author wants to make clear of his life, achievements and different efforts during his lifetime. The author’s opinion on Li Hong Zhang would be included in the conclusion of this chapter.

Chapter 5: Aftermath of the Self-Strengthening Movement and Military Modernization

Chapter 5 includes the aftermath of Self-Strengthening Movement and military modernization. This chapter discusses the negative and positive sides of the military modernization phases. China’s failure and success during the period has an important part in chapter 5. Here in this chapter, the author wants to draw attention to good and bad sides of the movement. The failure and success part also contains the other scholar’s opinions. Their researches were given in this part to make the last step clearer for the readers. The author adds his own opinions in to the China scholar’s discussion. Besides this, the author gives a chronology of modernization and Western effects on China. Thus, readers could easily follow the process of modernization era.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Chapter 6 covers all the author’s study and makes an ending conclusion on the military modernization and China’s society. The changes during the period, key
persons, after effects on China etc… Chapter 6 discusses all the period from start to end. The author sums up all the incidents and makes a detailed analysis of military modernization in last chapter of his study. Chapter 6 does not close the modernization path of China. This chapter puts a light on coming historical events in Chinese History. The author’s aim is to step in the new coming future of China and open the way into 1911 revolution.

1.4 Problems and Limitations

Certainly, it cannot be denied that a topic such as the Self-Strengthening Movement and military modernization of China has its difficulties and limitations. This is a very complicated period and especially a kind of new start for China and her society. This period can be seen as the turning point from the ancient society to West affected society. Because of the huge range of materials written in different languages it is quite impossible for one master student to read and summarize all of the works in a relatively short time.

One of the biggest problems of the author is, not using his mother tongue in his study. This makes the terms not so effective as in his mother tongue Turkish. The author did his best to write a clear and simple study on military modernization. The author believes it would be better to use his own language to make a study on such a complicated period.

The second problem is surely the limited time for this study. Especially impossible to read many Chinese books in this limited time. For this reason, the author chose more English books rather than Chinese. The other problem was to be a
foreigner and writing something about China and her history. 5000 years long Chinese history is a kind of boundless ocean. In order to understand her history well many years have to be spent and unfortunately it is impossible to understand truly.

In this study, the author believes that the Chinese scholars are already doing their best on China studies. The author’s will is, as a foreign graduate student, to focus in to the Chinese history and dig out new views from this period. New debates may start and this will make the author’s study to reach the success. Interesting on China and her historical experiences makes author happy to do a study about China. The author believes China has thousands of treasures and these treasures are waiting for to be discovered. Understanding of China will put a light in our modern age and China will become clearer than ever for the rest of the world. Of course, inevitably some points in the conclusion mint contain own subjective views, omissions or defects. As the poet Ziya Pasha\textsuperscript{11} wrote:

“The things I’ve chosen are a drop, no more:
The undiminished sea still crowds the shore.”

1.5 Literature Review

With regard to the topic of China’s military modernization during Self Strengthening Movement there a huge amount of books in English and Chinese. Some writers focused just these period and some others wrote the general modernization in

\textsuperscript{11} Quoted by J.A.G Roberts in his preface, 	extit{Modern China: An Illustrated History}, UK: Phoenix Mill, Brimscombe Port, 1998.
China from Qing dynasty to now. As a literature review, the author thinks that reading about events before and after the Self Strengthening Movement can lead to a better understanding of the incidents in this period. Also the books about key persons are very important for the military modernization period of China. Even the books about later periods like “1911 Revolution” can help to understand the aftermath of the movement. Thus, the books must have a wide range. As a result of that, the author made a picky book selection about his study.

Without doubt, many of these books can provide valuable material for reference. The Modernization of China, edited by Gilbert Rozman, is a very precious reference material. In his book Rozman focuses on the China’s modernization path, he starts from the international definition of modernization and enters to China’s modernization. His book covers 18th, 19th and 20th centuries of China. However, Rozman did not give very clear details on the incidents and figures. The reason of that, Rozman’s study covers many periods and his book wants to give the main steps in China’s history. His starting point is similar with the most of the other historians; he thinks that the First Opium War is the starting point of China’s modernization period.

The Rise of the Chinese Republic, “From the Last Emperor to Deng Xiaoping” by Edwin P. Hoyt, who wrote a very useful reference book for China’s History. He did not focus on details but he separated the periods very successfully. His book covers 100 years of China and the incidents in these years. The first chapter especially gives the reader clear information about the collapse of the Qing dynasty.

China’s Struggle for Naval Development 1839–1895 by John L. Rawlinson and John Lang, both writer made a clear research on this period and focused on
naval development in China. Their starting point is the same as Rozman: The first big defeat against Western powers in the First Opium War (1839) and its effects on the Chinese military. The weakness of naval army of China forced her to build up a new army. In this book readers find many figures that have huge impacts on the military modernization of China.

*British Trade and the Opening of China 1800–42* by Michael Greenberg, whose book focuses the opium trade and incidents before the war. He gave very detailed information on this trade and its effects on Chinese society. This book is a very useful reference for First Opium War and opium trade in the middle 19th century.

The author just cited some of his historical study references in his study. These are the basic sources about the author’s study. In the historical circles all of these books are considered as valuable resources. The author made a thorough but careful book selection and more materials which are related with the research shall be found in the bibliography part.

### 1.6 Motivation

The biggest motivation of author for this study is his deep interest in Chinese history. The author has learned many new things about Chinese society during his study in Taiwan. His learning and teachers led him to learn more about China and her history.
In the author’s country Turkey unfortunately it is very hard to find books about China and her history. Because of this reason the author wanted to introduce Turkish people more sides of Chinese history. The author’s study about Chinese history will be the one of the first studies on China in his country’s archives.

Besides, living in Chinese society made the author more curious about Chinese people and their history. The beauty and the magical side of Chinese history attracted the author and through this study he added himself many things from Chinese history.

One of the author’s motivations is to create a study which can be a bridge between old Chinese society and new modern China. The author wanted to point out a very important break up for new students who want to start to learn Modern Chinese history. Creating a key study and seeing it opens the doors for Chinese history makes the author happy about his work he made.
CHAPTER TWO: Background of Self-Strengthening Period

There is an old Chinese saying: A one-hundred-year-old worm, its body would not be rotten after its death. (百年之蟲 死而不僵) The meaning of this Chinese saying is; that regimes which have ruled for a long time do not fail very easy even though it is already dead inside. Qing dynasty maybe the best example of this saying; it did not collapse right away due to the internal and external problems, and it managed to get through the 19th century and on until 1912. The author thinks that also the Ottoman Empire (奧斯曼帝國) had the similar process in their history.

In the early 1860s, (Here the author means after the first Opium War) the Chinese government undertook a range of modernization reforms. This reform movement was the result of the conjunction of several circumstances. One of the most important factors was being humiliated and defeated by foreigners in the wars. The other reasons about China’s modernization were; economical problems, corruption among politicians, underdeveloped society and poor education etc... The clash of weak society and modernized Western countries were the starting point of the idea of Modernization.

In the 19th century, the Chinese government was shaken both by domestic rebellions and by the unequal treaties. The term “Unequal Treaties” (不平等條約) mainly used by modern China, refers to a series of treaties signed by several Asian states, including that Western nations had forced China to accept this cruel treaty.

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However, except this treaties China was in trouble within her borders with the minorities and other rising regional figures. Minorities were looking for their freedom and the uprising leaders were looking for their fights against to Qing rulers. They wanted to overthrow the dynasty and establish their own rule over China.

This was the internal uprising part of the China. However, the problems were not just at all. From the other side Westerners getting more and more in to the Chinese territory and having more rights in the borders. Western influence and invasion would be more dangerous than internal conflicts. Every right they took from China meant a piece from China to be given to Westerners. As a result of that Western invasion gradually grew bigger and turned China in to a very big colony which was invaded by many countries.15

Except Westerners, China’s big rivals Russia and Japan were also waiting for their turn to get the share for their own. This race eventually has ended with the big war between Russia and Japan which was called “The Russo-Japanese War in 1904–05” (日俄戰爭).17

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15 Among these countries; Germany, Portugal, Holland, Russia, Britain, France, United States, Spain.
17 The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05, which began with the Japanese naval attack on Port Arthur, had its roots in the simultaneous determination of both Japan and Russia to develop “Spheres of influence” in the Far East, mainly at the expense of China. Japan fought a very successful war against the weak Chinese Empire in 1894–95 and imposed a severe treaty. Japan demanded from China a heavy war indemnity, the island of Formosa, and Port Arthur and its hinterland. The European powers, while having no objection to the indemnity, did feel that Japan should not gain Port Arthur, for they had their own ambitions in that part of the world. Russia persuaded Germany and France to join her in applying diplomatic pressure on the Japanese, with the result that Japan was obliged to relinquish Port Arthur. Two years later Saint Petersburg forced the Chinese into leasing Port Arthur to Russia, together
China was slowly turning into a center of interest and conflict. Many Western countries interested on the same land and in a result of that in this area happened many wars between the Western countries in later periods.

By the beginning of the 1860s, the Taiping Rebellion (太平天国) 18 was perhaps one of the biggest and bloodiest civil war in Chinese history; a clash between the forces of the Qing Empire devastated millions of people and very vast area 19. The others were affecting China deeply but Qing dynasty’s limited power was not enough to suppress them in a short time. Like Taipings, the other rebellion was terminating the villages and citizens which called “The Nien Rebellion” (捻軍起義) 20 was a large armed uprising that took place in northern China from 1851 to 1868 has also cost many victims. Muslims fought for themselves in “Muslim Panthay Rebellion” (杜文秀起義) 21 and this rebellion was a separatist movement of the Hui people, Chinese Muslims were against the imperial Qing dynasty. Except for these rebellions China has seen many of them through the late Qing dynasty such as: “White Lotus

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19 Taiping Rebellion: (1850 – 64) Large-scale rebellion against the Qing dynasty and the presence of foreigners in China. The peasants, having suffered floods and famines in the late 1840s, were ripe for rebellion, which came under the leadership of Hong Xiu Quan. (洪秀全)
20 Nien Rebellion: (1852 – 68) uprising that occurred against the Qing dynasty of China.
21 Muslim Panthay Rebellion: (1856–1873), known in Chinese as the Du Wen Xiu Rebellion was a separatist movement of the Hui people and Chinese Muslims against the imperial Qing Dynasty in southwestern Yunnan Province, China, as part of a wave of Hui-led multi-ethnic unrest.
Rebellion” (白蓮教起義)\textsuperscript{22}, “Dungan Revolt (1862–1877)” (同治回亂)\textsuperscript{23} and sure the famous “Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901)” (義和拳)\textsuperscript{24} \textsuperscript{25}

The Qings had also resigned themselves to the necessity of accommodating the Western powers demands. On the other hand, the Western powers had realized that in order to retain their treaty concessions, they had a vested interest in preserving the unity and integrity of China, and that this in turn required them to sustain the Qing administration. At that time some part of Asia were still independent from European dominance after 1750 suffered from political decline and from the reactions to new challenges. They also faced the threat of Western imperialism and their industrial lead.\textsuperscript{26}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22}White Lotus Rebellion: Chinese anti-Manchu uprising that occurred during the Qing dynasty. It broke out (1796) among impoverished settlers in the mountainous region that separates Sichuan province from Hubei and Shaanxi provinces.
\item \textsuperscript{23}The Dungan Revolt was a religious war in 19th-century China. It is also known as the Hui Minorities War and the Muslim Rebellion. The term is sometimes used to refer to the Panthay Rebellion in Yunnan as well. It was an uprising by members of the Hui and other Muslim ethnic groups in China’s Shaanxi, Gansu and Ningxia provinces, as well as in Xinjiang, between 1862 and 1877.
\item \textsuperscript{24}The Boxer Rebellion, or more properly Boxer Uprising, was a violent anti-foreign, anti-Christian movement. In response to imperialist expansion, growth of cosmopolitan influences, and missionary evangelism, and against the backdrop of state fiscal crisis and natural disasters, local organizations began to emerge in Shandong in 1898.
\item \textsuperscript{25}Mark Bryant, \textit{Knocking Out the Boxers}, UK: History Today Volume: 58, Issue: 12, December 2008, pp. 56–57.
\item \textsuperscript{26}Quoted from Peter N. Stearns, Stuart B. Schwartz, Michael Adas, \textit{World Civilizations}, Chapter 26, Pearson Longman, World Civilizations, AP Edition Companion Website, Copyright 1995-2008. This part was cited from the e-book of Pearson Education, Inc., publishing as Pearson Longman. Please refer to: http://wps.ablongman.com/long_stearns_wcap_4/18/4651/1190880.cw/index.html
\end{itemize}
China, under the Qing dynasty in the 17th century, enjoyed growth and prosperity in their society. Besides, Chinese people had the power to limit European intervention. At the end of the century, the foundations of Chinese civilization had been demolished by internal and external pressures. These were the internal rebellions and external imperialism.

Western rising demand on natural resources led them to move further out from their borders. All these powers have had many different interests on China. Each of them found a weakness and try to push China in order to get what they want from her. They were all looking for more rights and using China’s territory for their own good. Thus, they could move in the borders easily without having any resists and problems.

2.1 Weakness of China and Foreign Interest

By the 19th century, China was experiencing growing internal pressures of economic origin. At the turn of the 19th century, the Qing dynasty, while still strong on the surface, however inside of the dynasty was already beginning to show symptoms of decline. One of the first was the morale of the imperial government. It gradually began to show first signs of deterioration. Instead of performing their duties

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properly, the rulers began to lead a luxurious and debauched life. This caused many wrong decisions and neglections.  

The other problem was the corruption among Qing officials. It was rife at various levels within and outside the imperial court. The moral decay and the excesses of the imperial government as well as its military expeditions caused a steady increase in the national budget which was soon to become unbalanced, resulting in galloping inflation.

The problem of corruption in Qing Dynasty was very serious. It caused unbalanced and unfair decisions among people. Through the whole Chinese History corruption was one of the biggest problems of Chinese bureaucracy. Nearly all of the officials in the Qing government corrupted at that time. Since they were not satisfied with the low salaries they received from the government, then no matter local officials or central officials also squeeze property from the ordinary people. The sharp increase in population further aggravated the situation. As a result of that, peasant life, which had already been hard to bear, was gradually reduced to a level of mere subsistence. Frequent natural calamities; such as floods, drought and locusts; caused tens of

28 Francesco Sisci, China’s Massive Wranch, Change in the Face of Foreign Devils. 3 July 2008. This is a newspaper article from Asia Times. In this article Sisci dissusses the “Modernization and Westernization” of China. His article can be found at; http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/JG03Ad01.html


30 Quoted from Shawn X. Ni, University of Missouri at Columbia, Department of Economics, Van H. Pham, Baylor University, Department of Economics, High Corruption Income in Ming and Qing China, February 2005. This study can be found at Social Science Research Network’s web page; www.ssrn.com
thousands of peasants to starve to death. It was no wonder that both social unrest and peasant rebellions erupted in the 19th century.\textsuperscript{31}

By the beginning of the century, Chinese population was over 300 million people. However, there was no industry or trade of sufficient number to absorb the surplus labor in society. Moreover, the scarcity of land led to widespread rural discontent and a breakdown in law and order. The weakening through corruption of the bureaucratic and military systems and mounting urban pauperism also contributed to these disturbances. Localized revolts erupted in various parts of the empire in the early 19th century.

Secret societies, such as the White Lotus sect in the north and the Triad Society (三合會); in the south, gained ground, combining anti-Manchu subversion with banditry.\textsuperscript{32}

\section*{2.1.1 Foreigners in Borders}

China’s geographical environment, surrounded on all four sides by natural barriers, its original territory integrated into a single geographical unit, hindered contact and communication with much of the outside world. This had the accumulative effect on most Chinese of their seeing the entire world from within the

\textsuperscript{31} Quoted from Francis Soo’s study. For more information please refer to \textit{China & Modernization - Past & Present}, Studies in East European Thought, Springer Netherlands Volume 38, Number 1, July 1989, Mr. Soo is a professor at Boston College in Department of Philosophy.

\textsuperscript{32} Chaos research group’s web site, The Chaos Group at Maryland since the mid-1970s, has done extensive research in various areas of chaotic dynamics ranging from the theory of dimensions, fractal basin boundaries, chaotic scattering, controlling chaos are making researches on many topics. For more information please visit the web site of Chaos: \url{http://www-chaos.umd.edu/history/modern.html}
narrow confines of China’s topography. They perceived China as being surrounded by four seas, bordered by peripheral kingdoms with an interior composed of various feudal kingdoms. These natural barriers were considered worldview of most Chinese people. “Heaven above; Earth below; The Middle Kingdom at the center of the universe.”

The author of this study agrees with the historians that all the changes that have occurred in modern Chinese society are in response to Western challenges. Fairbank and Su Yu Teng elaborate:

“As China is the largest unitary mass of humanity with the oldest continuous history, its being trampled upon by the West during the past century was bound to create a continuing and violent intellectual revolution, the end of which we have not yet seen. A century plagued with unequal treaties brought the ancient society of China into ever closer contact with the dominant and expanding societies of Western Europe and America. This Western contact, lent impetus by the industrial revolution, had a disastrous effect upon the old Chinese society. China’s old order was challenged, attacked, undermined and overwhelmed within every social sphere by a complex series of processes – political, economic, social, ideological and cultural that had

been activated by encroachment of an alien, more powerful society”\textsuperscript{34}.

This model has been of very big influence on many Chinese scholars and is regarded as a main point of reference within historical research on late Qing diplomacy. The Qing government, prior to 1861, was strongly influenced by traditional ideas in every aspect of its foreign relations. One traditional idea that was the basic tenet of Qing diplomacy was that whereby the Qing court did not perceive other countries as equal political entities. From the Chinese perspective, East Asia was the entire world. When China engaged with other nations, it was in the context of its ever-expanding world, at whose centre was the Chinese emperor. The Qing government broadly grouped the countries it dealt with into “Tributary states” and “Mutual trading states”\textsuperscript{35}.

Many Europeans had contact with China over the centuries. When Marco Polo (馬可·波羅) traveled to China in the 13th century, he found European artisans already at the court of the Great Khan (成吉思汗). In the 16th and 17th centuries, priests such as the Italian Matteo Ricci (利瑪竇)\textsuperscript{36} journeyed to China, learned Chinese, and tried to make their religion more acceptable to the Chinese people. These contacts were made usually by individual entrepreneurs or solitary missionaries. Although some Western science, art, and architecture were welcomed by the Qing court, attempts to convert Chinese to Christianity were by and large unsuccessful. More importantly,

\textsuperscript{34} Cited from the study of John Fairbank and Ssu-Yu Teng, \textit{China’s Response to the West}, New York: Atheneum, 1963, p. 1


\textsuperscript{36} For more information about Matteo Ricci please visit “Ricci Institute Library Online Catalog” http://riccilibrary.usfca.edu/
the Chinese state did not lend its support to creating a significant number of specialists in Western thinking\textsuperscript{37}.

Direct oceanic trade between China and Europe began during the 16th century. At first it was dominated by the Portuguese and the Spanish, who brought silver from the Americas to exchange for Chinese silks. Later they were joined by the British and the Dutch. Initially trading took place at several ports along the Chinese coast, but gradually the state limited Western trade to the southern port of Canton (Guangzhou). Here there were rich Chinese merchants who had been given monopoly privileges by the emperor to trade with foreigners. Merchant guilds trading with foreigners were known as “Hongs” The original merchant associations had been organized by streets. The merchants of the selected hongs were also among the only Chinese merchants with enough money to purchase large amounts of goods produced inland and have them ready for the foreign traders when they came once a year to make their purchases. \textsuperscript{38}

The Chinese court also favored trading at one port because it could more easily collect taxes on the goods traded if all trade was carried on in one place under the supervision of an official appointed by the emperor. Such kind of a system would make it easier to control the activities of the foreigners as well. So in the 1750s trade was restricted to Canton, and foreigners coming to China in their sail-powered ships were allowed to reside only on the island of Macao as they awaited favorable winds to return home\textsuperscript{39}.

\textsuperscript{37} Columbia University, An Initiative of the East Asian Curriculum Project and the Project on Asia in the Core Curriculum: \url{http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/china/modern/tch_mcem.htm}


As the author has pointed out in the first chapter of this study, in the former periods of Chinese history, Chinese people mostly thought of themselves as far superior to Westerners. Because of this image against to West, China did not want to learn their society and historical events. China was already closed herself to West and their negative or positive influence. However, with the journey of missionaries, Chinese people still have had connections with them but such a little connection would not enough to understand the world of Westerners.

During the Jesuit (耶穌會) period, European knowledge trickled to China mostly through the handiwork and services of the missionaries themselves. The Chinese people were yet to be fully convinced that there was a need to Westernize for modernity. This was begun to change after China’s historical defeat in the Opium War with the rise of the supporters of Western science and technology. After this war and defeat for the first time, the floodgate of European knowledge was opened up and kept open. To the internal decline of the Qing dynasty was added the external

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40 The Jesuit Period of China: The history of the missions of the Jesuits in China in the early modern era stands as one of the most notable events in the early history of relations between China and the Western world. The missionary efforts and other work of the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits between the 16th and 17th century played a significant role in introducing Western knowledge, science, and culture to China. Their work laid much of the foundation for much of Christian culture in Chinese society today. Members of the Jesuit delegation to China were perhaps the most influential Christian missionaries in that country between the earliest period of the religion up until the 19th century, when significant numbers of Catholic and Protestant missions developed. After their efforts in converting Chinese people, they created a Chinese-Christian society in China. The thoughts of west were learned by Chinese people. The missionaries have a very important effect in China. Jesuits and Chinese people have many conflicts in later periods too. For more information you may read: Stephen K. Batalden, Kathleen Cann, John Dean, Sowing the word: the cultural impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804–2004, Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2004, Thomas Woods, How the Catholic Church Built Western Civilization, Washington, DC: Regenery, 2005. On 19th century and rural life of China please refer to; Hsiao Kung-ch'uan, Rural China; Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century, USA: Seattle University of Washington Press, 1960.
intrusion of Western powers. For, at the turn of the 19th century, Western powers, urged on by their ever-expanding colonial successes, began to demand the opening of China’s doors to trade.\footnote{Quoted from Kent Deng, \textit{Movers and Shakers of Knowledge in China during the Ming-Qing Period}, pp. 30–31. Internet resource of Kent Deng. Please refer to web site of London School of Economics and Political Science: \url{http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/economicHistory/GEHN/GEHNPDF/GEHN9Deng.pdf}}

On the other hand, as a self-sufficient country for centuries, China had no need for trade with others. In addition, convinced of her cultural superiority, China’s relations with non-Chinese countries were based on the tribute system, an unequal system in which China treated China before the First Opium War would not recognize any other state as equal to herself. Foreign relations were considered as part of a hierarchical order consisting of the “Middle Kingdom” and the barbarians on the periphery. Barbarian countries were all regarded as tributary states only\footnote{This passage was quoted from History web base “\textit{Corner of the World}”, more information can be found at: \url{http://www.thecorner.org/hist/essays/china/canton-system.htm}}.

As elsewhere in Asia, in China the Portuguese were the pioneers, establishing a foothold at Macao, from which they monopolized foreign trade at the Chinese port of Guangzhou. Soon the Spanish arrived, followed by the British and the French. Trade between China and the West was carried on in the guise of tribute: foreigners were obliged to follow the elaborate, centuries-old ritual imposed on envoys from China’s tributary states. There was no conception at the imperial court that the Europeans would expect or deserve to be treated as cultural or political equals. The sole exception was Russia, the most powerful inland neighbor. The Manchus were sensitive to the need for security along the northern land frontier and therefore were prepared to be realistic in dealing with Russia. The Treaty of Nercinsk (尼布楚條約) (1689) with the Russians, drafted to bring to an end a series of border conflicts and to
establish a border between Siberia and Manchuria (northeast China) along the Heilong Jiang, this was China’s first bilateral agreement with a European power.\textsuperscript{43}

In 1727 the Treaty of Kiakhta (布連斯奇條約) delimited the remainder of the eastern portion of the Sino-Russian border. Western diplomatic efforts to expand trade on equal terms were rebuffed, the official Chinese assumption being that the empire was not in need of foreign and thus inferior products. Despite this attitude, trade flourished, even though after 1760 all foreign trade was confined to Guangzhou, where the foreign traders had to limit their dealings to a dozen officially licensed Chinese merchant firms.\textsuperscript{44}

Trade was not the only basis of contact with the Westerners. Since the 13th century, Roman Catholic missionaries had been trying to establish their church in China. Although by 1800 only a few hundred thousand Chinese had been converted, the missionaries (mostly Jesuits) contributed greatly to Chinese knowledge in such fields as cannon casting, calendar making, geography, mathematics, cartography, music, art, and architecture. The Jesuits were especially adept at fitting Christianity into a Chinese framework and were condemned by a papal decision in 1704 for having tolerated the continuance of Confucian ancestor rites among Christian converts. The papal decision quickly weakened the Christian movement, which it proscribed as heterodox and disloyal.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{43} Quoted from China Assistor. This is a news internet web site for China and her Politics. The author quoted the part from this web site, for more information and see the whole article please refer to http://chinapedia.chinaassistor.com/2007/1026/1193375398_4522.html

\textsuperscript{44} Chaos research group’s web site. The Chaos Group at Maryland since the mid-1970s, has done extensive research in various areas of chaotic dynamics ranging from the theory of dimensions, fractal basin boundaries, chaotic scattering, controlling chaos are making researches on many topics. For more information please visit the web site of Chaos: http://www-chaos.umd.edu/history/modern.html

\textsuperscript{45} Country Studies, This website contains the on-line versions of books previously published in hard copy by the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress as part of the Country Studies Area
Not after being defeated in the war China saw many invaders in her borders but she had to deal with them by one by. Northern and southern part was totally divided different kind of interests by foreign powers. China was having trade relations with West for more than couple of hundred years. Till the Imperialism gained importance in the west during the Industrial Revolution in Britain, Western countries turned their face to the East. At that time in the East there was Ottoman Empire which was called “The Sick Man”\(^{46}\). Once one of the strongest empires of the world and at that time was suffering internal and external problems. With the force of seeking new territories westerners were moving to south and east.

In the east other prays were India and sure weak China with vast territory and rich natural resources. From the start of the thought “Search for weak land and colonize them” Western interests grew gradually on China. For China 19th century was the meeting time with the evil face of Imperialism.

The Manchus continued to treat Europeans as just another type of barbarian, although the advances by Europeans in science and industry made them dangerous rivals to the empire. Confrontation occurred over the importation of opium from India into China. The British had lacked commodities, apart from silver, to exchange for Chinese goods. Opium reversed the trade balance in their favor, but the Chinese saw the trade as a threat to their economy and social order. Silver left the country and

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opium addiction became rampant. Government efforts to check the problem failed until the 1830s, when an important official, Lin Ze Xu, came to end the trade at Canton and nearby.47

After the British Opium trade in Canton region China has started to face the negative effects of opium trade on her society. Till that time West was not dangerous for China. In the Chinese history, Chinese people always think that danger comes from near the borders not from far places. However, the West’s imperialism ideology changed the plans. Western countries launched a massive attack to East part of the world. In 19th century invasion and colonization period began on East Asia. After Chinese people saw and learned what West want from her, they started to deal with foreigners. The author wants to emphasize that they had to learn how to deal with the West.

China had not enough skills on dealing with the West and this is the biggest handicap of Chinese society. Because till Qing Dynasty, China has saved her own ideology and solved the matters with her own way. After they saw the Western treat, they started to learn the Western thought and dealt with the foreigners with adopting Western logic. In this period many scholars and students went abroad and came home with many different thoughts of West. This led China to new future through her history.

47Civilizations in Crisis: The Ottoman Empire, The Islamic Heartland, and Qing China, please refer to: http://occawlonline.pearsoned.com/bookbind/pubbooks/stearns_awl/medialib/IM/ch32.pdf This website provides the readers a limited e-book. The book name is World Civilizations. The primary goal of World Civilizations is to present a truly global history. For more information please visit their web site; http://occawlonline.pearsoned.com/bookbind/pubbooks/stearns_awl/
2.1.2 First Challenge Against to West

After the beginning of 19th century Westerners have started to have more and one sided relations with China. The rising Imperialism of Europe and their demand for new resources changed their direction to China. As a result if that Western powers have started to bear more interests on China and her rich resources. With the new and powerful weapons it would be easy to control China and her resources. After the First Opium War, Britain has forced China to accept their demands. They knew that China could not fight with them and this was the time for deeper invasion.

China has already lived some conflicts with foreigners in her borders but these conflicts were small scale problems especially was trade problems between the merchants and Chinese. These problems never became international fights like Opium Wars, they remained just local conflicts. China’s first big conflict with the West appeared in 19th century with the First Opium War⁴⁸.

Although Japan has started its modernization with the Meiji Restoration (明治維新) (1868 – 1912) a couple of years later than China, Japan has gained more effective results in a very short time. In a very short time Japan has already managed to surpass China in technology and military power. Western interest grew gradually on China and became the most dangerous event for China during the 19th century. Even in the ancient China, Mogol attacks did not harm China as West and Japanese did in 19 and 20th century. This period saw the hardships and changes in Chinese society. New thoughts from West came in the country and the new China has started

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to rise. For Chinese people it would take more than 100 years to fight with West and the Japanese and in this long time Chinese have learned their experiences.  

19th century has seen a new China and totally big change (or we call it reform) from ancient to modern thought among Chinese scholars. China sent many young students and scholars to Western countries for education. When they came back home with new thoughts these young intellectuals began to criticize the system. The young intellectuals were looking for new, modern and democratic China.

This would lead China to open another page in her history. During 18th and 19th centuries new leaders and new thoughts emerged, some of these were Li Hong Zhang, Sun Yat Sen (孫中山), Liang Qi Chao (梁啟超), Mao Ze Dong (毛澤東); etc…

From a point of the given first steps about the China’s modernization period the author wants to add that; “Self-Strengthening Period is a very complicated and hard period for China and her people. Before, during and after this period many foreigners have acted at the same time but in the different parts of China and eventually the structure of Chinese social life began to change. This was the reason of foreigners in the borders of Middle Kingdom.”

The Western impact on Chinese society and the background is the first starting point of this study. Here the author’s ultimate will is making the first step clear for the coming events in Chinese History. The understanding of China’s social and economic life will give very clear details about that period’s life. The author can say that the building a background for upcoming events are the keys of coming chapters. Thus the periods and figures would be clearer for the readers of this study.

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2.2 China’s Social and Economic Environment in the Beginning of 19th Century

Historians wrote that Qing Dynasty was a foreign rule over China. The Qing Dynasty was the second time when the whole of China was ruled by foreigners, the Manchu. Manchu males had the custom of braiding hair into a pigtail known as a queue. During the Qing Dynasty, the Manchus enforced this custom onto the Han population, and any male who was seen without pigtail outdoors was to be beheaded. The Qing favored an isolationist policy, which proved fatal. The lack of trade hurt China economically. Qing period is the key period between the ancient China and modern China.  

This period was the transforming period for China and Chinese people, in the beginning of 18th century China was meeting with foreigners; the contact with West has affected the social life and economic life of Qing Dynasty. One common view of the 19th century was that, it was an era in which Qing control weakened, and prosperity reduced. China suffered large social conflicts, economic stagnation, and explosive population growth. With the rule of Dao Guang Emperor (道光帝)-(1820-1850), China has increasingly connected to Russia, the West, and later Japan.

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50 Ewin Moise, *Downward Social Mobility in Pre-revolutionary China, Modern China*, USA: North Carolina, Volume 3, No: 1, January 1977, pp. 3-31. The text is available to subscribers on JSTOR.  
International and global influence was more freely allowed into the country, Great Britain especially was interested in trading with China for silk and tea. Before the contact of foreigners China had her own way of life most affected by Confucianism.

After the middle years of the 19th century, partly as a consequence of new professions brought in by Westerners, but also because of the decay in political stability a factor which almost always in Chinese History has introduced at least temporarily a large measure of social mobility. The lower gentry became both larger and more uncertain in its social status. Thanks to China’s now virtually complete and highly efficient hub and spoke transport to market network, novel ways of earning money pioneered in the treaty ports could gradually come to affect income sources in the cities of the interior. Conversely, the treaty ports provided new outlets and hence stimulus for growth in traditional products and services in Chinese borders.

As a consequence, the opportunities (and dangers) that formerly existed only in and around Canton City soon spread to fifteen other cities and the still larger number of lesser urban areas. By the end of the century, treaty-port-like extraterritoriality for Westerners existed in nine times that many urban areas.\(^{52}\)

The author’s point is showing the process of Western effect in China. I was slow but very effective for foreigners. The author wants to underline that Qing Dynasty (Especially 19th century) is the key period of Chinese society that making the closest relations with the West. Many countries including England, Russia, Germany, France, United States… etc. have had interests on China and her resources.

In this period the rival Japan started to get closer China because of their interest in Chinese Mainland and the islands including the most important one; Taiwan.

All these turned into a very massive invasion in China. China stepped in a new period which was the one of the worse period in her history. Rebellions all around the country, foreign pressure, stagnations on the politics and economic affairs was about the start.

The Qing period was the era in which China came into conflict with Europe. Spreading around the globe, Europeans more and more confidently asserted economic monopolies and political power all around the globe, from the Americas to Africa to India and, eventually, to China herself.

As the Qing dynasty wore on, Europeans increasingly began to enforce their economic and political will through the use of arms; this practice would eventually be called “Gunboat Diplomacy” (砲艦外交) in the 19th century. The history of conflict between Europe and China slowly developed over the 17th and 18th centuries; by the middle of the 19th century, Chinese and European relations had so degraded that England sent warships in order to preserve its despicable trade in opium to the Chinese people in Canton during the winter months.

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53 Gunboat Diplomacy can be defined in a general way as any aggressive diplomatic activity carried out with the implicit or explicit use of military (usually naval) power. J. Cable, *Gunboat diplomacy, 1919–1991: Political Applications of limited Naval Force* (third edition), UK, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994, p.14. Gunboat diplomacy had its origins in the Opium War, when the Chinese rebelled against the British importation of opium into China, and the British response was to send a gunboat up the Yangtze River. From the web data base please refer to:

http://www.worldfreeinternet.net/news/nws2.htm
2.2.1 Qing Society in 19th Century

The author believes that, understanding the Chinese society from surface would make the readers more clear about late Qing period. With all the turbulence in Qing China, Chinese people still were living their own lives. Mostly farmer populated China was closed to the new technologies but the old Chinese style life could be seen most of the society. 54

a) Scholar-gentry

In Qing dynasty all government officials were selected by the Civil Service Examinations held regularly by the government in the provinces or at the capital. If one is successful, the candidates would be given academic degrees. These degree-holders would then enjoy special privileges of dress, law and social position. They would become the scholar-gentry. As no more than 5% of them could become officials, the majority of the scholar-gentry stayed in local villages or cities as social leaders. The scholar-gentry carried out social welfare measures, taught in private schools, helped decide minor legal disputes, supervised community projects, maintained local law and order, conducted Confucian ceremonies, assisted in the government’s collection of taxes, and preached Confucian moral teachings. As a class, these scholars represented morality and virtue. Although they received no official salary and were not government officials, their contributions and cooperation were

much needed by the district magistrate in governing local areas. The relations between this scholar-gentry class and the imperial dynasty were two ways: 55

a- The scholar-gentry depended on the dynasty for academic degrees and official recognition as social leaders.

b- The dynasty in return depended on the scholar-gentry for: 1. running local affairs and informal administration, 2. Confucian recognition of the ruling dynasty as a lawful one in Chinese history.

b) Peasants

The majority of the population was peasants in China. By the end of the 19th century, the number of people approached 300 million. However China was so undereducated that most of her peasants did not know how to read and write. They stayed in their villages and seldom went to other places. They looked to the scholar-gentry for social leadership and were usually obedient and passive. By the 19th century, it is estimated that a direct magistrate, the lowest level official responsible for all local administration, might be responsible for as many as 250,000 people.

Small wonder that when real crises came, officials in government were powerless to avoid them, and people had nothing to fall back on except for some

meager donations and national and international relief efforts, which reached few people. 56

To get an idea of the extent of the suffering in the late 19th century look closely at the woodblock prints from the China Famine Relief Fund distributed in Europe. As you view them, keep in mind that they were produced during one of the most disastrous famines in recent Chinese history, which took place between years 1876 - 1879. It affected all five provinces of north China and claimed at least 9.5 million lives57.

The immediate cause was a three year drought which withered crops from 1873- 1879. But when life became too difficult, the peasants might become rebels, challenging the dynasty and causing social troubles. A story tells us the very touching and hard times of late Qing Dynasty period in China;

This selection is a Chinese woman’s account of the period ten years later when another great famine afflicted North China. When she was old, this woman, Ning Lao Tai Tai, narrated the story of her harsh life. At the time of this story, she is a young woman with two children, married to a man who has turned out to be an opium addict. (By the late 19th century, it is estimated that in some areas of China, as much as 80% of the population of villages were frequent users of opium, and the average is estimated at perhaps 10% of the entire population.) This selection tells what life was like for her in North China in 1887-88;

56 Quoted from Columbia University, An Initiative of the East Asian Curriculum Project and the Project on Asia in the Core Curriculum http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/china/modern/crisis.htm
57 Quoted from Columbia University, An Initiative of the East Asian Curriculum Project and the Project on Asia in the Core Curriculum, http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/
“Day after day I sat at home. Hunger gnawed. What could I do? My mother was dead. My brother had gone away. When my husband brought home food I ate it and my children ate with me. A woman could not go out of the court. If a woman went out to work the neighbors all laughed.” They said, “So and so’s wife has gone out to service.” Or they said, “So and So’s daughter has gone out to service.” I did not know enough even to beg. So I sat at home and starved. I was so hungry one day that I took a brick, pounded it to bits, and ate it. It made me feel better.

How could I know what to do? We women knew nothing but to comb our hair and bind our feet and wait at home for our men. When my mother had been hungry she had sat at home and waited for my father to bring her food, so when I was hungry I waited at home for my husband to bring me food.

Unfortunately, my husband has sold everything we owned before. There was a fur hat. He wanted to sell it. But I begged him not to sell it.

“Let’s keep this.” It was my uncle’s. “Take my coat.” He took the coat and sold it for grain. When he came home for food he drank only two bowls of millet gruel. I wondered why he ate so little. I looked and found that the hat was gone, and knew that he had sold it for opium. Those who take opium care not for food.

One year after my mother died I got a stick and a bowl and started out begging. It was the spring of the year and I was
twenty-two. It was no light thing for a woman to go out of her home. That is why I put up with my old opium sot so long. But now I could not live in my house and had to come out. When I begged I begged in the parts of the city where I was not known, for I was ashamed. I went with my begging stick (the little stick with which beggars beat off dogs) up my sleeve, that people should not see it. Every day we went out begging. My husband carried the baby and led Mantze. When we came to an open gate I would send her in, for people’s hearts are moved by a child....

**c) Handicraft workers**

There were few handicraft workers, as industry was scarce in Qing China. Peasants took up much of handicraft manufacturing as a part-time job. As a social class, the workers were not united.

**d) Merchants**

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59 Quoted from History web data base: [http://www.thecorner.org/hist/china/hdreform.htm](http://www.thecorner.org/hist/china/hdreform.htm)
They were socially looked down upon. But they were much wealthier than the other people in the society. Most of them lived in towns and big cities, and maintained good relations with government officials through gifts or outright corruption. This was the first rule of corrupted society in China at that time. Business was done under official supervision and permission. Consequently, unlike the European middle-class, Chinese merchants failed to form an independent power against the old ruling class. This class grew in Canton region because of the Western trade.  

2.2.2 Qing Economy in 19th Century

China experienced many changes during the early Qing dynasty. Many of them were found in the economic sphere. China had remained largely an agricultural society in which 85% of the population was farmers. In the South of China the wet climate made it possible to grow rice. In the North, the dry climate with regular rainfall meant the main crop was wheat. During the early Qing Chinese farms were still small and they were not commercial farmers.  

The period of the Qing bought about many changes. One of the most important was the rise in population. By the end of the 18th century the population had already risen from 70 million to 300 million people, during the period of the late

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60 For a reference book please see; Elizabeth Sinn, Power and Charity: A Chinese Merchant Elite in Colonial Hong Kong, Hong Kong Uiversity Press, 2003. Dr. Sinn’s book is a important reading material for anyone wishing to understand Hong Kong society and politics in the 19th century.

Ming and early Qing dynasties. Today just the Mainland China’s population is more than 1.3 billion.

There were several reasons that can account for this huge rise in population. The first is that under the Qing dynasty there was a long period of peace and stability. There was no foreign invasion or internal disputes. Another reason was the import of new crops China received from the Americas. These crops included peanuts, sweet potatoes and maize. New species of rice from Southeast Asia grew more quickly. Overall there was a huge increase in production altogether.\textsuperscript{62}

Some changes brought calamities to Chinese people. The rise in population put an heavy amount of pressure on the land. The increase in population led to smaller farms because there was not enough land. To make land available the Imperial Court of China tried to stop wealthy land owners from keeping too much land so that there was vacant land for smaller farmers. Towards the 18th century the majority of the land that could be irrigated was already being cultivated. The lack of land led to dispute and unrest in the communities as families suffered from having little food.

A further change during the Qing dynasty was the expansion of manufacturing and trade. Before this expansion these had a limited existence within China. A novel geographic versatility existed. Merchants, peasants, skilled and unskilled workers left their communities in search of opportunities. Generally the movement was from less urbanized regional systems to more urbanized ones and then it also became a movement of permanence. Trade began to grow rapidly. However, parts of the Chinese world that were not connected to the international market had lingering effects, which even now hold back their economic growth.

\textsuperscript{62} This part was quoted in Sun Menlo School’s web site, please refer to:  
During the early Qing Dynasty many economic opportunities arose. In pre-modern economies basic business was kept within the family. The opportunities that developed during the early Qing encouraged a shared partnership. Men that had gone to urbanized regions wished to establish businesses and existing firms were looking for trustworthy workers from among fellow natives. Guild organizations were set up for merchants traveling from different providences and provided food, lodging and legal protection. Examples of the share partnership are trading empires built by Anhui and Shanxi merchants\textsuperscript{63}.

The large rise in population and the expansion of trade and manufacture were the main economical changes of the Qing dynasty. Despite all this China still did not develop the commercial capitalism that was in Europe. Trade and manufacture was still more limited in China than it was in Europe.\textsuperscript{64}

2.2.2 Qing Administration

The administrative system of the Qing dynasty evolved out of its predecessor the Ming Dynasty. In its most developed state, the Qing government was centered on the Emperor as the absolute ruler presiding over six ministries (or boards), each headed by two Supreme Secretaries and assisted by four Assistant Secretaries. Unlike


the Ming system however Qing’s racial policy dictated that appointments were split between Chinese mandarins who have passed the highest levels of state examinations and Manchu noblemen. The six ministries and their respective areas of responsibilities were as follows:

**Board of Civil Appointments** The personnel administration of all civil officials - including evaluation, promotion, and dismissal. It was also in charge of the “Honors list.”

**Board of Finance** For much of the Qing’s history the government’s main source of revenue came from taxation on landownership supplemented by official monopolies on essential household items such as salt and tea. Thus “Household” in a predominantly agrarian Qing dynasty was the basis of imperial finance. The department was charged with revenue collection and the financial management of the government.

**Board of Rites** This was responsible for all matters concerning protocol at court, which included not just the periodic worshipping of ancestors and all manners of gods by the Emperor in his capacity as the Son of Heaven to ensure the smooth running of the empire, but also looking after the welfare of visiting ambassadors from tributary nations. Democracy was unknown to pre-Republican China; neo-Confucian philosophy saw state sponsored exams as the way to legitimize a regime by allowing the intelligentsia participation in an otherwise autocratic and unelected system.

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Board of War This unit was different than its Ming Dynasty predecessor. The Ming dynasty had full and stronger control over all military affairs. However, in the Qing dynasty, Board of War has very limited powers. Firstly of all, the Banner Armies were under the direct control of the Emperor and hereditary Manchurian & Mongolian princes, leaving the ministry only with authority over the Green Standard Armies.

Board of Punishment Handled all legal matters including the supervision of various law courts and prisons. The Qing legal framework was much weaker than modern day legal systems as there was no separation of executive and legislative branches of government. The legal system could be inconsistent and at times arbitrary because the emperor ruled by decree and had final say on all judicial outcomes. Emperors could, and did, overturn judgments of lower courts from time to time. Fairness of treatment was also an issue under the apartheid system practiced by the Manchu government over the Han Chinese majority. To counter these inadequacies and keep the population in line, the Qing maintained a very harsh penal code towards the Han populous, but no more severe than previous Chinese dynasties.

Board of Works Handled all governmental building projects including palaces, temples and also the repairs of water ways and flood canals. It was also in charge of minting coinage.

In addition to the six boards there was a Feudatory Affairs Office unique to Qing government. This institution originated to oversee the welfare of Qing’s

67 University of Maryland web site; Please refer to ;
http://www-chaos.umd.edu/history/imperial3.html#regain
Mongolian allies. As the empire expanded, it took over administrative responsibility of all minorities ethnic groups living in and around the empire including early contacts with Russia seen then as a tribute nation. The office had the status of a full ministry and was headed by equal ranking officials. However, appointees were at first restricted only to candidates of Manchurian and Mongolian ethnicity.\(^{69}\)

However, Qing policy changed with the establishment of Xinjiang province in 1884. In response to British and Russian military action in Xinjiang and Tibet, the Qing sent New Army units which performed well against British units\(^{70}\).

The abdication of the Manchu Emperor, who had integrated the Empire, inevitably led to the controversy about the status of the Qing outer territories. It was and remains the position of Mongols and Tibetan nationalists, that because they owed allegiance to the Qing monarch in a personal capacity, that with the abdication of the Qing, they owed no allegiance to the Chinese state. This position was rejected by the new Republic of China and subsequent People’s Republic of China which have claimed that these areas remained integral parts of China. The Western powers accepted the latter theory, largely in order to prevent a scramble for China\(^{71}\).

The 19th century brought developments over China that worsened the economical backwardness that was already seen after the long and glorious reigns of the three emperors Kang Xi (康熙帝), Yong Zheng (雍正帝) and Qian Long (乾隆帝).

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\(^{71}\) Art History web data base, for more information please see: [http://www.arthistoryclub.com/](http://www.arthistoryclub.com/), This part was written with the help of Art History: [http://www.arthistoryclub.com/art_history/Qing_Dynasty](http://www.arthistoryclub.com/art_history/Qing_Dynasty)
China has been and still is a vast emporium that challenges the economical and political abilities of the ruling class.\textsuperscript{72}

The two main problems are the question of centralized or decentralized administration, and to what extent the state should control the economy for the sake of the population and to fill the state treasure. Both questions should also be crucial for the economical, technical and political backwardness of the 19th century China. A political, economical and social system that had been proved effectively for two thousand years seemed to have no need for change or modernization. In the eyes of the Westerners the political and social sphere of China had been unchanged since thousands of years. The economical sphere meanwhile seemed to have been influenced by Europeans and at least experienced some modernization after Chinese mandarins became aware of China’s economical backwardness. But in fact, economical changes already took place since the mid of 18th century.\textsuperscript{73}

The biggest and most important money lending institutes of Qing China were in Shanxi and at the beginning of 19th century,\textsuperscript{74} new financing methods like letter of credit, transfers, loans, and saving deposits became more widespread in Qings business affairs. The author of this study thinks that this is because of the Western effect in China. Chinaware, tea, brocade and cotton were produced in specialized regions and cities. Merchants and producers formed non-governmental guilds with comprehensive administrative functions.\textsuperscript{75}


\textsuperscript{73} China knowledge History web site: http://www.chinaknowledge.de/History/Qing/qing-event.html

\textsuperscript{74} Cited from Chinese history web site; http://www.chinaknowledge.de/History/Qing/qing-event.html

\textsuperscript{75} Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, please refer to: http://jds.cass.cn/english/20061130110149.asp
While in the western USA, a lack of a labour force lead to the development of industrial agriculture, whereas surplus of labour in China was an impediment for technological innovation. And moreover, the social groups making profit and living in wealth, like the salt traders of the lower Yangtze valley, did consume their income rather for luxury instead of investing in long-term business like a heavy industry. The lack of governmental interference into the sphere of the economy left this field a prey for the penetrating Western merchants.

2.3 East India Company and English Trade in China during 1800’s

In this period China was still adopting the closing policy against to the world. The trade was doing just in Canton harbour. The most important trade partner was England. English East India Company was in the Canton region since 1715 and they were controlling all the trade actions in Canton region.  

Besides, the East India Company has its own monopoly on the trade actions between all the foreigners, even the other traders had to get an allowance from East India Company. Great Britain especially was interested in trading with China for silk and tea. However, the British did not have anything that was easy to import to China. Great Britain and other European nations, desiring her silk, tea and porcelain,

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wanted badly to trade with China. China, however, wanted nothing to do with Europe, and even refused to see European diplomats\textsuperscript{78}.

Finally in 1793, a British diplomat was successful in reaching the Chinese court. He told the Chinese of the wonderful products of his country, convinced that once they really knew what Europe had to offer, they would quickly agree to engage in trade. China, however, was unmoved. In a letter to King George, the emperor said:

“As your Ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious, and have no use for your country’s manufactures. . . Our Celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its own borders. There was therefore no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our own produce. But as the tea, silk and porcelain which the Celestial Empire produces, are absolute necessities to European nations and to yourselves, we have permitted, as a signal mark of favour, that foreign hongs (merchant firms) should be established at Canton, so

\textsuperscript{78} In June 1793 Lord George Macartney sailed up the China coast on a ship designated as bearing tribute. Chinese authorities saw his mission as desire to honor the Qianlong emperor on his 80th birthday. In fact, Macartney intended to request regular tariff rates, a diplomatic residence in Beijing, and other concessions. For that reason he refused to kowtow to the Qing emperor. Macartney’s refusal to kowtow at court was tolerated, but nothing came of his negotiations with Qing authorities. Macartney saw his mission as a failure, although he personally turned a profit of over 20,000 pounds. He called the Chinese emperor “An old, crazy, first-rate man-of-war” in his personal journal, and predicted China’s downfall. After this incident some problems began to rise between Chinese and British, Spence Jonathan, \textit{The Search for Modern China}, Second Edition, Norton, New York, 1999, p.123.
that your wants might be supplied and your country thus participate in our beneficence.”

Because Chinese goods were so popular in Europe, an imbalance of trade developed. European gold and silver went to China to import goods, but none returned because there was no possibility of export. This was unacceptable to the British and they desperately looked for a solution. England was buying but not selling anything to China and this became a very crucial problem between China and England. The deficit in the trade of England between two countries was increasing and England was not happy about that until they began importing opium.

2.3.1 Opium And Lin Ze Xu

Although opium had been used in China for medicinal purposes for a long time, it had not been used as a recreational drug. By 1729, the year in which the emperor first placed a ban on its importation, only some 200 chests (each of about 130 pounds of the drug) were coming in annually. At first the lead in what was now to become an illegal trade was taken by the Portuguese, but these were displaced by British merchants in the latter stage of the eighteenth century, by which time well over 1,000 chests per annum were being smuggled in.

79 History web data base:  http://www.historywiz.com/downfall.htm
80 This part was quoted from the Minnesota State University’s Chinese studies data base: http://www.mnsu.edu/emuseum/prehistory/china/later_imperial_china/qing.html
82 Shirley Ye Sheng, Eric H. Shaw, USA: Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University, The Evil Trade that
The reason for Britain’s ascendancy was the gradual takeover of the administration of India by the British government and the activities of the British-owned East India Company in advancing trade with China. Many merchant ships, operating under the license of the E.I.C\(^83\), increasingly brought in illegal opium to sell to local intermediaries at Canton, sometimes with the corrupt collusion of local officials. Use of the drug spread everywhere in China and, despite scores of imperial edicts since 1729, it proved impossible to prevent its smuggling.\(^84\)

By the 1820s, over 10,000 chests per annum were brought in illegally. The British introduced opium to China in 1825, and soon, not surprisingly, Chinese began to be addicted to the drug. The emperor outlawed the possession, use, and trade in opium, but the profits were so immense, that an illegal trade quickly developed. The East India Company in India supplied all the opium the Chinese wanted and the Chinese government was unable to stop the smuggling. The balance of trade gradually reversed.

Lin Ze Xu\(^85\), who had first-hand experience in dealing with the invading British forces, pointed out that naval warfare was the British trump and that it would be self-defeating if China did not build a modern navy with gunboats. In 1839 the

\(^{83}\) East India Company.  
\(^{85}\) There is a very valuable reference available in internet pdf format please see; Joshua Cooper Ramo, *Brand China*, UK: London, The Foreign Policy Center, pp. 1-49. This study covers more about China’s emerging power in the world. For more information please see;  
http://www.docstoc.com/docs/5398070/Brand-China
Emperor ordered Commissioner Lin Ze Xu to put a stop to the opium trade. Lin wrote to Queen Victoria (維多利亞女王), appealing to the British sense of justice and compassion:

“We have heard that in your own country opium is prohibited with the utmost strictness and severity: this is a strong proof that you know full well how hurtful it is to mankind. Since then you do not permit it to injure your own country, you ought not to have the injurious drug transferred to another country, and above all others, how much less to the Inner Land! Of the products which China exports to your foreign countries, there is not one which is not beneficial to mankind in some shape or other. There are those which serve for food, those which are useful, and those which are calculated for re-sale; but all are beneficial. Has China (we should like to ask) ever yet sent forth a noxious article from its soil?”

Lin also added to his letter “All the things what we get from outside world no one has a good benefit to us. Take tea and rhubarb, for example; foreign countries cannot get along for a single minute without them. If China cuts off these benefits with no sympathy for those who are suffer, then what can the barbarians rely upon to keep themselves alive?”

86 History web data base: http://www.historywiz.com/downfall.htm
However, Lin received no reply. Left on his own to solve the problem, Lin ordered the destruction of a large supply of opium stored on Chinese soil. (The Chinese had allowed the British one port in which they could trade with China).

2.3.2 The Precautions in Canton Region

A formidable bureaucrat known for his thoroughness and integrity, this key figure was the commissioner Lin Ze Xu. He was sent to Guangdong to halt the importation of opium from British prior to the First Opium War (1838). He confiscated more than 20,000 chests of opium already at the port and supervised their destruction in Humen Town. Later he blockaded the port from European ships. That caused a big reaction in UK. Their money source was hindered by him.

China was in a starting point of making British angry by adopting a stricter policy towards everyone, Chinese or foreign, who brought opium into China. His memorial expressed a desire that Victoria would act “In accordance with decent feeling” and support his efforts. Open hostilities between China and Britain started in 1839. He later blockaded the port from European ships. 88

Because of the economic problems the British had started to smuggle opium to Chinese ports and spread the habit of opium smoking among the Chinese people. By the 1830s, there were some ten million opium addicts in China, leading to a

88 This resources came from Ellen La Motte’s e-book, *The Opium Monopoly*, can be found at; http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/History/om/ommenu.htm please see chapter 7.
serious drain of silver westwards. By 1835, there were already two million opium-smokers in the coastal cities of China.\textsuperscript{89}

From 1800 to 1838, the British had smuggled hundreds of thousand cases of opium into China. At that time Western trade was conducted through the monopolistic official Chinese agents called Cohong (公行)\textsuperscript{90} who were forced to spend half of the year in Macau, were only allowed to live in the (factory area) a small strip of land opposite Guangzhou, and were forbidden to enter the city and bring their wives.

In 1838, Lin Ze Xu was appointed the Imperial Commissioner in charge of dealing with opium smuggling. In 1839, Emperor Dao Guang ordered Commissioner Lin to suppress the entire opium trade. A death penalty was imposed on anyone involved in the trade. Lin discovered 22 British ships, each loaded with a thousand cases of opium. He ordered the owners of the opium to surrender the opium and gave them an ultimatum. The British initially tried to bribe him and surrendered only a thousand cases. When they failed to bribe him, they threatened him. Lin, being a patriot, insisted that they surrender the whole amount. When the British defeated him,

\textsuperscript{89} Qouted from East Asian Studies web site: http://www.eastasianstudies.com/eastasian/5921_01.htm
This web data base provides many information to the readers. Books are available for further studies about China.

\textsuperscript{90} The Cohong: The monopoly of trade resided in a small group of merchants known as the hong merchants. In 1720 they formed themselves into a monopolistic guild known as the Cohong with the function of regulating prices and strengthening their position in the dealing with Chinese government authorities and foreign merchants. In 1760 this system was officially recognised and the Canton authorities had set up the security merchant system. It was instituted that every foreign ship had to find one hong merchant to assume responsibility for its conduct and duties. The hong merchants were directly supervised by the Superintendent of Maritime Customs for Guangdong, better known in the West as the “Hoppo”. The Hoppo was then responsible to collect and levy duties on this Canton trade and send them to the Board of Revenue at Beijing. The governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi was also partly responsible in the supervision of this trading system. The History web data base: http://www.thecorner.org/hist/essays/china/canton-system.htm
he ordered his men to burn all the opium and throw it into the sea. This provoked the British and a clash took place between the forces of the British and Lin’s men. The burning of the opium resulted in the Opium War in 1840.

On August 21, 1840, the Emperor dismissed Lin Ze Xu from his post as Imperial Commissioner and said;

“You have caused this war by your excessive zeal.” the Emperor wrote.

“You have lied to us, disguising in your dispatches the true color of affairs. Instead of helping us, you have only caused confusion to arise. Now, one thousand unending problems are sprouting. You have behaved as if your arms are tied. You are no better than a wooden dummy. As we think about your grievous failings, we become furious, and then melancholy.”

His title was stripped of and he was exiled to the isolated northern frontier province of Ili. In that place he was given the task of supervising large scale irrigation and flood control projects. Lin Ze Xu gradually recovered from the disgrace of his failure to put an end to the opium trade. Ten years after his dismissal, the Emperor again called him back into service. Lin was reinstated as Imperial Commissioner, and assigned to travel to the rebellious province of Guangxi to negotiate with rebel

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92 This part was quoted from Paul Chrastina’s study on: http://opioids.com/opium/opiumwar.html
factions. Lin Ze Xu collapsed and died while going to Guangxi on November 22, 1850, at the age of 67.\textsuperscript{93}

The successive imperial commissioners who replaced Lin Ze Xu in Canton were unable to stop the opium traffic. In conflicts known as the First and Second Opium Wars, British naval and marine forces seized control of Hong Kong, ravaged the Chinese coastline and briefly occupied the capital city of Beijing. In 1858 the Chinese government, bowing to British demands, reluctantly legalized the importation of opium.

2.4 Declaration of the First Opium War, Nanjing Treaty and Aftermath

The Opium War, also called the Anglo-Chinese War, was the most humiliating defeat China ever suffered. In European history, it is perhaps the most sordid, base, and vicious event in European History.

By the 1830’s, the English had become the major drug-trafficking criminal organization in the world; very few drug cartels of the twentieth century can even touch the England of the early nineteenth century in sheer size of criminality. War broke out when Chinese junks attempted to turn back English merchant vessels in November of 1839. Although this was a low-level conflict, it inspired the English to send warships in June of 1840. \textsuperscript{94}

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The Chinese had old-style weapons and artillery and there was no match for the British modern gunships, which ranged up and down the coast shooting at forts and fighting on land. The Chinese were equally unprepared for the technological superiority of the British land armies, and suffered continual defeats. Finally, in 1842, the Chinese were forced to agree to an ignominious peace under the Treaty of Nanjing. The negotiations were protracted because it took days to translate Chinese documents into English and then English documents in Chinese.

2.4.1 Treaty of Nanjing (1842) and Aftermath

The Treaty of Nanjing\(^{95}\), or what the Chinese call the unequal treaties\(^{96}\), forced China to agree to harsh requirements. The Qing had no effective tactics against the powerful British navy. They retaliated merely by setting burning rafts on the enemy's fleet and encouraging people to take the heads of the enemies, for which they offered a prize. The imperial banner troops, although they sometimes fought fiercely, were ill-equipped and lacked training for warfare against the more modern British forces.\(^ {97} \)

The Green Standard battalions (綠營) were similarly in decay and without much motivation or good leadership. To make up the weakness, local militias were urgently recruited, but they were useless. The British proclaimed that their aim was to fight the government officials and soldiers who abused the people, not to make war

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\(^95\) For more information about the treaty please refer to Joint East Asian Studies Center’s web page: http://www.international.ucla.edu/eas/documents/nanjing.htm


against the Chinese population. And indeed there was a deep rift between the
government and the people that the British could easily exploit; a weakness in Qing
society that became apparent during the crisis of the war. After the defeat of Chinese
Army, English government force China to sign unequal treaties.\textsuperscript{98}

According to the main provisions of the treaty, China ceded Hong Kong to
Britain, opened five ports to British trade, abolished the Cohong system of trade,
agreed to equal official recognition, and paid an indemnity of $21 million. This was
the result of the first clash between China, which had regarded foreign trade as a favor
given by the heavenly empire to the poor barbarians, and the British, to whom trade
and commerce had become “The true herald of civilization.” Also China gave
England Most Favoured Nation (最惠國待遇) status thus Chinese helped English
merchants during their trade in China. China was forced to open Fuzhou, Ningbo,
Shanghai and Amoy harbours to English trade. Missionaries have gained many rights
to work in Chinese harbours thus they could introduce China their religion and culture.
In the treatment there was not any subject about opium smuggling.\textsuperscript{99}

In this treaty China lost the control over trade and turned in to a colony of
Imperialist Countries. This was an important period for China because it was opening
to West. While Westerners coming to the China, China was loosing her culture and
power.

After Treaty of Nanjing, other countries forced China to sign new treaties
between them. While the foreigners were coming to China, in the country the dislike
against to foreigners was increasing. The end of the war caused many disorder in
Chinese community, China was forced to pay unequal compensation to England.

\textsuperscript{98} Encyclopedia Britannica please see China profile:
chttp://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/111803/China/71766/Late-Qing
The Treaty of Nanjing was followed by two supplementary arrangements with the British in 1843, in addition, in July 1844 China has signed the Treaty of Wangxia (望廈條約) with the United States and in October the Treaty of Huangpu (黃埔條約) with France. These arrangements made up a complex of foreign privileges by virtue of the most-favoured-nation clauses (guaranteeing trading equality) conceded to every signatory. All in all, they provided a basis for later inroads such as the loss of tariff autonomy, extraterritoriality (exemption from the application or jurisdiction of local law or tribunals), and the free movement of missionaries.\(^{100}\)

With the signing of the treaties which began the so-called treaty-port system the imperial commissioner Qi Ying, newly stationed at Guangzhou, was put in charge of foreign affairs. Following a policy of appeasement, his dealings with foreigners started fairly smoothly. But, contrary to the British expectation, the amount of trade dropped after 1846, and, to British dissatisfaction, the question of opium remained unsettled in the postwar arrangements. The core of the Sino-Western tension, however, rested in an antiforeigner movement in Guangdong.\(^{101}\)

The Opium War, however, had many social and economic effects. It created an entire new level of crime and disorder in Southeast China. The British navy drove away the pirates along the coast and up into Guangdong-Guangxi highlands. There, the pirates would periodically raid plentiful villages up the river. To add to the crime, former militiamen used their weapons for banditry.\(^{102}\)

Feuds between the Punti and Hakkas (two different clans between the North and the South) rose with the crime level. Villages were divided amongst each other like

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\(^{100}\) Quoted in online Encyclopaedia Britannica: http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-71768/China

\(^{101}\) Online Encyclopaedia Britannica: http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-71768/China

Montagues and Capulets. Unemployment was another issue. When Shanghai opened up to foreign trade, it shifted the occupations for the coolies and boatmen who would transport tea and silk throughout the regions in Canton. These thousands of workers were now unemployed since the majority of trade moved from Canton to Shanghai.

The Opium War had led the people of China to witness the destruction of their military and navy by the strongest military force at the time. It led to a greater understanding and appreciation for West, despite their hatred for it. This led many people to consider and try to understand Western doctrines and beliefs.

The Opium War was more than just a simple war. In the end it resulted in the dramatic changes in China economically, socially, and politically. It changed China’s view and relationship with the Western world incredibly. It resulted in a major change in the economy and the social relationship between the people of China and the Qing Dynasty.  

Because of the Opium War, China was left with internal struggles and warfare, increased crime, an economy downfall in Canton, the once major trading city of China, and the economic rise at Shanghai and Hong Kong. It led to the major influence of the Western cultures and belief in China, and the loss of power and control China had over Western nations to the gain of power in the Western nations over China.  

The outcomes of this event changed China’s social, economic, and political thoughts. It resulted in a major change between the relationship of China and Western nations. The unfair treaties left China in weak position to the West, and opened China to Western influence. China’s welfare and economy completely changed, leaving

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people without work and money. Instead it changed and affected China’s economic, political, and social events and developed China into a different direction.  

The author of this study on China’s military modernization wants to add very important information to China’s modernization phase. As the author goes deeper in the study of China the things became clearer than ever. China’s defeat in the Opium War caused a big damage in the society and country. Here we have an important question about the aftermath of the war. Is the First Opium War was a totally disaster or this war have also positive effects on China? The author wants to give a clear answer of this question.

With the effect of being defeated and the curiosity against to West, Chinese people began to search and introduce Westerners to their society. The point is here has a very critical point in author’s study.

Although China lost the war to Westerners, but thereafter, information started to get in the country from the Western countries. As foreigners move in the borders they were converting Chinese people and teaching them Western society. Scholars have started learn more and started get curious about West. With all these effects China and her society gradually started to learn about their enemy and their experiences.

Immediately after the Opium War, there was a surge of information about Europe such as Wei Yuan’s *A Comprehensive Survey of Off-shore Countries* written in 1841, Chen Fengheng’s *A Brief History of England* written also in 1841, Wang Wentai’s *A Study of England of Red-haired Barbarians* written in 1842, and Liang Tingnan’s Four Essays on Off-shore Countries in 1846, Xu Jishe’s *Records of Lands*

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and Peoples Overseas in 1848, and Xia Xie’s Main Events between China and the West in 1850.106

These books were precious resources at that time and Chinese people began to read more about West. New books and thoughts were blooming in Middle Kingdom. As a result of this information in China, one thought has risen up and Chinese people decided the fight with the enemy with enemy’s tactics and experiences. So, China pushed the button of Self-Strengthening Movement.

106 For more information please visit the website and read the Kent Deng’s research, Movers and Shakers of Knowledge in China during the Ming-Qing Period, London School of Economics and Political Science, pp. 24-26.
http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/economicHistory/GEHN/GEHNPDF/GEHN9Deng.pdf
CHAPTER THREE: Self-Strengthening Movement 1861–1895

A critical issue for the Chinese since their defeat in the Opium War in 1842 was how to regain their loss of sovereignty. While most of those responsible for leading China preferred to continue the policies of the past, there were some officials who, in the 1870’s, advocated reform in the form of a “Self-Strengthening Movement” With the slogan, “Learn the superior technology of the barbarian, in order to control him,” the Tongzhi Restoration (同治中興) led to new plans for a modern army and navy, industrialization and changes within the diplomatic corps, but the changes were slow for lack of government support.\(^\text{107}\)

Thomas Kennedy correctly indicates, for example, that for all its weaknesses, the “Self-Strengthening” movement from 1860 to 1894–1895 brought far more comprehensive and far-sighted changes than earlier studies infer. Self-Strengthening Movement; 1861–1895 was a period of institutional reforms initiated during the late Qing Dynasty following a series of military defeats and concessions to foreign powers. In this period China has learned her weakness against to the western powers and started to make many reforms on her system, including military, education, political… etc.

This period was the first time for China to adopt Western technology and carry about many projects under many influential governors and politicians as Li Hong Zhang, Zeng Guo Fan (曾國藩), Zhang Zhi Dong (張之洞), and Zuo Zong Tang (左宗棠)... etc.

In 1861, these important Han generals were able to convince the Qing court to initiate a 30-year “Self-Strengthening” program. Under the new program, the Qing dynasty began to train translators, import Western military technology, and set up armories. The most important goal of the Self-Strengthening Movement was the development of military industries; namely, the construction of military arsenals and of shipbuilding dockyards to strengthen Chinese navy. After the big defeat in Opium Wars showed that the western forces are stronger than Chinese forces. Western technology and commanding skills were much more effective than China’s old Confucian learning and technology.

In order to beat Westerners and catch up their developed technology, their learning and experiences must be learned by Chinese. Thus, China has started to buy and hire Western weapons and trainers during the movement. Opium Wars showed that the most important weakness was navy. That’s why China has decided to built a stronger navy in order to defend herself in the Oceans first. In response to that changes, further unlock the great direction of China modernizing, reforming the decayed situation.

3.1. Self-Strengthening Movement and Empress Dowager Cixi’s Effect on the Movement

The author has already stated as all the historians agreed on a same result; the ultimate aim of the Self-Strengthening Movement was to save the Qing dynasty from being destroyed by internal rebellions and foreign aggression. Besides this movement
targeted development of military industries; namely, the construction of military arsenals and of shipbuilding dockyards to strengthen Chinese navy.

Unlike their successors of a generation later, they were still confident of the basic soundness of a Chinese state and society based on Confucianism. It intended to do this by rejuvenating the dynasty, by rehabilitating the nation’s devastated economy, and by adopting strategies that would result in a China that was economically and militarily stronger. It should not be assumed that the Chinese reformers in the 1860s were trailblazers eager to turn China upside down with their changes. Their way of thinking was still strongly influenced by conservatism, and thus the solutions that they devised would be conservative and not innovative in nature.  

Feng Gui Feng in a series of essays written in 1860, which he presented to Zeng the following year, Feng argued that China must learn to “Strengthen itself” by including foreign languages, mathematics, and science in the curriculum.

Chinese students excelling in these subjects should be granted the provincial examination degree. China was a hundred times larger than France and two hundred times larger than England, Feng wrote, “Why are they small and yet strong? Why are we large and yet weak?” The answers lay in the greater skills of foreigners in four main areas: utilizing all their manpower resources, exploiting their soil to the full, maintaining close bonds between ruler and subjects.


109 溫洽滋, This reference is a e-book in the web base 追尋現代中國 The Search for Modern China, please see: http://wec.shu.edu.tw/corner/culture/wen_index.htm
In order to start building China’s strength, Feng argued and said that; “What we have to learn from the barbarians is only one thing, solid ships and effective guns.” This could be achieved by establishing shipyards and arsenals in selected ports, and by hiring foreign advisers to train Chinese artisans to manufacture such wares in China. The conclusion was very clear: China would first learn from foreigners, than China might surpass them for her future. Would it be easy? Sure not, China was adopting her hundred years old Confucianism and this thought was slowing her down, in order to compete with west china would play the game as Westerners did\textsuperscript{110}.

Confucianism is a very old Chinese ethical and philosophical system originally developed from the teachings of the early Chinese sag. They did not perceive that these values and traditions were inadequate for dealing with 19th century problems. Chinese people have already believed that the disorder and problems that the dynasty was facing were due to China’s was having deviated from basic Confucian principles. Hence, the solution was to reassert Confucian principles and to restore ancient institutions. Any reforms would have to be consistent with the Confucian doctrine of change within tradition. The reform movement did not aim at large scale revamping of the social, economic and political structure of China. It had only limited aims in limited areas like diplomatic, economic, military, and educational.\textsuperscript{111} The Chinese historical experience with the Mongol invasion and the Manchu conquest clearly indicate that military might and material resources alone could not have overwhelmed the Chinese intelligentsia.

\textsuperscript{110}温洽溢老师：白金翻譯家, \textit{The Search for Modern China (追尋現代中國)}, This is a e-book, this part was cited from: \url{http://wec.shu.edu.tw/corner/culture/china_2_9a.htm}

Virtually all prominent Westernizers in China (Zeng Guo Fan, Zhang Zhi Dong, Kang You Wei (康有為) and Liang Qi Chao), Japan and Korea have been Confucian scholar-officials. Although they were fully convinced that Western civilization was superior more advanced in military technology, political institutions and social organizations and that they had to thoroughly transform their own way of life, they were also confident that, through conscientious learning, they would be able to adapt and eventually prevail. This combination of iconoclastic attack on the outmoded feudal past and optimistic assertions about the bright future enabled East Asian intellectuals to persist in their Western learning without losing a firm sense of direction for nation building.\(^{112}\)

The Self-Strengthening Movement was therefore a restorative movement aimed at the preservation of the status quo. Western practices and learning were to be adopted in order to better defend China against the West. Western practices would be adopted only for practical purposes; Confucian learning and principles were to remain the basis of Chinese society.

3.1.1 Empress Dowager Cixi’s Effect on the Movement

As the author of this study underlined many times till this period China was not aware of her weakness of military power. Being closed the outside deeply affected China and her society. When the conflicts started with the West, China saw the gap between their military and western military. West was using best weapons, trained personnel and advanced tactics against to China. Besides China was using outmoded

and traditional army which was trained with old method. Some of the regional leaders have understood the importance and danger of the situation and started to solve the problem as soon as possible. But it was not as easy as they thought.

Dowager Cixi (慈禧太后); Was born on the 29th November 1835, the daughter of an ordinary official. Her Manchu name was Yehonala, which originated from the combined name of two tribes, Yeho and Nala. Her father died when she was very young. As the eldest child, she felt mistreated, neglected and unloved. She once said;

“Ever since I was a young girl, I had a very hard life. I was not happy with my parents, as I was not a favorite. My sisters had everything they wanted, while I was, to a great extent, ignored altogether.”

At the age of fourteen, she was nominated as a candidate-concubine. It was both an honor for her, and also a chance to escape from the misery she felt at her family home. At sixteen, she was chosen to be one of the concubines to Emperor Xian Feng, and on turning eighteen; she completed the ritual preparations necessary to become a royal concubine. Even during her early years, Cixi proved to be strong-willed. Her unhappy and competitive childhood inspired her determination to rise above her peers and head towards her dream of prowess.\(^\text{114}\)

\(^{113}\) Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding, (SACU)’ Web site, please see: http://www.sacu.org/cixi.html The Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding (SACU) was founded over forty years ago to promote friendship and understanding between the peoples of Britain and China. It is a registered UK charity and is the only friendship society of its kind in the country.

Emperor Xian Feng (咸豐帝) had many wives and concubines, but it was only Cixi who bore a son. After his birth she was soon raised in rank from a third-level concubine to a first-level one. When her son turned one, Cixi became a secondary consort - one of the emperor’s wives. Cixi was now called the Empress of the Western Palace. And the emperor trusted her judgment and consulted her constantly on affairs of state.115

However, Emperor Xian Feng died in 1861 at the age of 30. His primary wife, Cixi’s cousin Ci An, had a daughter, but no sons. Therefore Cixi’s five year old son Tongzhi became the emperor. From then her greed for power became insatiable and finally in 1865 she seized the throne, removing another faction from the helm of politics.

She was a strong ruler and put down the rebellions which endlessly threatened her. During her years in power, the Western nations gained great influence in China. Many people thought that the best way to stop the outsiders from taking over completely was to strengthen China with modern inventions like trains and telegraphs. However, Empress Cixi and her advisors were conservative and resisted these changes.116

The empress usually put her own interests ahead of the nations. She squandered money on banquets, jewels, and other luxuries. She liked to use all the power she had. In her dinners were served 150 different dishes at a single banquet. She used a jade cup for drinks and ate with golden chopsticks. She always loved luxury in her life. She used Navy funds to build herself a lavish summer palace. At the

115 SACU’s History web data base, please see: http://www.sacu.org/cixi.html

116 Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding, (SACU) web site, please refer to: http://www.sacu.org/cixi.html
end of her life, her personal jewelry vault held 3,000 ebony boxes of jewels. She also let financial corruption run rampant in the Forbidden City (紫禁城).

Cixi was the biggest obstacle in carrying out the reforms. Her opposition was the most important reason for the failure of the reforms. The Qing government was in her hands and she controlled all the process in the government. Doing something bad against to her was called dead penalty. From the beginning to the end, she was blind at modernization. In Self-strengthening Movement, she did not give any support to the reformers. Her support remained limited. The only thing she cared was her power in the Qing government. This attitude continued to the Hundred Days Reform (戊戌變法). The coup d’état took place and even increased her negative feeling towards the reform. It also enhanced her anti-foreign feeling. Even during the Late Qing Reform, she was not sincere. She was more concerned about her rule, not the strengthening of China. As she never gave her full heart to the reform, the reform movements could not succeed at last.

The Empress Dowager Cixi was fighting with her own affairs to save her power on China. Many historians described Dowager Cixi as one of “the most formidable women in modern history” who could become a terrible enemy if she was antagonized. She was described to be power hungry, ruthless and profoundly skilled in court politics. The regional leaders were trying to get the support of her because of the finance problem. China’s loss in the Second Opium War was 

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117 This part was quoted from http://www.sacu.org/cixi.html and amended by the author.
118 This passage was quoted from History web base “Corner of the World”, more information can be found at: http://www.thecorner.org/hists/assign/chi-ref.htm
undoubtedly a wake-up call for its imperial rulers. Cixi presided over a country whose military strategies, both on land and sea, and in terms of weaponry, were vastly outdated.

Besides, there were important difficulties in communications between China and the Western countries. Sensing an immediate threat from foreigners and realizing that China’s agricultural-based economy could not hope to compete with the industrial power of the West, Cixi made a decision that for the first time in Imperial Chinese history, China would learn from Western powers and import their knowledge and technology. This was a key action from her. Thus China could have chance to follow foreigner’s industrial process.

At the time, three important (here we can use the word key figures) Han Chinese officials, Zeng Guo Fan, Li Hong Zhang and Zuo Zong Tang, had all begun industrial programs in the country’s southern regions. Cixi decided to support these modernization programs because she was getting angry and uncomfortable against to foreigners. The actions of foreigners were already turned into a humiliation as the author of this study emphasized already. Cixi’s big support was decreeing the opening of Tongwen Guan (Interpreters College) in 1862. This was a university-like institution in Beijing that hired foreigners as teachers and specialized in new-age topics such as astronomy and mathematics, as well as the English, French, and Russian languages. Groups of young boys were also sent abroad to the United States.120

China’s “Learn from foreigners” program quickly faced with many different troubles. China’s military institutions were in desperate need of reform, and Cixi’s solution, under the advice of officials at court, was to purchase seven warships from

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UK. When the warships arrived in China, however, they carried with them boatloads of British sailors all under British command and negotiations broke down between the two parties, and China returned the warships to Britain. Scholars sometimes contribute the failure of China’s foreign programs to Cixi’s conservative attitude and old methods of thinking, and contend that Cixi would learn only so much from the foreigners, provided it did not infringe upon her own power. Under the pretext that a railway was too loud and would disturb the Emperor’s tombs, Cixi forbade its construction. The author thinks that the old Chinese customs and superstitions caused these actions in China. When construction went ahead anyway in 1877 under Li Hong Zhang’s recommendation, Cixi wanted that they be pulled by horse-drawn carts. Cixi was observing her neighborhood and relations, especially alarmed at the liberal thinking of people who had studied in Western countries. She saw that it would be a new threat to her power.

In 1881, Cixi put a halt to sending children abroad to study, and withdrew her formerly open attitude towards foreigners. As we can see from the actions of Cixi, it was very hard to deal with the modernization smoothly. 121

China was in danger and time was running. Regional leaders all tried to have good relations with Empress Dowager Cixi so they could have her support for new military establishments. Empress was afraid to lost her power and unwilling to support the leaders. She was giving a limited support because of that military establishments have faced many financial problems. She was thinking about the power of regional leaders. She thought they could be powerful and overthrow her.

That’s why military modernization of China started with the big financial problems. Thus, the leaders have faced with many internal conflicts between them and Cixi.\(^{122}\)

### 3.2 First Steps and Military Establishments during the Movement

Faced with such utter military and cultural humiliation, the Chinese reaction was first one of disbelief, anger and indignation. However, after the initial shock of defeat and humiliation, some of the progressive officials and intellectuals began to realize the need to strengthen China’s military defense. Under the careful and effective leadership of Li Hong Zhang and Zeng Guo Fan, they began to advocate in the 1860’s the adoption of Western scientific and military technology to make China strong and wealthy. Such wealth and power were the underlying concept of the Self-Strengthening Movement, China’s first attempt at modernization by adopting Western techniques and technology.\(^{123}\)

The very early programme was launched by regional leaders. Zeng Guo Fan established the Shanghai arsenal; Li Hong Zhang built the Nanjing and Tianjin arsenals, Zuo Zong Tang constructed the Fuzhou Dockyard. These were the first and most important military units in late Qing China. The arsenals were established with the help of foreign advisors and administrators, such as Léonce Verny who helped


\(^{123}\) In this part the author has quoted very valuable source that was written by Francis Soo. For more information please refer to *China & Modernization - Past & Present*, Studies in East European Thought, Springer Netherlands, Volume 38, Number 1, July 1989, p. 6.

Mr. Soo is a professor at Boston College in Department of Philosophy. Mr. Soo is a professor at Boston College in Department of Philosophy.
build the Ningbo Arsenal in 1862-64, or the French officer Prosper Giquel who directed the construction of the Fuzhou Arsenal in 1867-74. Zeng Guo Fan and Li Hong Zhang worked together to construct the Jiangnan Arsenal. The first modern schools for the study of mechanical skills and navigation under the direction of foreign advisers were established at these arsenals and dockyards. Students were studying here and also learning the new military techniques. These there powerful regional strongmen were able to act rather independently of the central government. Thus, there was little coordination between the provinces and the government. The author thinks that the reasons of their good relations with government were their ability and dealing skills with Qing rulers. ¹²⁴

The most important was the funds of modernization and it was sponsored by the government. They suffered from the usual bureaucratic inefficiency and nepotism. Many of the Chinese administrative personnel were sinecure holders who got on the payroll through influence.

During the late 19th century, many plans and programs, whose main purpose was to improve China’s outmoded military defenses, especially her naval forces, were proposed and implemented. Chief among them were¹²⁵:

(a) Establishing factories and dockyards for shipbuilding;


¹²⁵ In this part the author has used and quoted a very valuable source that was written by Francis Soo. For more information please refer to China & Modernization - Past & Present, Studies in East European Thought, Springer Netherlands, Volume 38, Number 1, July 1989, pp. 1-52. Francis Soo used in his study Immanuel Hsu’s book, The rise of Modern China, London Oxford, 1970, pp. 45-375. Mr. Soo is a professor at Boston College in Department of Philosophy. Mr. Soo is a professor at Boston College in Department of Philosophy.
(b) Creating factories for making guns and machines;

(c) Establishing arsenals in various locations of east part of China;

(d) Establishing the board of Admiralty and the Beiyang Fleet;

(e) Establishing a military academy at Tianjin;

(f) Promoting and launching modern industries and enterprises;

Such as textiles, shipping, mining, telegraph and communication Systems;

(g) Sending officials and students to Western countries (especially to Germany, France, and Britain) and the United States to learn Western Military technology.

Regional leaders needed money to keep the foreigners in their works. However, huge growth in the number of foreign employees had made increased costs so much. It was hard to cover all the expenses of them. Furthermore, officials were not even aware when the foreigners were not capable to perform the tasks that they had been hired to do. The soft behaviors and laxity in procurement practices also caused more money to China. Costs were getting more and more. Many opportunities for corruption problem still existed in construction contracts and in the distribution of workers payments. Problems were sure inevitable because China was doing totally new kind of development in her military and society. The economical problems of Qing government could not afford all the things that regional leaders demanded.
3.2.1 First Military Establishments

As the author has already mentioned in his study of modernization in Chinese military, the most important goal of the Self-Strengthening Movement was the development of military industries. These plans were; construction of military arsenals and of shipbuilding dockyards to strengthen Chinese navy. The programme was handicapped by several problems. In this period it was not so easy to handle the new establishments because the Qing government and especially the Empress Dowager Cixi were observing the steps of regional governors.

The military modernization programme was spearheaded by regional leader. These leaders have led the establishments throughout their regions. These most important military establishments and the regional leaders were:

a) Zeng Guo Fan who established the Shanghai Jiangnan Arsenal.

b) Li Hong Zhang who built the Nanjing and Tianjin Arsenal.

c) Zuo Zong Tang who constructed the Fuzhou Dockyard.

However, except these establishments Chinese regional leaders have also built the others military units in other regions. These were\textsuperscript{126}:

- Guangzhou Arsenal (1874).
- Hangzhou Arsenal (1885).

- Hanyang Ironworks, in Hubei (1890), established by Zhang Zhi Dong (張之洞).
- Hanyang Arsenal (1892).
- Hunan Arsenal (1875).
- Anqing Arsenal (1861), set up by Zeng Guo Fan.
- Beijing Field Force Arsenal (1883).
- Daye Iron Mine (1890), in Hubei.
- Jilin Arsenal (1881).
- Jinling Arsenal (1867) in Nanjing used for making breech rifles and steel.
- Lanzhou Arsenal (1871).
- Mawei Arsenal established near Fuzhou (1866).\(^{127}\)
- Shandong Arsenal (1875), used for gun purchase, making acid and gun powder.
- Sichuan Arsenal (1877).
- Tianjin Arsenal (1867), under Li Hong Zhang used as gunpowder factory and to manufacture acid.
- Taiwan Arsenal (1885).
- Weihaiwei Shipyard (1882), the base for the Beiyang Fleet in "Port Arthur."
- Yunnan Arsenal (1884)
- Xian Arsenal (1869).

Schools\(^{128}\) for the study of mechanical skills and navigation under the direction of foreign advisors were established at these arsenals and dockyards. The author

\(^{127}\) For more information please visit Christopher Wren Association, The College of William and Mary: http://web.wm.edu/cwa/A04PDFs/02.pdf?svr=www

\(^{128}\) Schools after 1865 contributed to the spread of Western social and political ideas among Chinese intellectuals.
wants to add that having the western technology in China has brought many books in
to country. These books were translated in Chinese and read by many intellectuals in
China.

These military industries were largely sponsored by the government. As such,
they suffered from the usual bureaucratic inefficiency and nepotism. Many of the
Chinese administrative personnel were sinecure holders who got on the payroll
through influence. Foreigners have got their role and started to build military units for
China.

The first one was established in 1845 by the British at Whampoa, downstream
from Canton. It hired about 1,000 workers. In the next fifty years (down to 1894),
foreigners, mostly British, built more than twenty ship-repair facilities, employing a
total of some 9,000 men. After the Second Opium War (1856-60), taking advantage of
China’s cheap labour, Westerners branched out into light industries. They ranged
from tea processing plants, tanneries, silk filatures and the like, to match and cigarette
factories. By the time of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), they accounted for some
10,600 workers. The shipping industry employed an unknown number of Chinese,
probably in the thousands. In addition, utilities in the treaty ports (gas, water, and
electricity) accounted for some 1,400 people, and the telegraph and illicit postal
service, also a fair number.\textsuperscript{129} All told, foreign-owned enterprises in China probably
employed some 39,000 Chinese, about half of them in mechanized manufactories, in
the period up to 1894\textsuperscript{130}. After the Second Opium War British invasion and effect had

\textsuperscript{129} David Pong, \textit{Government Enterprises \& Industrial Relations in Late Qing China}, History,
4–23.

\textsuperscript{130} Pong, David, \textit{Government Enterprises \& Industrial Relations in Late Qing China}, USA: University
more space in China. Besides, Second Opium War brought more missionary movements in China.

Second Opium War in 1860 that private missionary education in English started to expand elsewhere in China owing to the establishment of more treaty ports and the persistent efforts of missionaries to convert the Chinese. The rapid expansion of such missionary education can be seen from the following figures: by the 1870s there were only 20 mission schools with around 230 students across the country, but by 1925, there were over 250,000 children in 7,000 Christian elementary schools, and about 26,000 in Christian middle schools\textsuperscript{131}.

After the end of the Second Opium War in 1860 some Qing government officials were aware of the urgent need for China to learn modern military and technical knowledge from the West in order to resist further foreign intrusion and to better cope with the Western powers in national and international affairs.

To achieve this, the teaching and learning of European languages, English in particular, was regarded as crucial; accordingly, the first foreign language school sponsored by the government in China, the \textit{Tongwen Guan} (同文館) was founded in Beijing in 1862, which witnessed the inception of official English teaching in China. Subsequently similar schools were set up in other areas of the nation such as Shanghai and Guangzhou. Over the period, the Western missionary schools together with these government sponsored language schools formed the main source of English language teaching\textsuperscript{132}.


After the Second Opium War, many Qing government officials began to distinguish between English and French intentions. This newfound understanding had significant impact on the “Policy of Engagement” and “Policy of hiring for suppression” later adopted by the government.133

3.2.2 Some Important Military Units, Arsenals and Dockyards during the Movement

The defeats both in the Opium Wars brought change and afterwards regional leaders have started their modernization plans. In December 1861, Zeng Guo Fan established the Anqing Arsenal, where, depending on traditional handicraft techniques, Chinese experts built a working steamship. In 1864, Li Hong Zhang purchased his Suzhou Arsenal machines, which had previously equipped the British fleet.

In Nov. 1863, Rong Hong, returning from the US, advised Zeng Guo Fan to set up a “Parent factory” and then sub-plants producing basic machinery. Soon, Zeng sent Rong abroad to buy equipment. He and Li also established the South China Arsenal in 1865. Later, the Qing Dynasty imported machines and set up more than 20 factories engaged mostly in military production. One of them, the Fuzhou Shipyard began producing military ships and steam engines from 1869. In 1883, Chinese engineers assembled China’s first cruiser there. One another factory was South China Arsenal, built a Yangtze passenger steamship with 3000 horsepower, the best of that period.

train more people in Western technology, two factories opened schools. South China Arsenal also opened a translation institute.\textsuperscript{134}

The pro-Western faction focused their attention only on weaponry production, and didn’t establish any basic industries or manufacture machines on a massive scale, so that the military industry continued depend upon imports and landed itself in a passive position. Of course, a small number of people stressed the importance of machines in civilian production. In 1873, Chen Qi Yuan reeled silk on modern machines. A year later, Li Hong Zhang first proposed using machines to tap iron ore.

In 1878, Zuo Zong Tang has imported machines from Germany to build a woolen cloth factory in Lanzhou. However, society at large was reluctant to accept new things. Most of people were accustomed to outmoded customs, and traditional forms of production and old technology, and chaos of the times made development impossible.\textsuperscript{135}

From the 1860s, small privately-run machine factories had emerged in cities like Guangzhou and Shanghai. When they repaired machines, they gradually learned how to reproduce some of them, following models to produce lathes and steamships. In the early 20th Century, they copied internal combustion engines. However, because China had lost sovereignty over its tariffs, domestic mechanical products were not protected, and private businesses could not compete with foreign manufacturers.

In this study the author believes that giving some more detailed information about arsenals and dockyards will lead the readers much more into this period. As the


\textsuperscript{135} Baichun Zhang, The Modernization Of China’s Mechanical Engineering Under the Influence of the West (1581–1985), please see his study: http://mech-history.ihns.ac.cn/papers/zhang11-e/zhang11.htm
author has already mentioned the military modernization has started with building the first western style military buildings. Sure this would not be a clear definition, thus, we need to look more in to this military buildings and how they were built. In such a complicated period unfortunately the author can not mention all of these military establishments and their role in the movement. But some of the most important ones will bring the military modernization period much above to the surface.\textsuperscript{136}

### 3.3 The Shanghai Jiangnan Arsenal

Jiangnan arsenal was the most important military unit of modernization period of China. In Shanghai, major Chinese centre during the 1860s and 1870s for the manufacture of modern weapons and the study of Western technical literature and Western languages.

Jiangnan Arsenal was opened in 1865 as part of China’s Self-Strengthening movement. It began as an ironworks base with machinery purchased from abroad, the arsenal was developed primarily by Zeng Guo Fan and Li Hong Zhang. During the 1860s and 1870s it was the most successful arsenal in East Asia and one of the greatest in the world. \textsuperscript{137}

At its highest stage of development, the Jiangnan Arsenal contained four institutions: 1) Translation department; 2) School for training translators and linguists;


3) School for training skilled workmen; and 4) The Machine shop. Meng Yue notes that the Jiangnan Arsenal had thirteen branch factories. By 1892, it occupied 73 acres of land, with 1,974 workshops and a total of 2,982 workers. The Arsenal possessed 1,037 sets of machines and produced forty-seven kinds of machinery under the watch of foreign technicians who supervised production.¹³⁸

Westerners were initially employed to instruct the Chinese labourers in the manufacture and use of the arms. In 1868 the Jiangnan Arsenal produced the first modern Chinese steamship. Its translation bureau, directed by the Englishman John Fryer, translated more than 160 foreign works into Chinese. The arsenal was managed by Chinese and staffed at one time by some 3,000 Chinese workmen, who were paid four to eight times better than the average farmer or coolie labourer. In the early 20th century it gradually declined in productivity, chiefly because of apathy and incompetent leadership. The shipbuilding department became an independent boatyard in 1905, and the arsenal renamed Shanghai Arsenal remained in operation until the early 1930s.

### 3.3.1 Shipbuilding in the Jiangnan Arsenal

From 1868 to 1876, according to Meng Yue’s study, shipbuilding in the Jiangnan Arsenal was highly productive; eleven ships were built in eight years at the arsenal. Ten were warships, and five of these had wooden hulls; the other five were provided iron hulls. All parts of each ship, including the engine, were built at the

arsenal. The arsenal also experimented with different designs, from single to double-screw, wooden and iron hulls, and simple warships to turreted vessels. When compared to the warships made in the Yokosuka Dockyard in Japan in the 1870s, the level of shipbuilding technology at the Jiangnan Arsenal was actually higher than that in the leading Japanese dockyard.\(^{139}\)

Jiangnan Arsenal was far superior to its rival in Japan. That was the Yokosuka Dockyard. The Yokosuka Dockyard did not produce its largest wooden warships until 1887-88. Two were armed with twelve guns and boasted 1,622 horsepower. Neither was the match for the largest warship built at the Jiangnan Arsenal in 1872, which had 1,800 horsepower and was armed with twenty-six guns. Five iron-hulled warships were produced at the Jiangnan Arsenal before 1875, while the first iron Japanese gunboats were not completed until after 1887. In terms of armaments, those manufactured at the Jiangnan Arsenal also were by and large superior to that of Japan.\(^{140}\)

Overall, however, the Chinese fleet of iron and wooden ships quickly fell behind the new ironclad ships of Europe. Moreover, the compound engine in Europe replaced the outmoded single or double-screw engines in Chinese vessels, which China did not begin to build until 1877.

An earlier proposal was turned down because of the lack of funds. Hence, China’s ships were still behind European warships in the 1870s. Moreover, because Chinese shipyards could not produce enough ships, more warships were built in


Europe for the Chinese navy. High skilled technicians and good management was the key of ship production. However, in China these were far away from the worker’s mentality. Although foreign technicians were again employed for building large modern warships, by the 1890s Chinese ships were still outmoded because Chinese training could not keep pace with Western technological progress. Unfortunately Shipbuilding in the Jiangnan Arsenal slowed down after 1876.

In 1885, after the Arsenal completed its first steel gunboat, it ceased to be a military shipyard. The technological switch toward steel and armored warships in Europe highlighted the difficulty of transporting iron and coal from inland provinces to make steel in coastal China. At the same time imported steel remained prohibitively expensive to make the ships domestically. Nevertheless, shipbuilding technology in Jiangnan and the Fuzhou Navy Yard probably remained slightly better than in Japanese arsenals until 1889, when French engineers came to Japan and designed new steel and iron warships for the Yokosuka Dockyard. Its first modern warship had more horsepower and a higher top speed than the same type of warship built by the Jiangnan Arsenal.141

Once shipbuilding was no longer its major task, the Jiangnan Arsenal adapted its machinery to produce the most advanced foreign guns and small arms for military use. As of 1874, the arsenal had produced a total of 110 cannons and a variety of guns modeled after products from the Armstrong factory in Britain. Three types of large 120 mm, 175 mm, and 200 mm caliber muzzle-loading guns made by the Arsenal were deployed at the Wusong fort guarding the mouth of the Yangzi River. In the late

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1880s, the Arsenal produced large breech-loading guns that initially used black and then later brown gunpowder.

By 1885, Li Hong Zhang favored the German arms industry over the British, and the scale of Krupp arms sales to China increased. Before the Sino-Japanese War, the Jiangnan Arsenal was producing large breech-loading Armstrong guns whose range went from 7,000 to 11,000 yards, and which were capable of firing projectiles from 80 to 800 lbs.¹⁴²

The Arsenal also became known after 1890 for its success in producing the rapid-firing machine gun, which was important in enhancing sea power and coastal defense forts. By 1892 the Jiangnan Arsenal had manufactured ten 40-pound rapid-firing guns. Two years later, the arsenal finished making rapid-firing machine guns capable of launching 40 pound and 100 pound shells. Because annual production in the Arsenal was insufficient to supply the Chinese army, the Qing military still had to purchase such arms from abroad. According to Meng Yue, Japan by comparison did not begin its ambitious artillery program until 1905, during the Russo-Japanese War.¹⁴³


3.4 The Fuzhou Navy Yard

Besides the Jiangnan Arsenal in Shanghai, the second major industrial site for shipbuilding and training in the Western sciences and technology was the Fuzhou Naval Yard. When Zuo Zong Tang submitted his 1866 memorial to establish a complete navy yard at Fuzhou the expectation was that after five years the need for foreign experts would be eliminated. The estimated start up costs of 300 thousand tael\(^{144}\) (417 thousand silver dollars) and the 600 thousand tael (834 thousand silver dollars) for annual operations were to come from maritime customs duties and the inter-provincial trade taxes collected in Fujian, Zhenjiang, and Guangdong provinces. In return, those provinces would receive naval protection from the “Southern Fleet” based at Fuzhou. From the start, Zuo and his successor Shen Bao Zhen (沈葆禎), (1820-79) relied on French expertise in contrast to the British influence at the Jiangnan Arsenal.

Once the navy yard was established, however, only 400 thousand tael (556 thousand silver dollars) were raised from the Fujian maritime customs, with another 50 thousand (69.5 thousand silver dollars) per month for operations, leaving the venture in a perpetual financial bind. At its peak the shipyard employed 3,000 workers in the navy yard. When later construction was completed the force was dropped to 1,900, with 600 in the dockyard, 800 in workshops, and 500 coolies. Some

\(^{144}\) Tael can refer to any one of several weight measures of the Far East. Most commonly, it refers to the Chinese tael. Part of the Chinese system of weights and currency. There were many different weighting standards of tael depending on the region or type of trade. In general the silver tael weighed around 40 grams. This is the World Gold Council’s website http://www.gold.org/. For more information about tael please refer to: http://www.gold.org/assets/file/pr_archive/html/bars/Categ.htm
500 soldiers guarded the premises. The navy yard had more than 45 buildings on 118 acres set aside for administrative, educational, and production purposes. By comparison, the Jiangnan Arsenal as largest ordnance enterprise in 1875 had 32 such buildings on 73 acres. In terms of scale, the Fuzhou Navy Yard was probably the leading industrial venture in late Qing China. Fuzhou Navy Yard designed as a Westernized enterprise based on machinery and efficiency. The whole plant was served by a tramway with turntables at important workshops and intersections.

The Navy Yard’s goal was to build a modern Chinese flotilla between 1868 and 1875. Nineteen ships were planned with 80 to 250 horsepower engines. Of these thirteen would be transport ships with 150 horsepower engines. Sixteen ships were finished during this time. Ten transports with 100 horsepower engines, and one corvette as a showpiece, with a 250 horsepower engine, were realized in 1869-75 while Shen Bao Zhen was in charge. Nine of the 150 horsepower transports cost over 161 thousand taels (224 thousand silver dollars) each; five of the 80 horsepower ships cost over 106 thousand taels (147 thousand silver dollars), with the Yangwu corvette alone requiring 254 thousand taels (353 thousand silver dollars). Like the Jiangnan Arsenal, the Fuzhou Ship Yard also compared favorably with the Yokosuka Naval Yard.

The latter began in 1865 with a budget of 1.3 million taels (1.8 million silver dollars) for a four-year period, compared to four million taels (5.6 million silver dollars)

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dollars) allotted to Fuzhou over five years. Actual expenditures at Yokosuka actually doubled the budget, while the Fuzhou Ship Yard expended 5.4 million tael (7.5 million silver dollars) from 1866 to 1874. By 1868, Yokosuka had completed eight ships with eleven more on the way. In comparison, Fuzhou was also at the forefront of naval and technological development. With two major industrial sites in the Yangzi delta and in Fujian province, the Qing was in aggregate ahead of Japanese modernization efforts in the 1860s and 70s, but such aggregate advantages did not translate into organizational superiority when the Fuzhou naval fleet faced the French flotilla alone and unaided in 1884.  

Until the first decade until 1875 more radical measures were taken to get access to European technical knowledge by not only hiring French technicians and but also putting them in charge of all the technical aspects of the shipbuilding operation. The gamble paid off: during the first 10 years the shipyard launched 15 large steam ships with an aggregate displacement of 170,000 tons. The shipyard became the backbone of the Qing modern shipbuilding. It went of to build another 25 ships from 1876 to 1907 with the total displacement of 300,000 tons. The shipyard claimed 70 percent of China’s total modern ship output by the end of the Qing.

The industrial results in Fuzhou were at first gratifying for the Qing dynasty and praised in the December 10, 1875, North-China Daily News. Like the ships built at the Jiangnan Arsenal, however, the Chinese Southern Fleet in Fuzhou harbor were mainly wooden ships and thus vulnerable to European ironclads. Nor were they

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148 Kent Deng, Movers and Shakers of Knowledge in China during the Ming-Qing Period, pp. 35-36. His research about this period can be found in the archives of London School of Economics. [http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/economicHistory/GEHN/GEHNPDF/GEHN9Deng.pdf](http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/economicHistory/GEHN/GEHNPDF/GEHN9Deng.pdf)
equipped with the latest compound engines. When faced with war with France in the 1880s and Japan in the 1890s, some Qing officials blamed the French for purposely dumping obsolete equipment and designs on the Chinese navy.

Zuo Zong Tang\textsuperscript{149} had also suggested opening a school for technical training called the Hall for the Search for Truth a research slogan of Qing classicists. The school that was established was called the School for Naval Administration. Foreigners would teach English, French, mathematics, and drafting. At the same time, students were expected to master the Sacred Edict of the Kangxi emperor, just like candidates for the local civil examinations, and the Classic of Filial Piety. The Qing dynasty’s long-term goal for the training provided by the French engineers and skilled workmen brought to Fuzhou was to create Chinese naval architects and engineers and to generate modern workmen: carpenters, ironworkers, brass workers, ship construction workers, etc. Two divisions of French and English schools were set up. The French division included departments of naval construction, design, and apprentices. In the English division there was an English division. Also there was a naval academy with departments of theoretical navigation, practical navigation, and engine room training.\textsuperscript{150}

The naval construction department opened first in February 1867 based on a curriculum that included French, arithmetic, algebra, descriptive and analytic geometry, trigonometry, calculus, physics and mechanics. The five year program suffered a high rate of attrition, however. In the first group of 105 beginning students, only thirty-nine remained at the end of 1873. To train Chinese officers to operate

\textsuperscript{149} Naval War College Review, USA: Volume 59, Number 4, Autumn 2006, pp. 53–54,

\textsuperscript{150} Andrew Lambert, \textit{Naval history 1850-present}, England: Aldershot Publisher, Ashgate, 2007, pp. 45–120.
warships, the English division, headed by John Carroll from England, created a department of theoretical navigation with a curriculum as follows:  

Arithmetic: for knowledge of fractions, proportions, interest, etc.

Algebra: for quadratic equations of second degree, ratios, proportions, progressions, etc.

Geography: used Anderson’s *General Features of the Globe*.

Trigonometry: plane and spherical; for solutions of triangles in navigation and nautical astronomy.

Geometry: used Todhunter’s Euclid (three books and part of 6th).

Navigation: used Raper’s Correction of Compasses, the Sailings, as usually taught, and the Day’s Work.

Nautical Astronomy: finding latitude and longitude methods and errors of the compass.

Besides building the naval yard and training personnel, Shen Bao Zhen saw to it that fifteen ships were launched between June 1869 and February 1874. However, only nineteen were completed between 1874 and 1897 when problems in the lower caliber of administration were exacerbated after Giquel's departure. The yard also faced a curtailment of operating funds due to the decline of interest by Beijing and provincial officials. A period of Qing self-management from 1874 commenced when operations in the Ship Yard carried on without foreign technicians until 1897, when five new French technicians arrived. Nevertheless, the schools were able to attract native students, mainly from the south, until the late 1880s. After 1874, graduates

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were sent to Europe, especially England and France, for advanced training to keep up with new technological developments.

In 1877 Giquel led party of twenty-six students. Twelve students from the English division went to England with five at the Royal Naval College at Greenwich. Nine of the fourteen students from the French division studied hull construction and engine principles in France; the other five studied mining and metallurgy. A second group of eight graduates were sent out in late 1882 for three years of advanced training. Five studied fortifications, defenses, and gunpowder explosives in France; two studied navigation and naval command in England; and one went to Germany for training in naval mines and torpedoes.152

A third group of thirty-three graduates were sent in 1886, with ten from the English division, fourteen from French division, and nine from the Tianjin yard. Thirty completed their training; eighteen studied hydrography, ironclad warship navigation, naval artillery and small arms in England; twelve studied hulls and engines, mathematics and ship construction, river control, bridge and railway construction, and international law in France. A fourth group was scheduled to go to Europe in 1894, but the war with Japan interrupted that.153

In 1874, as twenty-one year-old graduate, Yan Fu (嚴復) for instance, was acting captain of a small steamer owned by the Fujian-Zhejiang administration but not built by the Fuzhou Navy Yard. As a graduate of the Fuzhou naval division, however, Yan was eligible to receive advanced training in Europe. On his return to China he became a dean and professor of navigation and mathematics for many years at the

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Fuzhou Navy Yard. During his stay he seems to have become convinced that to help China, merely learning the Western sciences and engineering would not be enough. He felt that there was a need for many of the other disciplines of the West such as law, economics, politics, and education.

Thus, when Yan Fu returned to China, he translated works such as the following, taken from a list provided by Mr. David Wright.¹⁵⁴

- *Evolution and Ethics* by Thomas H. Huxley as *Tian yan lun 天演论 (On evolution)* in 1898.
- *The Study of Sociology* by Herbert Spencer as *Qun xue yi yan 群学遗言* in 1902.
- *The Wealth of Nations* by Adam Smith as *Yuan fu 原富 (On wealth)* in 1902;
- *On Liberty* by John Stuart Mill as *Qun ji quan jie lun 群己劝解论 (On the boundary between the rights of the society and the rights of the individual)* in 1903.

Mr. David Wright notes that, Yan is admired as much for his Chinese prose style as for his skill as the greatest contemporary interpreter of Western thought.¹⁵⁵

We can easily see that during the late 1800’s the emphasis on translation turned from theoretical sciences towards applied sciences and humanities. There was an increasing feeling that adopting Western technology on top of existing social structures would not work. In particular, when Japan defeated China in 1895, an increasing number of Chinese thinkers felt the need for major reform.

In the early 1880s he became professor of navigation and mathematics in Tianjin Naval Academy where he was a teacher and administrator for nearly 20 years.

After the bitter defeat to Japan in the Sino-Japanese War, an 1896 recommendation

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¹⁵⁴ Wright, D., 2001. *Yan Fu and the Tasks of the Translator*, its online version can be provided from: www.wsc.uni-erlangen.de/pdf/wright.pdf

¹⁵⁵ Wright, D., 2001. *Yan Fu and the Tasks of the Translator*, its the online version can be provided from: www.wsc.uni-erlangen.de/pdf/wright.pdf
that foreign teachers should be hired in China rather than sending students to Europe was considered, but the Zongli Yamen (總理衙門)\textsuperscript{156} still wished to send the best naval students to Europe for advanced training. Ten were sent in 1897 for six years of training, but only six went to France. They were recalled in 1900 after 3 years due to insufficient funds.

Both David Pong and Knight Biggerstaff\textsuperscript{157} have described how industrial decline at the Fuzhou Navy Yard due to financial troubles had set in by 1876-77. Expenditures totaled 5.35 million taels (7.4 million silver dollars) for the 6.5 years to July 1874. This amount significantly exceeded original estimates, partly due to high costs for foreign wages, which used up 12 thousand taels (16.7 thousand silver dollars) out of the monthly operation cost of between 50 thousand (69.5 thousand silver dollars) and 80 thousand (111.2 thousand silver dollars) taels. By contrast, the total wages of two thousand Chinese workmen amounted to only ten thousand taels (13.9 thousand silver dollars) per month. Corruption and nepotism ate away at rest.

The Chinese staff under Shen Bao Zhen had to work together with Giquel and his Europeans for construction to remain on schedule. Because the shipyard was financed as a traditional enterprise with numerous sources of income, traditional Qing

\textsuperscript{156} Zongli Yamen was the name of the government office/department of foreign relations (or Foreign Office) of imperial China during the Qing dynasty. It was established by Prince Gong in 1861, following the Convention of Peking. For more information please refer to Banno Masataka., \textit{China and the West, 1858-1861: The Origins of the Tsungli Yamen}. Cambridge: MA, Harvard University Press, 1964. Or Zhang, Xiao Min and Xu, Chun Feng, \textit{The Late Qing Dynasty Diplomatic Transformation: Analysis from an Ideational Perspective}, Chinese Journal of International Politics, Vol. 1, 2007, pp. 436-438.

\textsuperscript{157} He has a very nice book that gives many information about China’s modernization especially in schools. Please refer to; Biggerstaff, \textit{The Earliest Modern Government Schools}. New York: Cornell University Press, 1961.
budgetary practices did not take into account inflation, growth, or retooling. Long-term planning became impossible.\textsuperscript{158}

After 1880, the Fujian Maritime Customs failed to turn over regularly the full annual allocation of 600 thousand taels (834 thousand silver dollars). By the 1890s, the allocation fell to between 200 thousand (278 thousand silver dollars) and 300 thousand (417 thousand silver dollars) and under 200 thousand taels by 1895. The schools and naval yard were less active in 1890s.\textsuperscript{159}

\textbf{3.5 Hanyang Arsenal}

Once the destruction of the Fuzhou Shipyard during the Sino-French War\textsuperscript{160} demonstrated the vulnerability of the Jiangnan Arsenal and other factories and fleets

\textsuperscript{158} Prosper Giguë, edited by Steven A. Leibo, \textit{A Journal of the Chinese Civil War 1864, USA: Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1985.}


\textsuperscript{160} Sino-French War (1883–85) perpetrated by France against China for control of Vietnam. It revealed the inadequacy of China's modernization efforts and aroused nationalistic sentiment in southern China. In 1880, when France began to extend its presence in Vietnam northward from the three southern provinces it controlled, China sent in troops and engaged in limited battles. The governor-general, Li Hongzhang, negotiated an agreement whereby northern Vietnam would be a joint protectorate, but a hard-line government faction in China rejected it. The French defeated Chinese reinforcements in 1883, and the new settlement was more strongly in France's favour. This, too, was rejected in China; after further hostilities, the new Chinese fleet of 11 steamers was destroyed, as was a large shipyard at Fuzhou. In 1885 China signed a peace treaty accepting the settlement of 1883. Lack of an expenditure of 7.5 million taels of silver on defense before the war cost China 600 million taels of silver after the war. This is one of the most important historical lessons of the First Sino-Japanese War. Monetary loss alone was 80 times the amount that would have been wisely spent on the military before the war. In addition, China had to give away Taiwan to Japan and suffered from various kinds of
on the China coast to foreign naval blockade, Zhang Zhi Dong (1837-1909), then
governor-general in Hubei and Hunan provinces in the middle Yangzi region,
recognized the need for the Hanyang Ironworks (1890) and Hanyang Arsenal (1892)
as protected inland industrial sites. Not funded until 1891-95, however, and then
subject to competing interests of Li Hong Zhang’s Northern Fleet and the military
threat from the Japanese in Korea, the Hanyang Arsenal found that its funds were
inadequate for simultaneous development of the ironworks and the arsenal. This
problem led to a slowdown in the arsenal, which failed to produce weapons or
ordinance in time for Sino-Japanese War.¹⁶¹

Other delays in plant building and a damaging fire in summer 1894 kept the
Hanyang project from achieving success in the late nineteenth century. Zhang
wrestled with the twin goals of strategic industrialization and modern military
production in the midst of the emergency diversion of imperial funds and resources to
deal with the Russian and Japanese threats. He chose to fund the ironworks for
general development rather than the arsenal for military arms. Hence, the Hanyang
Ironworks became the hub of China’s iron and steel industry during the first half of
the twentieth century, although it failed to contribute to the Sino-Japanese War.

3.5.1 Establishment of Hanyang Arsenal

Hanyang arsenal originally known as the Hubei Arsenal, it was founded in 1891 by one of the Qing officials, Zhang Zhi Dong. He diverted some funds from the Nanyang Fleet in Guangdong to build the arsenal. The construction of the arsenal was completed on 23 April 1894. Hanyang arsenal had some 40 acres area for its facilities and could start production of small-caliber cannons.¹⁶²

On 14 June 1894, an industrial accident started a fire in the arsenal that destroyed all the equipment and most of the structures in the arsenal. In July of the same year rebuilding began, and in August 1895, all was back to normal and the arsenal started production of German M 1888 Commission rifles. At the same time, ammunition for the rifles was being produced at a rate of 13,000 rounds per month. During the devastating Boxer Uprising of 1900, the arsenal supplied the Boxers with more than 3,000 rifles and 1 million rounds of ammunition.¹⁶³

In 1904, the arsenal made several modifications to their design of the Type 88, and, at the same time, production capacity was expanded to 50 rifles and 12,000 rounds of ammunition per day. For a time in 1910, the arsenal switched to producing the Type 68 rifle, at a speed of 38 per day. The quality of the firearms produced in this period was generally low, because the local steel foundries were often ill-equipped

¹⁶² Hanyang city’s web site gives many information about Hanyang’s History, web site is in Chinese please see: http://www.hanyang.gov.cn/
and badly managed. Because of its proximity to Wuchang, the revolutionaries, during the Wuchang Uprising of Xinhai Revolution largely equipped themselves with foreign and locally made weapons stored at this arsenal - some 7,000 rifles, 5 million rounds, 150 pack guns and 2,000 shells. The arsenal, in support of the revolution, switched into full gear and began producing weapons and ammo day and night.

The Republic of China expanded the arsenal numerous times, and production soared. Quality, however, remained low. In 1917, a training school was established alongside the arsenal. In 1921, production began on copies of the Browning M1917 and the Mauser M1932 “Broomhandle” pistol.

In 1930, the design of the Type 88 was once again modified, extending the bayonet. In 1935, a version of the Maxim gun was being produced, based on blueprints from the German M08. As the Imperial Japanese Army approached Hanyang and Wuhan in 1938, the arsenal was forced to move to Hunan with parts of its assets transferred to various other arsenals across the country. At Hunan, it continued production of the Type 88 rifle and carbine, and also the Type Zhongzheng rifle with the Allies’ victory in 1945, orders to the arsenal gradually stopped, and, on 1 July 1947, the arsenal was shut down.\textsuperscript{164}

\textbf{Fire Arms Produced in Hanyang Arsenal}

- Type 88 rifle
- Type 68 rifle
- Type Zhongzheng rifle
- Type 24 HMG
- Mauser C96 7.63 mm pistol

3.6 Chinese Maritime Customs Service

The Chinese Maritime Customs (中國海關總稅務司) has been called one of the great administrative achievements of the 19th century. This favorable appraisal in comparative history could hardly impress nationalistic minded Chinese, who have since the late Qing period tended to condemn the same administration as a main stay of Western imperialist aggressions in China.\(^{165}\)

The Chinese Maritime Customs had been controlled by a foreign Inspectorate, an arrangement which further violated China’s sovereign rights in its own revenue matters. While the imperialist character of the Inspectorate is more often assumed than carefully defined, Chinese indignation does point to a real problem in the Service’s past history. Not only had the Inspector general of Customs always been a foreigner, but also, up until the late 1920s, when reform was introduced to improve Chinese personnel representation, nearly all senior posts in the Service had been staffed by foreign employees. It was only after foreign predominance in this respect had ended that more Chinese began to fill such key positions as commissioners and deputy commissioners.\(^{166}\)

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\(^{166}\) In this part the author has used the research of Luke S. K. Kwong, for his whole study please visit: http://72.14.235.132/search?q=cache:kS1OCV5oPJ1J:sunzi1.lib.hku.hk/hkjo/view/44/4401413.pdf+chi
This important unit was built for tax collection agency and information service from its founding in 1854. This unit has already served till its bifurcation in 1949 into services operating in the Republic of China on Taiwan, and in the People's Republic of China. Until 1912 it was named the Imperial Maritime Customs Service\textsuperscript{167}.

In Chinese Maritime Customs Service mainly staffed at senior levels by foreigners, the Service was controlled by Chinese central government throughout her history. It was effectively established by foreign consuls in Shanghai in 1854 to collect maritime trade taxes that were going unpaid due to the inability of Chinese officials to collect them during the Taiping Rebellion.

After the establishment of this unit its responsibilities grew to include domestic customs administration, postal administration, harbour and waterway management, weather reporting, and anti-smuggling operations. It mapped, lit, and policed the China coast and the Yangtze. It conducted loan negotiations, currency reform, and financial and economic management. The Service published monthly Returns of Trade, a regular series of Aids to Navigation and reports on weather and medical matters. It also represented China at over twenty world fairs and exhibition, ran some educational establishments, and conducted some diplomatic activities.

Britons dominated the foreign staff of the Customs, but there were large numbers of German, U.S., French, and latterly Japanese staff amongst others. Chinese began to be promoted into senior positions from 1929 onwards. Its first

Inspector-General was Horatio Nelson Lay who was dismissed in 1863. He was replaced with Robert Hart, who served until his death in 1911.  

In January 1950 the last foreign Inspector-General, American Lester Knox Little and the responsibilities of the Service were divided between what eventually became the Customs General Administration of the People's Republic of China, and the Republic of China Directorate General of Customs on Taiwan. It was the only bureaucratic agency of the Chinese government to operate continuously as an integrated entity from 1842 to 1950.

3.7 The First Impact of Military Modernization in Chinese Society

The Western countries achieved in opening China’s gates through military force, and Western developed technologies, as well as ideologies and culture, poured in. Upon being faced with modern Western civilization, certain of China’s ruling elite and enlightened intellectuals gradually began to transform their external outlook and traditional ideas. This period was an important transitional stage in modern Chinese thought, when China’s views of its relationship with the West moved from a Confucian idealist to a more pragmatic, practical perspective. This had great influence

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168 For more information please visit University of Bristol, Department of Historical Studies: http://www.bristol.ac.uk/history/customs/
on Chinese external strategies and diplomatic policies, both of which underwent dramatic transformations.\textsuperscript{170}

The big erosion of traditional ideas lead to emergence and acceptance of the more modern Western concept of foreign affairs and diplomacy, and eventual establishment of the Qing government’s updated diplomatic system. Ideational change played a key role in the modernization of late Qing Dynasty foreign policy and diplomacy.\textsuperscript{171}

Modernization or we can call it Westernization was inevitable for Chinese society. Its influence is identifiable through constitutional state structure, legal code, policing, and punishment in the current social control system. Driving forces for increasing Westernization include:

(1) Western dominance in the global political economy and technological progress.

(2) The Chinese desire to modernize through the importation of Western technologies and institutional practices.

(3) The dream of Western-style freedom and prosperity among the Chinese populace.

In the arena of social control increasing Westernization is leading to the formalization of laws and legal procedures and their increasing compatibility with

\textsuperscript{170} Zhang, Xiao Min and Xu, Chun Feng, \textit{The Late Qing Dynasty Diplomatic Transformation: Analysis from an Ideational Perspective}, Chinese Journal of International Politics, Vol. 1, 2007, p. 419.

international standards or customs; the professionalization of the police; and an overall improvement in respect for human rights and civil liberties.\textsuperscript{172}

With the effect of foreigners and their developed technology\textsuperscript{173}, this was the new coming changes in Chinese society for next 50 years. After the Opium Wars and defeat China has entered the new era. China’s challenge against to west gave its first fruits by the beginning of the modernization phase. China’s old weapons gave their places to new modern ones. With the building of dock yards in the coastal borders of country increased the building of new size modern ships. They were much similar to their western style competitors. New weapons, new ships and new tactics were tried to adopt by military officials. New ministries were created in Beijing and revised law codes were drafted. Work began on a national budget the national government had no idea how much taxes were collected in its name and spent by regional officials. Zuo Zong Tang expressed his observation that foreigners carefully investigate China’s geography, politics, customs and people; but we are lamentably uninformed about them. Foreign consuls in Beijing act unscrupulously but we are unable to censure them\textsuperscript{174}.

Sending diplomats would enable China to penetrate a country’s essence, and curb the exploitative behaviors of foreign consuls. Zeng Guo Fan argued that as China’s friendship with the West was already established, exchanging foreign envoys


was the accepted practice. He thought that, commanding both Chinese and foreign officials would bring many benefits to China. Many progressive intellectuals also acknowledged the importance of sending diplomatic representatives abroad, writing scholarly works on the subject and submitting suggestions to the Imperial Court that stressed how crucial it was to follow the Western practice of sending diplomatic representatives abroad. Zheng Guan Ying analysed the importance establishing diplomatic missions, and pointed out that as sending ambassadors and consuls abroad was a Western diplomatic norm, China should act in accordance with it;

Today, China signs treaties, trades with foreign nations and friendship develops; if we have no representatives abroad, mutual good feeling cannot be communicated, so what is the use of treaties and international law? Diplomatic representatives are a nation’s eyes and ears; being stationed abroad means that they must know the situation of the country they are in . . . according to Western practice, every trading nation has an ambassador that represents the government and a consul that shares his responsibilities. . . diplomatic representation is an established practice within China’s foreign relations. Many Western nations knock on our door demanding to trade and establish relations, they come in groups and live here; this change represents a true challenge to China; if we face it other than through diplomatic
channels and do not send reciprocal representatives, how can we meet such a challenge?\footnote{This part was quoted from the study of Zhang, Xiao Min and Xu, Chun Feng, \textit{The Late Qing Dynasty Diplomatic Transformation: Analysis from an Ideational Perspective}, Chinese Journal of International Politics, Vol. 1, 2007, p. 440. They both used the book of Xia Dong Yuan, as their reference. \textit{Works of Zheng Guanying}, pp. 112–113.}

China’s modern armies were raised and trained in European (and Japanese) methods and plans for a national army were laid. The creation of the new army reflected rising esteem for the military profession and the emergence of new national elite that dominated China for much of the 20th century. More officers and men learned how to read and became literate people in Chinese society, while patriotism and better pay served as an inducement for service.

China was in a huge change in her society that country has not seen before. Western books were translated into Chinese and spread in the country. People began to read new information’s from Western countries. They learned new ideologies, history and international affairs of Western states. Students were sent to abroad to study the Western science and arts.

Besides, the Chinese Imperial Court began to consider sending politicians and envoys abroad to have more relations with foreigners. The majority argued that sending diplomatic representatives abroad was imperative and expressed their support for this idea. Li Hong Zhang perceived diplomatic representation as a channel through which the Imperial Court might transmit its ideas directly to foreign governments, thereby putting a stop to the dubious activities of foreign consuls in Beijing. He also
recommended this measure as a long-term plan, as in his view it was no longer appropriate for foreigners to act as China’s representatives.\textsuperscript{176}

From the researches of other writers we can understand that being invaded by foreigners brought the idea of change in the society. In a reason of that China not just welcomed them but also sent many envoys to West and learned the evolution of western powers. The closed Chinese society started to have more influence than ever.

It was a interesting destiny that foreigners once was called as “Barbarians” however, with the defeat in the Opium Wars against to foreign powers China saw the way to defeat Westerners with their own technology. The students were abroad and learning the foreign culture, this step of China was new door for China’s future.\textsuperscript{177}

For a long time, China was a traditional self-contained agricultural society, but this closed situation was eventually broken by Western ships and cannons. “In Chinese eyes, Western society was terrible,” said Professor Jin Lin Xiang from the East China Normal University. He continues to say that “Some people even thought that if their children went there, their skins would be peeled off, they would be wrapped in the furs of beasts and changed into wild animals.” Under such circumstances, it was very hard for the Qing government to recruit children sufficiently qualified to study abroad. However, the serious setbacks it suffered in its wars made some open-minded comprador bureaucrats enthusiastic about the

\textsuperscript{176} Zhang, Xiao Min and Xu, Chun Feng, \textit{The Late Qing Dynasty Diplomatic Transformation: Analysis from an Ideational Perspective}, Chinese Journal of International Politics, Vol. 1, 2007, p. 439.

Yang-Wu (Westernization) Movement (1858–95), realizing that learning Western techniques would help the nation to become powerful and strong.\textsuperscript{178}

As a result, led by Rong Hong, who studied abroad in 1847 with the help of an American missionary, a group of students aged from 10 to 16 years old were sent to the US to receive a Western education in 1872. This group is regarded as the first government-aided educational mission students to go abroad, according to Jin.

The arrival of the 30 students evoked great interest among the Western locals. Their long gowns and hair in braids seemed strange and incredible to Americans. Originally, it had been arranged that these children would live with American families to learn English in a favorable environment. But they were still at a young and impressionable age, “Easily influenced by what they saw and heard around them,” Jin said.

As times went by, some of them became unwilling to wear Chinese gowns. They had their hair cut and even went to local churches. These changes went against the government will, which was that they would learn advanced techniques from the West without becoming westernized.

“The Westernization of these students led to the premature end of their studies,” Jin said. He also adds “Actually, the subjective will of the Qing government could not control the activities of these students. Once they were attracted by Western civilization, they would introduce it to China.”

Following the first educational mission students, other Chinese started out on journeys to study abroad in rapid succession. In retrospect over the next 100 years,

\textsuperscript{178} This part was quoted from Shanghai Star “Learning from Foreigners” by Yang An, 03.11.2004. Shanghai Star is a weekly English-language newspaper published in Shanghai. It is owned and run by its parent, the Beijing-based Daily Yang Yan Shanghai Star. 2004-03-11.
great changes took place in China's modern history, both in the political and in the cultural field. All of these changes had a close relationship with students studying abroad. Jin has a very clear explanation “They were eager to save their nation from subjugation and ensure its survival. Generally speaking, this was also the main preoccupation of modern China.”

China’s defeat in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894–95 inspired Chinese to learn advanced naval science from a small country that they used to look down on. It could be said that in a different period, Chinese studied in different countries to learn what they needed to save the nation. Chinese students studying abroad made significant contributions to science, engineering and education, with some even going on to become the main force promoting social change in China.

But in a turbulent society, the purpose of studying abroad, to a great extent, was connected with government policy, which was to serve the Chinese authorities and society first, only then realizing human potential, according to Chen Zu Huai, a researcher from the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. “Human potential was not fully recognized.” he said.

Compared with their predecessors, today's students are able to develop themselves in the light of their actual conditions and can also pay much more attention to their individual development. However, “As intellectuals, we should maintain our social conscience and concern for our country and our people,” Chen said.  

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179 Shanghai Star “Learning from Foreigners” by Yang An, 03.11.2004.
180 This part was quoted from Shanghai Star “Learning from Foreigners” by Yang An, 03.11.2004.
In a society without a distinctive religion, power and wealth were used as the principal factors to evaluate a person. Going to study abroad was considered to be a kind of investment required to achieve personal success.

Jin said that studying abroad had led to the introduction of new educational systems and textbooks to China and, at the same time, put China’s talented people in contact with the wider world. “But we must realize that the essence of education is to develop human nature, it should not be distorted into a political tool.”

At the same time in the borders missionaries were moving all around the country and converting people. China was being more Christian than ever. These actions were shaping the society in Christianity and western religious ideology. However, Chinese people continued to view Christianity as a foreign religion. This was the effect of being defeated and humiliated by foreigners in the Opium Wars.

After the First Opium War, Westerners got many of privileges including the right to proselytize. But this did not work as they expect. In addition to the publication and distribution of Christian literature and Bibles, the Protestant Christian missionary movement in China furthered the dispersion of knowledge with other printed works of history and science. As the missionaries went to work among the Chinese, they established and developed schools and introduced the latest techniques in medicine. The mission schools were viewed with some suspicion by the traditional Chinese teachers, but they differed from the norm by offering a basic education to poor Chinese, both boys and girls, who had no hope of learning at a school before the days of the Chinese Republic\textsuperscript{181}.

As China stepped into Western style of modernization some of the people were started to criticize the movement and its effects on the society. Foreigners were not welcomed by Chinese people. Although they were helping China in her modernization but Chinese people know that foreigners were doing all these efforts to control China and not letting China surpass them.

From one side China was transforming, but the other side China was waiting the time to hit back the foreigners. Turbulence of the society was getting more critical as the corruption and waste of resources continues to rise in Qing government.

Chinese people has started to work in foreign military unites and learning the skills of westerners. With the rising of foreign investment on Chinese military China became foreigner’s back yard.

Mr. David Pong has stated in his study very clear about this period’s working environment in Chinese society. As he emphasized in his study the first modern industries in China were built by the help of foreigners who needed machine-operated dockyards to repair their vessels in the seas off China. Cooperation with foreigners was not easy for Chinese people and every passing day new problems rose.

For China, much of the foregoing discussion can be stated in reverse. Although the lack of a centralized military did not appreciably fix the Qing government’s authority as long as regional leaders remained loyal to the throne, it did prevent China from contending effectively with foreign aggression, and eventually undermined support of the dynasty. Furthermore, the fragmentation of the army hindered the growth of nationalistic sentiment among Chinese soldiers. Locally raised, armed, and trained, most Chinese troops had little sense of national identification.

In the study of Richard J. Smith, he claimed that the military modernization did not affect Chinese troops. He stated in his study that the great majority of Chinese
soldiers remained illiterate and uninformed. Not surprisingly, the Chinese military contributed little bureaucratic talent to the civil sector. In fact, the Manchus actively discouraged this tendency. With few notable exceptions the Qing government avoided the appointment of military men to high posts in the bureaucracy.\footnote{For the PDF format of his study please visit \url{http://sunzi1.lib.hku.hk/hkjo/view/44/4401326.pdf}} Throughout the nineteenth century, the virtually unchanged civil service examination system remained the accepted channel of bureaucratic mobility. Only after the Sino-Japanese War did this begin to change.\footnote{Ayers, Thomas William, \textit{Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China}, Cambridge, Mass, 1971, pp. 164–189, 204–215.}

These two authors have focused the main change in the army of China. However, Chinese armies were using modern techniques. Their research shows us that Chinese military were changing but the behaviors of Chinese soldiers were not in change as we thought. They were much closed to direct change in their mentality. In the following years Chinese military will see the negative results of closed adoption of military modernization. Especially in the Sino-Japanese war China saw that the mistakes her modernization path.

The Qing military did nothing to promote social change. Indeed, it tended to reflect the least modern aspects of Chinese society. Even in the new style armies of Li Hong Zhang and others, personal ties of blood, friendship or local affinity often counted for more than expertise, thus helping to militate against the introduction of new ideas and influences.

Richard J. Smith wrote in his comparative study of military modernization between Japan and China some troops received exposure to limited Western influences through contact with foreign instructors or temporary residence in treaty
port areas, the lifestyle of most Chinese soldiers changed imperceptibly. Manchu troops remained isolated in Banner garrisons, and Chinese troops continued to wear Chinese uniforms and the Manchu imposed queue. Qing military forces ate Chinese food, lived in Chinese housing, and often even reverted to Chinese-style weapons.\footnote{Smith, Richard J. PDF format, http://sunzi1.lib.hku.hk/hkjo/view/44/4401326.pdf, pp. 19–20}

The existence of widespread corruption and opium smoking, coupled with the lack of modern medical and other facilities, neither improved the living conditions of the average Chinese soldier nor altered his expectations. The disastrous effects of the Sino-Japanese War on China are too well-known to require elaboration.\footnote{I. Hsu, The Rise of Modern China, Oxford Univ. Press, 1975, pp. 527–534.}

In China, the Manchus refused to sponsor basic institutional change, fearful of upsetting the system of military checks and balances that had preserved their rule in China for over two hundred years. They were more concerned with the maintenance of internal control than with the problem of external defense, the Manchus had little incentive to go beyond the limited military changes that had enabled them to suppress the major rebellions of the 1860’s and 70’s. It was not until 1907 that the throne took the first concrete steps to dismantle the costly, cumbersome and worthless Manchu Banner system steps that even then were soon retraced.\footnote{Perkins, Dwight, Government as an Obstacle to Industrialization: The Case of Nineteenth-Century China, Journal of Economic History, 1967, pp. 486–492.}

It should be noted that Manchu rule was less significant in other areas of Chinese life, especially in the economy. Dwight Perkins has insisted that the Qing government’s sins in the economic realm were less those of commission than of omission, that the policies of the Chinese government were not so much wrong as inadequate.
3.8 Foreigner’s Role in Military Modernization

China’s change was depending on foreigners and western technology. In the Self-Strengthening Movement period, China’s aim was to have a modern army and technology. This target of Qing China needed effective co-work with foreigners; otherwise outmoded Chinese technology could not make any help to China’s military modernization. Chinese people already knew that, this transformation could not be achieved without the help of foreign powers. In a reason of that provisional leaders demanded the help of foreigners at the beginning of modernization phase. They asked the help of invaders such as Britain, Germany and USA etc…

Qing government has welcomed the foreign teachers and military officials to country. Many of them were employed in the new military units and with their help, provisional leaders have managed to build first western style of military units such as arsenals and dock yards. Since Opium Wars, China was having more foreign influence and it was gradually growing in her borders.

British penetration into China was different than it was into India and other places. Britain never controlled large amounts of territory. Its control was centered more on directly controlling trade under a very weak national government rather than trying to control local leaders as was done in India.187

The strategy behind colonialism in China was for the British to control all the institutions and for the Chinese to provide support. The British, the heads of the big Western companies, dealt with their Chinese workers with Chinese go-betweens known as compradors.

British colonialism was in part based on the view that Chinese were morally inferior and was unable to govern themselves. The Chinese were characterized as drug-addicted degenerates. One of the primary reason drug addiction took hold in China was because Britain forcibly legalized drug use and made opium plentiful and easy to get.

The period after accepted the foreign technology the "change in China" has started in the borders, especially east coast of China. After employed foreigners and their methods military modernization has gained more speed. This was the preparation for the new coming future and new conflicts in the East Asia. China’s rival Japan were making the same modernization reform and even faster than China, However, China’s western rivals Britain, France and the others still waiting for their time to hit China. And silently they were making their deep plans for future. China was paying so much money to employ foreigners. It was very hard for China to keep them in the country. Foreigners especially individual, they were helping China but their countries were making sinister plans on Chinese land. The Western countries were looking their interests on China.

The author of this study wants to give some names that have had impacts in China’s military modernization phase. These are the foreigners of invader countries. They are making many and teaching China their advanced technology. The author of this study thinks that, giving some of the names would make this study more understandable. Theses names would open a new window to reader who wants to research further about foreigners of the modernization movement in China.
3.8.1 Some Important Foreigners during Military Modernization

After China started to employ foreigners in her borders western countries rushed to help China and also get more privileges from her. Chinese technology needed to Western teachers to lead China’s scientific and military modernization. From many western countries many talented and capable men set off to help China. The author wants to give some key names about the China’s military learnings from foreigners. These key names will help to understand which foreigners have had effect on China. However, it is impossible to give the entire foreigner’s information in this study. Therefore, these names must be seen as some of the most important foreigners in the movement. ¹⁸⁸

3.8.1.1 Léonce Verny (December 2, 1837-May 2, 1908)

He was a French officer and naval engineer who directed the construction of the Yokosuka Naval Arsenal in Japan. He is a very important figure in Japan’s modern history. Léonce Verny did many modernization contributions to Japan. His teachings and leadership led the Japan have the understanding of western technology and Japan has used this advantage against to China in Sino-Japanese War. He helped

the Japanese to build the Yokosuka Arsenal. Léonce Verny experienced numerous problems during his tenure in Japan, as the expectations of the Japanese government and military were very high, but funding was very limited, and Verny had to create much of the necessary infrastructure from scratch. When visited by the French construction director of the Chinese Fuzhou Arsenal in 1871, Verny noted that the Chinese budget was three times larger than his. He also led many modern infrastructure projects from 1865 to 1876, thus helping jump-start Japan's modernization. He studied at Lyon and entered the Institute for Applied Maritime Science at Cherbourg in 1858, where he became a Naval Engineer. He worked for the French state in the arsenals of Brest and Toulon.

Léonce Verny was sent to Ningbo and Shanghai in China from 1862-1864, to supervise the construction of four gunboats for the Chinese Navy, as well as a new shipyard. During that time, he was also French Vice-Consul in Ningbo. He promoted the French technology in China. Léonce Verny is remembered in Japan as a symbol of modernization and of friendship with France. A park has been built in his name on the seafront next to the naval base of Yokosuka.

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189 The author used the French web site for this part for more information please refer to: 
http://www.medarus.org/Ardeche/07celehr/07ceITex/verny_leonce.htm


3.8.1.2 Prosper Giquel (1835-1886)

Prosper Marie Giquel, was a French naval officer and he has played an important role in the modernization of 19th century China. Prosper Giquel first arrived in China in 1857 as part of the allied assault forces of the Arrow War. He took the opportunity of that service in the Canton occupation force allowed. He also began the study of Chinese language and in a couple of years he managed to have a good Chinese ability. In late 1861 he joined the Imperial Maritime Customs Service under Robert Hart, as the director of the Ningbo office and remained there until the city was captured by the forces of the Taiping Rebellion in December 1861\textsuperscript{192}.

After spending the following spring working in the coordinated French and English campaign to drive the rebels from Shanghai, he returned to Ningbo to organize the force which eventually became the Ever-Triumphant Army, also known as the “Franco-Chinese force”. The force numbered between 2,000 and 3,000 men. In 15 March 1863, the force, under the command of Ensign Paul d'Aiguebelle captured the city of Shaoxing from the Taiping rebels. Prosper Giquel took command of the “Franco-Chinese force” when Paul d'Aiguebelle returned to France, but the force was soon dissolved in October 1864, in agreement with Zuo Zong Tang\textsuperscript{193}.

Prosper Giquel supervised the establishment of the Fuzhou Arsenal. In 1866 Giquel became very deeply involved in the organization and planning for the Fuzhou Dockyard project envisioned by Zuo Zong Tang. From 1867 to 1874 he served as European director of the project which Shen Bao Zhen, as the imperial commissioner,


headed. The objective of the dockyard was to create a modern Chinese fleet of warships and transports, and to educated technicians in Western sciences. These efforts contributed to China’s Self-Strengthening Movement of acquiring Western knowledge (similarly the Nanjing Arsenal was put under the responsibility of the Englishman Halliday Macartney).\(^{194}\)

Having completed his direct administration of the project by 1874, Giquel continued to serve the dockyard by working as a consultant, purchasing agent, and co-director of the European Educational Mission in 1877. The educational mission's goal was to provide developed technical training to complement the dockyard's instructional program.

In the middle of 1870’s and 1880’s Giquel became increasingly involved in international diplomacy. His first challenging international deal was being an adviser during the Taiwan crisis; a diplomatic clash between Japan and China in 1874.

In 1881, he helped Zeng Ji Ze peacefully conclude the “Ili crisis" between China and Russia. Giquel spent his last years, 1883-1885, struggling to help

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\(^{195}\) For more information about Zeng Ji Ze and Sino-French War please read Eastman, L., *Throne and Mandarins: China’s Search for a Policy during the Sino-French Controversy*, USA: California, Stanford, 1984.

\(^{196}\) Zeng Jize, one of China’s earliest ministers to London, Paris and Saint Petersburg, he played an important role in the diplomacy that preceded and accompanied the Sino-French War in 1884–1885. He was the eldest son of Zeng Guo Fan.

\(^{197}\) Ili crisis: (1871–81) Ili Crisis was a dispute over Ili, a territory bordering on Russian Turkistan that is now in the Uygur Autonomous Region of Xinjiang. Using the excuse of a Muslim rebellion in the area, the Russian forces occupied Ili, but, when confronted with Chinese military force, they signed the Treaty of St. Petersbourg (Feb. 24, 1881), under which they returned a portion of the area to China. Encouraged by this success, the Qingliu party insisted that a similar militancy be employed against the French, who were encroaching on what is now Vietnam, at the time China’s largest tributary state in the south. Efforts to appease France were abandoned, and China became embroiled in the Sino-French War (1883–85), but the resulting military setbacks caused the Qingliu to fall from power. The only
end the Sino-French war which had broken out due to conflicting Sino-French claims
to Indochina. Among the traumatic events of that period, certainly for Prosper Giquel,
was the August 1884 destruction by the French navy of the Fuzhou Dockyard, the
principal accomplishment of his entire career in China, in the Battle of Fuzhou

3.8.1.3 Sir Robert Hart (20 February 1835 – 20 September 1911)

Robert Hart has received from college a British Foreign Office nomination as
student interpreter in the China consular service. His first work destination was
Canton Region/Hong Kong, in Canton he has served in the Superintendence of Trade
under the orders of Sir John Bowring, the Governor of Hong Kong

In September 1854, Robert Hart was appointed to the British vice-consulate in
Ningbo as supernumerary interpreter. After a dispute broke out between the British
Consul and the Portuguese Consul, Robert Hart was given the responsibility of
managing the consulate for several months. Hart’s calmness and good judgment in the
face of brutalities between the Chinese and Portuguese earned him favorable
advantage from his superiors and led to his nomination to act as secretary to the allied
commissioners governing the Canton in March 1858.

member of the clique who continued to be influential after the war was the scholar and government
official Zhang Zhi Dong, who later became an advocate of partial Westernization. Please see:
Britannica Encyclopedia,

Leibo, Steven A, Transferring Technology to China: Prosper Giquel and the Chinese

Basic informations about Sir Robert Hart please refer to; Online Encyclopedia, originally appearing
in Volume V13, Page 31 of the 1911 Encyclopedia Britannica.
http://encyclopedia.jrank.org/HAN_HEG/HART_SIR_ROBERT.html
Robert Hart first served under Sir Harry Parkes, then, in October 1858, he was promoted to the British Consulate as interpreter under the orders of Sir Rutherford Alcock. The following year, he resigned to take up the post of local inspector of customs. From 1859 to 1861, this position allowed him to develop his skills in the management of customs in China.

In 1861, he was promoted to acting Inspector-General, and was named Inspector-General of Foreign Customs in 1863, in this unit he held his position until his retirement in 1907. In 1862, Robert Hart provided the Zongli Yamen with translations of international laws relating to sending diplomatic representatives abroad. Robert Hart turned what had been a contingent ad hoc innovation into a powerful, efficient and national agency of the Qing state. One measure of its expansion would be the numbers of new stations.

The year 1866, the Zongli Yamen submitted Hart’s Observations by an Outsider and Wade’s A Brief Exposition of New Ideas to the Imperial Court, in addition to stressing the importance of sending diplomats abroad. Both the submission and suggestion shocked the Imperial Court. The emperor immediately issued a decree which stated the submitted ideas about the importance of diplomacy, particularly the importance of sending out diplomatic representatives, is something that should be accepted, and, which will be done. The authors of The Late Qing Dynasty

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Diplomatic Transformation: Analysis from an Ideational Perspective, Zhang, Xiao Min and Xu, Chun Feng say that this was the first time the emperor had affirmed the idea of sending out diplomatic representatives\textsuperscript{204}.

\textsuperscript{205}By 1864 there were fourteen Customs stations, by 1877, nineteen. By 1905 there were thirty-six and by January 1931 forty-seven. Subject to caveat, each station represented a port, and sometimes a district, directly opened to international trade. But in addition the Customs was always more than a mere revenue-collacting agency. Hart and the team of administrators, engineers, and marine staff, that he recruited collected a wider and wider range of duties, developed navigation and lighthouse systems, ordered treaty port harbors, negotiated treaties, collected, collated and published reams of trade and other statistics (notably meteorological data), and sponsored the publication of works of geography, history, linguistics, medicine, and even ethno-musicology. The Customs represented China at international fairs until 1905, took on the Chinese Post Office, and was also a tool of Qing imperialism in Korea.

The Korean Customs was reorganized under customs control from 1885 onwards\textsuperscript{206}. During the service of Robert Hart two fundamental issues arose out of the 1894-95 Sino-Japanese War which dislocated the Service that Hart had built up. First there was the loss of revenue. The Taiwan Customs stations were lost to Service

\textsuperscript{204} Zhang, Xiao Min and Xu, Chun Feng, The Late Qing Dynasty Diplomatic Transformation: Analysis from an Ideational Perspective, Chinese Journal of International Politics, Vol. 1, 2007, p. 439.


control. Robert Hart described the losses as crippling, in terms of revenue loss, and the concomitant decrease in the Office allowance which paid for the upkeep of the Service\textsuperscript{207}.

Robert Hart welded his cosmopolitan staff together into a body of men wedded to a strong service ethos and strong service loyalties. This was achieved as much by autocratic whimsy as by socialization, and was the stuff of much legend and self-regard, but it had a tangible effect on the nature and efficiency of the Service. Robert Hart was the most talented European politician in China. His knowledge about China and Chinese society was very deep\textsuperscript{208}.

As Inspector General of China’s Imperial Maritime Custom Service (IMCS), his main duties included collecting customs duties for the Chinese government. His advice led to the improvement of China’s port and navigation facilities. Hart was known for his managerial and diplomatic talents, and has had many friends among Chinese and Western officials, which allowed him to direct customs operations without interruption, including during periods of turmoil such as the Boxer Rebellion.

\textsuperscript{209} Yi Xin, who also known as Prince Gong was head of the Zongli Yamen during the time of Robert Hart’s tenure in the Maritime Customs and the two men held each other in high regard. Indeed, Robert Hart was so well known in the Zongli Yamen that he had an affectionate nickname there of “Our Hart”. Robert Hart held his post till his retirement in 1910, although he left China on leave in April 1908.\textsuperscript{210}

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\textsuperscript{207} I.G. in Peking, letter 969, 21 April 1895. (SOAS Hart papers: PPMS 67 Box 3, folder 16).
\textsuperscript{208} The New York Times, January 29, 1901.
\textsuperscript{209} Quoted from Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica please see;http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Sir_Robert_Hart
\textsuperscript{210} For a reference book please see; Jack Gray, Rebellions and Revolutions: China from the 1800s to the 1980s, Oxford University Press, 1990.
\end{flushleft}
Many authors on China studies agreed, however, that the Customs Service stood testament to Hart’s ‘Genius’. It was one of the most striking monuments every produced by the genius and labour of any individual Englishman. For his successors, Sir Francis Aglen, and Sir Frederick Maze, associating themselves with Robert Hart’s legacy was a key part of their presentation of their administration, internally and externally.\textsuperscript{211}

\section*{3.8.1.4 Horatio Nelson Lay (1832 –May 4, 1898)}

\textsuperscript{212}Horatio Nelson Lay was the ambitious young British son of missionary parents. He had been appointed British Inspector of Customs in Shanghai, replacing Wade, on 31 May 1855, and on 1 July 1859 was appointed Inspector-General of a Service that was being set on a permanent footing and extended to all the treaty ports. That expansion was underpinned by the 1858 “Rules of Trade”, appended to the Treaty of Tianjin that called for “one uniform service” to be enforced at every port.\textsuperscript{213}

As the Treaty of Tianjin (天津條約) and the 1860 Convention of Peking (北京條約) (\textit{Treaty of Peking}) brought to a close the Second Anglo-Chinese or “Opium War”, opening up new ports on the Yangtze and in north China, this became a pressing issue. Lay set about establishing the service on a rational footing, poaching James Duncan Campbell from the British Treasury to be chief secretary and auditor,

\textsuperscript{211} The Times, p. 4, quoting an 1899 report, 17 July 1900.


overseeing the expansion of the Shanghai model, and dealing with the sharp tensions that arose as existing vested local interests, Chinese and foreign, adapted with ill-grace to the new system\textsuperscript{214}.

After the 1860 signing of the Treaty of Peking, Western countries began to implement their cooperation policy, so reducing tensions between China and the West. Within this new environment, the Qing government needed to adopt a fresh approach to its relations with Western powers, and the temporary template provided by the unequal treaty system was insufficient to establish a stable, dependable relations. As Qing officials had no reliable norms or guidelines for dealing with foreign affairs, they were often confused and unsure as to how to act, which adversely affected national interests. The Qing government was cognizant of its quandary and of its being the result of ignorance of Western laws and legal systems. It was consequently aware that acquiring knowledge in the uncharted area of diplomacy was an urgent matter\textsuperscript{215}.

Lay, however, was an arrogant figure, which exceeded his authority in the “Lay-Osborn flotilla\textsuperscript{216}” affair, and this led to Lay’s downfall from his posts and fame.


\textsuperscript{216} During the Taiping Rebellion the Chinese government wished to regain control over Nanjing, which had been captured by the rebel forces in 1853 and declared their capital, but lacked the necessary ships to bring troops down the Yangtze River and to provide fire support. The Chinese government turned to the British for assistance, and British agreed to provide assistance in order to bring stability to their commerce in China. In 1861, Sir Frederic Bruce, the British ambassador in Peking supported the proposal of Robert Hart, interpret of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs) to purchase British gunboats. The Emperor, exiled with the court in Jehol, accepted the proposal in July 1861. On 14 March 1862, Horatio Nelson Lay went to England with written instructions of Prince Kong. On 2 September, Queen Victoria allowed him to equip the vessels and hire their crews. The vessels should
In 1864, Lay resigned his position and returned back to England. At his city he has started to engage in financial affairs. Meiji government of the Empire of Japan hired Lay in 1869 for to help them in modernization of Japan. Japan got its first foreign loan, for 1 million pounds which was needed to finance the construction of Japan’s first railways and telegraph lines. Japanese government to believe that he would raise the money through private investors, however, Lay instead floated Japanese Sovereign bonds on the London Stock Exchange, arranging to have the interest on the bonds credited to his private accounts. When the Japanese government discovered the fraud, they cancelled his contract and appointed the British Oriental Bank in his place. 217

3.8.1.5 Thomas Francis Wade (25 August 1818 – 31 July 1895)

Francis Wade was born in London and became a very important diplomat and sinologist in the Britain’s history. His works over Chinese language was very

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impressive that he produced a syllabary in 1859 that was later amended, extended and converted into the Wade-Giles Romanization\textsuperscript{218}.

After he received his commission as lieutenant in 1841 he was exchanged into the 98th Foot, then under orders for Qing China, and he went to Hong Kong in June 1842. That was the time for First Opium War had at that time been transferred to the Yangtze River. At that place he took part in the attack on Zhenjiang and in the advance on Nanjing. In 1845, he was appointed interpreter in Cantonese to the Supreme Court of Hong Kong, and in 1846 assistant Chinese secretary to the superintendent of trade Sir John Francis Davis.

After the long service in several departments of British units Wade returned to England in 1883 and donated 4,304 volumes of Chinese literature to the Cambridge University Library's Oriental Collection. This was a very important for England because until that time they do not have such a rich resource about China. He was then elected to be the first professor of the Chinese language in Cambridge University in 1888. This is a very big success of him and with his new appointment China studies have started in England. Thomas Francis Wade has continued his studies and worked as a professor until his death at Cambridge\textsuperscript{219}.

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
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\end{thebibliography}
3.9 China’s New Modernized Army during the Movement

Chinese officials and intellectuals were of course aware that all was not well with the dynasty’s military at least since the White Lotus Rebellion (1796-1804). That Rebellion had cost between 150 and 200 million taels to suppress at a time when central revenue amounted to perhaps 50 million taels. Memorials frequently complained about the decline of the Banner and Green Standard armies. Then, in the Opium War of 1838-41, Britain demonstrated its naval power with crushing clarity\(^\text{220}\).

The Nanjing Treaty concluded in 1842 not only began modern Chinese history, but it also clearly indicated that China could no longer maintain its traditional tributary relationships with other countries. Hosea Ballou Morse’s The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, Volume 2 describes the historical significance of the Opium War: “China was the master ordering its relationship with its subject states. Now she has been deprived of mastership under the pressure of the Western powers.”\(^\text{221}\)

Shortly after, the Taiping (1852-1864) and Nian Rebellions (1851-1868) further illustrated the weakness of the dynasty’s forces. After the military reforms started in China the new army has started to appear stronger than ever. As the author has already stated in the former chapters that the second half of the 19th century, military reform aimed at re-establishing established military, financial, and


\(^{221}\) This part was quoted from Quan He Xiu’s study: The Two Systems of Diplomacy of Late Qing China External Relationship, Modernization and Transitional Phase, Journal of Northeast Asian History, Volume 5, number 1, June 2008, p. 27. Quan He Xiu used the reference book: Hosea Ballou Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, vol.1, translated by Zhang Hui Wen (張匯文), Shanghai Book Publisher, (second ed.) Aug 2000, p. 696.
bureaucratic practices, while incorporating Western firearms and Western naval ships. From one side military schools and foreign advisors were teaching Chinese people how to build a new system as Western countries did.

Great effort was expanded on strengthening Chinese military influence on the frontiers of the empire. Zuo Zong Tang (左宗棠) led the recovery of Xinjiang and Li Hong Zhang (李鴻章) strengthened the defenses of the coast, for instance by building up a modern naval forces of considerable size. I agree with scholars such as Edward McCord, Hans van de Ven, Wang Er Min (王爾敏), and K.C. Liu (劉廣京) that the Taiping Rebellion did not yet cause a decisive shift to regional military figures, as Luo Er Kang (羅爾綱) and Franz Michael have argued. Following the Taiping Rebellion, the center was in fact able to retrieve a substantial amount of military and financial power. New sources of revenue such as those of the Maritime Customs Service and taxes on domestic trade (the lijin 厘金) were crucial to this.

In short, the usual devices by which Chinese dynasties maintained their military or financial dominance were not changed fundamentally. Only one military academy was established to train a professional officer corps and this only in the 1880s. Recruitment practices remained the same as in the past. Centralisation of command, standardisation of training and equipment, and the separation of military

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224 For the use of Customs revenues, see Tang Xianglong (湯象龍), *Zhongguo Jindai Haiguan Shuishou he Fenpei Tongji*, 中國近代海關稅收和分配統計, Statistics on Revenue and Allocations of the Maritime Customs in Modern Times, Peking, 1992.
and police functions were talked about, but not implemented. A mix of centrally controlled and local funds continued to finance the military.\footnote{Quoted from Hans van de Ven, Military and Financial Reform in the late Qing and Early Republic, p.27.}

New emerging army would contribute China’s efforts in the modernization of militarization units. In this study, in every chapter the author tries to give the main keys of the movement. Here in this part after we have an understanding of China’s modernization steps till this page, now the author can start to discuss the new army units of China and look deeper in to their structure. The author believes that, giving the name of new modernized army units of China, make reader’s questions easier to answer.\footnote{For a valuable reference book please see: LI, Xiao Bing, A History of the Modern Chinese Army, USA: Kentucky, University Press of Kentucky, 2007.}

3.9.1 Beiyang Army

The defeats led China to reform her army and after the adoption of Western technology China’s new army began to show its face. It was the one of the strongest unit of new China; The Beiyang Army.\footnote{Rawlinson, J., China’s Struggle for Naval Development 1839–1895, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967, pp. 60-150.}

The Beiyang Army (北洋軍) or we can translate it as North Ocean Army was a very powerful, Western-style Chinese military force. It was created by the Qing Dynasty government in the late 19th century in China. It was the centerpiece of a general reconstruction of China’s military system. Li Hong Zhang’s Anhui Army later transformed in to Beiyang Army. This army has done its first action during the
Taiping Rebellion. Unlike the traditional Green Standard or Banner forces of the Qing, the Anhui Army was largely a militia army based on personal, rather than institutional, loyalties. The Anhui Army was at first equipped with a mixture of traditional and modern weapons. The creator of the army, Li Hong Zhang, used the customs and tax revenues of the five provinces under his control in the 1880s and 1890s to modernize segments of the Anhui Army, and to build a modern navy (the Beiyang Fleet). It is around this time that the term “Beiyang Army” began to be used to refer to the military forces under his control.

By the mid-1890s the Beiyang Army was the best regional formation China could field. The real test of the effectiveness of the military self-strengthening reforms of the late 19th century came with the Sino-Japanese War of 1894. It was the First challenge of Beiyang Army after its formation. The First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) was fought almost entirely by the Beiyang Army, unsupported by the forces of other provinces. In the war the Beiyang Fleet, which included two pre-Dreadnought battleships, was overwhelmed by the well-served quick firing guns of a lighter Japanese fleet. Similarly, on land, Japan's German-styled conscript army, led by academy trained professional officers, handily defeated the Beiyang Army. Nonetheless, the outcome of the war showed that the best was not good enough. The Huai Army was shattered and the Beiyang fleet totally destroyed. The shock and humiliation of this defeat by a much smaller Asian nation acted as a catalyst for even more fundamental military reform. At the same time, the efficiency of Japan's more thoroughly Westernized army showed the direction these reforms would have to take.²²⁸

When Li Hong Zhang died in 1901 he was replaced by Yuan Shi Kai (袁世凱) and after this time Beiyang Army was controlled by him. Since Yuan succeeded to Li Hong Zhang’s posts as Zhili governor-general and commissioner of northern trade in 1901, he is seen as the direct heir to Li's regional organization.

Yuan Shi Kai oversaw the piecemeal reform of Qing military institutions after 1901. He founded the Baoding Military Academy, which allowed him to expand the Beiyang Army. With the creation of the Commission for Army Reorganization in December 1903, the Beiyang Army became the model on which the military forces of other provinces should be standardized.

By 1905 Beiyang Army was increased by Yuan Shi Kai to six divisions. In October he held maneuvers near Hejian in central Zhili using the newly completed Beijing-Hankou railway. Similar exercises were held the next year with Zhang Zhi Dong's army in Hubei. It was the unanimous opinion of foreign observers that the Beiyang Army was the largest, best equipped and best trained military force in China at the time that was not Western/Colonial. The Beiyang Army has played a very important role in Chinese politics for at least three decades and arguably right up to 1949.

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229 Yuan Shi Kai (1859 –1916) was an famous Chinese general and politician famous for his influence during the late Qing Dynasty, his role in the events leading up to the abdication of the last Qing Emperor of China, his autocratic rule as the second President of the Republic of China, and his short-lived attempt to revive the Chinese monarchy, with himself as the “Great Emperor of China.” For more information about him please read: Chen, Jerome. Yuan Shih-K’ai; 1859–1916. George Allen & Unwin Ltd: Liverpool, 1961.

230 This resource comes from the web database Economic Expert. This site is intended as a resource for those working or interested in working on macro-economy research, training, education and economic development. We provide a comprehensive and searchable reference tool on the web please see: http://www.economicexpert.com/a/Beiyang:Army.htm
3.9.2 Beiyang Fleet

The Beiyang Fleet was one of the four modernised Chinese navies in the late Qing Dynasty\textsuperscript{231}. The navies were heavily supported by regional leader Li Hong Zhang. The Beiyang Fleet was the dominant navy in East Asia before the first Sino-Japanese War. This strong fleet was consisted mostly of battleships imported from Germany and Britain. When the flagships Dingyuan and Zhenyuan were purchased from Germany at that time it was said The Beiyang Fleet was the “Best in Asia” and “The 8th best in the world” during the late 1880s.

The prides of the Beiyang Fleet were the German-built steel battleships Dingyuan and Zhenyuan. The Beiyang Fleet was created in 1871, when four ships from the southern provinces were shifted north to patrol the northern waters. The Beiyang fleet was actually considered to be the weakest of the four Chinese regional navies. However, with the appointment of Li Hong Zhang and his own support Beiyang Fleet became the one of the most important fleet in China. In 1884, on the eve of the Sino-French War, the Beiyang Fleet was the second-largest regional navy but was gradually closing the gap with the Nanyang Fleet, based at Shanghai. By 1890 it was the largest of China’s four regional navies\textsuperscript{232}.

Beiyang Fleet was consisted of 78 ships, with a total tonnage of 83,900 tons during its best period. However, construction of new ships almost completely stopped in 1888 due to high expenditures in other fields by the Qing Dynasty and the supposed naval expenditures were used to repair and build palaces by the Empress Dowager Cixi after she lost interest in naval construction. Due to missing

\textsuperscript{231} China’s four modernized army at that period: Beiyang Fleet, Fujian Fleet, Guangdong Fleet, Nanyang Fleet.

expenditures, the training of the fleet and personnel essentially ran to a standstill, which eventually contributed to its defeat in the Battle of the Yalu River against Japan\textsuperscript{233}.

As the author already wrote in the former chapters that the corruption in Qing dynasty among the politicians was a very serious problem. Chinese politicians systematically embezzled funds, even during the war. This was a terrible problem that was lasting long years in Chinese bureaucracy. As a result of that, the Beiyang Fleet could not purchase any battleships after its establishment in 1888. The purchase of ammunition stopped in 1891, with the funding being embezzled to build the summer palace in Beijing. Logistics were a huge problem, as construction of railroads in Manchuria had been discouraged.

Between 1881 and 1889 the Beiyang Fleet acquired a squadron of eight protected or armoured cruisers, most of which were built in either Britain or Germany. However ships were not maintained properly and indiscipline was common. When the Beiyang Fleet visited Yokohama in 1891, Togo Heihachiro was shocked to see trash on the decks and washing hanging from the guns. He liked the Chinese fleet to having the appearance of a fine sword but being no sharper than a kitchen knife\textsuperscript{234}.

The Beiyang Fleet was due to take delivery in early 1884 of Dingyuan, Jiyuan and Zhenyuan, three modern warships then building in German shipyards. In December 1883, as war with China seemed increasingly likely, the French persuaded


\textsuperscript{234} Quoted from The First Sino Japanese War’s web site please refer to; http://sinojapanesewar.com/forces.htm
the German government to delay the release of these three ships. They did not reach China until the autumn of 1885, after the end of the Sino-French War.

In February 1885 the Beiyang Fleet reluctantly released two of its ships, Chaoyong and Yangwei, to join a sortie launched by a number of ships of the Nanyang Fleet to break the French blockade of Formosa. The two ships set sail for Shanghai to join the Nanyang vessels, but were almost immediately recalled by Li Hong Zhang, who claimed that they were needed to watch the Japanese in Korea. The result was the loss of two Chinese warships from the Nanyang Fleet at the Battle of Shipu (14 February 1885). Li’s selfish attitude was neither forgotten nor forgiven, and in the First Sino-Japanese War the Nanyang Fleet made little attempt to help the Beiyang Fleet.

In the year of 1894, Japanese claimed her China’s responsibilities on Choson affairs (Korea Peninsula) and the Imperial Japanese Navy launched the First Sino-Japanese War against China. Due to the lack of government funding and the intensive Japanese naval program, Beiyang Army’s once superior resources were becoming outdated. By the time of the Battle of Yalu River (1894), the Beiyang

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237 Very important location in Korea Peninsula and for a long time in history, Japan did not give up its interests on this state. Some resources also call Chosŏn, Choson, and Chosun. This was a Korean sovereign state (July 1392 – August 1910) founded by Taejo Yi Seong-gye, and lasted for approximately five centuries.
239 The Battle of the Yalu River (黃海海戰, lit. Battle of the Yellow Sea), this war took place on September 17, 1894. Japanese and the Chinese navies fought a big war on this river which is between
Fleet suffered heavy losses due to the surprise attack of the Japanese and the inferiority of its equipment, and was eventually defeated in the Battle of Weihaiwei. Some small attempts to rebuild the fleet were made after the war, but the Beiyang Navy was never to gain the old power and importance in its former significance\textsuperscript{240}.

### 3.9.3 Guangdong Fleet

China had four regional fleets and the smallest one was the Guangdong Fleet during the second half of the 19th century. The fleet played no role in the Sino-French War (August 1884–April 1885), but several of its ships supported the Beiyang Fleet in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–5).

The composition of the Guangdong Fleet during the 1870s and early 1880s were difficult to establish. British sources record about fifteen small war vessels built and stationed at Canton between 1865 and 1885, and the fleet also contained at least seven vessels purchased from other countries\textsuperscript{241}.

Seven steamers were built in Britain or France. These ships were purchased by the governor-general of the two Guangs in 1867 for use against pirates. Although the identity of these vessels is not entirely certain, they probably included the wooden China and Korea. This war was the largest naval engagement of the First Sino-Japanese War. For more information please refer to: Navy and Marine Living History Association’s web page:

http://www.navyandmarine.org/ondeck/1894YaluBattle.htm

\textsuperscript{240} The Beiyang Web page; http://www.beiyang.org/

steamships *Feilong* (飛龍), *Tianjin* (天津), *Zhenhai*, *Anlan* (安瀾) and *Zhentao*, and the composite gunboats *Guangdong* (廣東) and *Shandong* (山東)\(^\text{242}\).

Other vessel known to have served in Guangdong waters include the flatiron gunboat *Haichangching*, were built at the Canton Dockyard and the steel Rendel gunboat *Zhenhai*, was built at Armstrong’s Mitchell Yard, Tyne, in 1881\(^\text{243}\).

In the wake of the seizure of the citadel of Hanoi in April 1882 by Henri Rivière, the Qing government decided to send a message to France that China viewed French colonial expansion in Tonkin with concern. Two ships of the Fujian Fleet, *Feiyun* and *Jian*, were accordingly seconded to the Guangdong Fleet. Used to patrol the waters of the Gulf of Tonkin and show the flag, the two Fujian ships remained in service with the Guangdong Fleet until August 1884. They were sent back to Fuzhou on the eve of the Sino-French War, where they were destroyed by French navy along with seven other ships of the Fujian Fleet in the Battle of Fuzhou (23 August 1884)\(^\text{244}\).

### 3.9.4 Fujian Fleet

The Fujian Fleet was weaker than the Beiyang Fleet and the Nanyang Fleet, though slightly stronger than the Guangdong Fleet. Fujian fleet was attacked by French navy in August 1884. Nearly all of its ships were older products of the Fuzhou Navy Yard. The fleet also included two British-built ships, the 256-ton Rendel flatiron gunboats *Jiansheng* and *Fusheng*, which had been ordered by the southern trade


commissioner Shen Bao Zhen in the wake of the Japanese incursion into southern Taiwan in 1874 and were built at Laird’s yard in Birkenhead in 1875.\textsuperscript{245}

### 3.9.5 Nanyang Fleet

China’s the other modernized fleet was the Nanyang fleet. This fleet was established in the 1870s, the fleet suffered big losses in the Sino-French War, escaped intact in the Sino-Japanese War, and was formally abolished in 1909. The main part of the fleet was Southern Fleet. This fleet was based at Shanghai and was the largest of China’s four regional fleets. The fleet was originally to have had the four steel Rendel gunboats Zhendong, Zhenxi, Zhennan and Zhenbei, completed in 1879. Li Hong Zhang was very impressed from these ships and took them for his famous Beiyang fleet.\textsuperscript{246} Besides these relatively modern gunboats the fleet also included the elderly wooden gunboats.

In July 1884, on the eve of the Sino-French War, the Nanyang fleet was reinforced by the German-built steel cruisers which sailed all the way from Germany in March 1884. During the Sino-French War the commander of the Nanyang fleet was Admiral Li Cheng Mou, he had commanded the Fujian fleet and the traditional Yangzte forces. Nanyang fleet remained safely in harbor at Shanghai or Nanking water forces. Part of the Nanyang fleet made a disastrous sortie in February 1885 to try to break the French blockade of Formosa. During the following decade the Nanyang fleet gradually lost its primacy, as Li Hong Zhang invested more in the

\textsuperscript{245} Lang Chang, 龍章, Yueh-nan yu Chung-fa chan-cheng 越南與中法戰爭, Vietnam and the Sino-French War, Taipei, 1993, p.286.

Beiyang Fleet. By 1894, on the eve of the Sino-Japanese War, the Beiyang Fleet had a comfortable superiority over the Nanyang Fleet both in numbers of ships and quality. However, the Nanyang fleet continued to have new ships after the Sino-French War, some of were pretty strong and quality.

3.10 Remarks

These were the most important fleets and armies of Qing China. However, except these units there were many others as modernized army of China. The author just gave the key military units of the modernization period. For the further studies you may research other armies such as; The New Army, Green Standard Army, Xiang Army etc…

After the discussion of military units of China we can now conclude that China had to establish a strong Navy and did it. However, mistakes in managing and controlling the army caused China troubles. Chinese soldiers were not professional enough to deal with the army affairs. China could not achieve to build a navy like Japan. Japan’s modernization was more professional than China’s and historians are still discussing the reasons of this. China had face with internal problems and this blocked the way of modernization.

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In this part of the study the author wants to focus on China’s one of the biggest mistake in the naval development. China’s internal problems or we can call it “The way of Life in the Cixi’s Place” gave China very big problems. The author thinks that in this part drawing attention to China’s some weak points would make the further parts clearer.

The first lesson that China learned in First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) was; lack of an expenditure of 7.5 million taels of silver on defense before the war cost China 600 million taels of silver after the war. This is one of the most important historical lessons of the First Sino-Japanese War. Monetary loss alone was 80 times the amount that would have been wisely spent on the military before the war. In addition, China had to give away Taiwan to Japan and suffered from various kinds of economic and non-economic losses as a result of the persistent internal instability and foreign wars.249

One another point of view holds that a buildup for a strong navy is enormously costly. In addition, during peacetime, without wars to fight, China had to spend a huge sum to maintain the navy. Furthermore, with constant advancement in science and technology, military technology and weapons equipment require constant updating and replacement as well. This will cost too much and add further financial burden to the country. This is very dangerous thinking. Whoever talks this way does not remember the bitter lessons from the First Sino-Japanese War! As we all know, the defeat in the war caused severe chaos and backwardness in our nation that lasted more than half a century, seriously impeding nation’s pace of modernization. The key to

winning that war was to gain the command of the sea. After studying two thousand
depth of history of naval warfare.

Alfred Mahan believed that whoever could control the sea would win the war
and change history; that command of the sea is achieved through decisive naval
battles on the seas; that the outcome of decisive naval battles is determined by the
strength of fire power on each side of the engagement.

Both inside and outside the Imperial Court, failed to have foresight, all believing
it was too expensive to keep a navy. The Ministry of Revenue under Weng Tong Lu
ignored the warnings from the Navy, and went on to stop naval spending for two
years. Even worse, it appropriated 7.5 million taels of silver out of the naval budget to
spend on renovating the Summer Palace for Empress Dowager’s birthday celebration.
The 7.5 millions taels that had been misused could have been used to upgrade the
navy’s weapons system and bought 280 of the most advanced rapid firing guns.
Nobody not even mention the other 10 million taels of silver the Ministry of Revenue
misappropriated for the wasteful “Sanhai Project.”

Just before the war, the Northern Fleet planned to spend three hundred and
twenty thousand taels of silver to purchase 12 rapid firing guns, but failed to come up
with this meager amount of funds. The saddest thing is that the Japanese cruiser,
Yoshino, that sank several Chinese ships including Admiral Deng Shi Chang’s flag

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250 This part was quoted from Ni Lei Xiong’s study. Please see US- China Economic and Security
Review Commission’s web page: http://www.uscc.gov/index.php, for Ni Lei Xiong’s study please see:
http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/translated_articles/2005/05_07_18_Sea_Power_and_Chinas_Deve
lopment.pdf

251 Alfred Mahan: (September 27, 1840 – December 1, 1914) was a United States Navy flag officer,
geostrategist, and educator. Many of his ideas on the importance of sea power influenced navies around
the world, and helped prompt naval buildups before World War I. His research into naval history led to
his most important work, The Influence of Sea power Upon History, 1660–1783, published in 1890.

ship, Zhiyuan, was the British made, fastest cruiser with the most powerful rapid firing guns. The cruiser was supposed to be purchased by China. But because of the shortage of funding, the Japanese bought it instead, making it the curse of the Chinese navy, taking Admiral Deng Shi Chang, along with his ships, to the bottom of the Yellow Sea.\textsuperscript{253}

After the defeat of China, Qing government has paid 230 million taels as indemnity. But China had to borrow money from the British and the French governments to pay for her indemnity, which, including interest, would later amount to 600 million taels of silver in total. In addition, Qing government also lost Taiwan Island to Japan. If the 7.5 million taels of silver were not misused before the war, instead used it to purchase 280 rapid firing guns, then the Northern Fleet would have outnumbered Japan’s guns by 107; if they used the misused 10 million taels of silver to purchase war ships, then the Japanese cruiser Yoshino could have been a capital ship of the Chinese Northern Fleet. In such a scenario, Qing forces could have won that naval battle, or at least could have shared the command of the sea. Mahan once said, the strength of tactical firepower determined the outcome of a decisive naval battle, which would determine who could have the command of the sea.\textsuperscript{254}

After the battle of the Yellow Sea, most military experts in the world believed that “This naval battle is a classic case study of rapid firing power triumphing over heavy fire power.” Failure to spend 7.5 million taels of silver on defense before the war cost China 600 million taels of silver after the war.

\textsuperscript{253} Quoted from US-China Economic and Security Review Commission’s web site please refer to: http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/translated_articles/2005/05_07_18_Sea_Power_and_China_Development.htm They quoted the article from Ni Lexion’s study on The Liberation Daily, 17 April 2005

\textsuperscript{254} Ni Lexion, \textit{Sea Power and China’s Development}, The Liberation Daily, 17 April 2005.
This is one of the most important historical lessons of the First Sino-Japanese War. Monetary loss alone was 80 times the amount that would have been wisely spent on the military before the war. In addition, China had to give away Taiwan to Japan and suffered from various kinds of economic and non-economic losses as a result of the persistent internal instability and foreign wars. Therefore, in building up China’s future defense and strong naval forces, we should see farther, free from the bother of “Enormous” naval expenditure, lest history repeat itself.255

255 This part was quoted from Ni Lei Xiong’s study. Please see US- China Economic and Security Review Commission’s web page: http://www.uscc.gov/index.php, for Ni Lei Xiong’s study please see: http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/translated_articles/2005/05_07_18_Sea_Power_and_Chinas_Development.pdf
CHAPTER FOUR: Li Hong Zhang and His Role in Self Strengthening Movement

The key figure of the Self-Strengthening period was surely China’s one of the most important Modern History figure Li Hong Zhang. He and the other leaders as Zen Guo Fan, Zuo Zong Tang etc…, launched the Westernization Movement to introduce techniques of Western capitalist production.256

The key figure in this study is Li Hong Zhang; soldier, statesman, diplomat, and industrialist leader of China. Except Li Hong Zhang the other regional leaders have also very critical roles in China’s modernization. Especially in the later periods new emerging leaders like Liang Qi Chao etc… will be the milestones for China’s ideological modernization. 257

The author of this study must point out that grand Middle Kingdom was defeated by a so-called little “Uncivilized” country awakened more Chinese people. At the coming periods of China many people felt this to be really galling and humiliating. With the efforts of regional leader like Li Hong Zhang people were drawing lessons from this bitter experience against to Western powers258.

256 The author of this study has quoted this part from Wan Xin Sheng’s online book: http://www.crvp.org/book/Series03/III-13/chapter_iii.htm Chapter 2, Overcoming Nihilism and Modernization of China, for more information please visit the web site of Council for research in Values and Philosophy: http://www.crvp.org/


258 Quan He Xiu, The Two Systems of Diplomacy of Late Qing ChinaExternal Relationship, Modernization and Transitional Phase Northeast Normal University, Journal of Northeast Asian History Volume 5, number 1, June 2008, pp. 21-44. For online version of his study please see: http://english.historyfoundation.or.kr/Data/Jnah/J5_1_A2.pdf
The Chinese finally began to realize that Western civilization included not only material civilization, but also political and economic systems, and that the latter were even more important. As a result, such intellectuals as Kang You Wei, Liang Qi Chao and Tan Si Tong (譚嗣同) initiated the Reform Movement of 1898.  

Li Hong Zhang was best known in the West for his diplomatic negotiation skills with foreign powers. He did many travels abroad and had very broad understanding Western culture. He developed his skills for political debates with foreign powers. His image in China has a very large area for historical and political scholars. Many historians and politicians have done researches about his period and lifetime. The author of this study says that maybe the most effective person of late Qing period is Li Hong Zhang.  

His importance in modern Chinese history is largely controversial, with most criticizing his lack of political insight and his failure to win a single external military campaign against foreign powers. But praising his role as a pioneer of industrial and military modernization in Late Qing, his diplomatic skills and his internal military campaigns against the Taiping Rebellion and also ended some major rebellions. He was a leading statesman of the late Qing Empire. His time was full of his achievements but after the defeat in First Sino-Japanese War, Li had become a literary symbol for China’s embarrassments in the late Qing Dynasty. He got many criticisms about the defeat against to Japanese.  

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260 欧阳跃峰(Yue-Feng Ouyang);关成刚(Cheng-Gang Guan);安雪(Xue An), 五邑大學學報(社會科學版), 10 卷 3 期(2008/08) 頁次 42-45.  
In this chapter of study the author wants to give objective information about his period. The author thinks that understanding Li Hong Zhang is a key to grab the importance of his efforts for Chinese military and society.

4.1 Li Hong Zhang’s Life

The author’s key person of the military modernization of China is Li Hong Zhang. The author thinks that his international skills and contacts have important effects in China. Thus, the author gives the priority to Li Hong Zhang. His Confucian values and efforts make him the main person of this study.

Li Hong Zhang was born in the village of Qunzhi in Modian Township. This place is 14 kilometers northeast of downtown Hefei, Anhui. In Chinese modern history Li Hong Zhang is seen one of the first pioneers of modernization period. From very early in his life, he showed very remarkable and successful ability and he achieved to become a shengyuan in the imperial examination system. Li became Zeng’s student in Peking and thus began the long and close association between these two men which was to affect the course of Chinese history.\(^{262}\)

In 1847, he obtained the highest level in the Imperial examination system (Jinshi degree). Two years later he gained admittance into the Hanlin Academy. After a short period the central provinces of the empire were invaded by the Taiping rebels, and in defense of his native district he raised a regiment of militia. His service to the

\(^{262}\) Quoted from the web data base of: Encyclopedia of World Biography, on Li Hong Zhang http://www.bookrags.com/biography/li-hung-chang/
imperial cause attracted the attention of Zeng Guo Fan, the generalissimo in command.

In 1859, Li Hong Zhang was transferred to the Fujian province and in this place where he was given the rank of attendant of circuit. At Zeng’s request, he fought against to dangerous and strong rebels. He found his cause supported by the “Ever Victorious Army,” which, having been raised by an American named Frederick Townsend Ward, was placed under the command of Charles George Gordon. With this support Li Hong Zhang has gained many victories leading to the surrender of Suzhou. For these successful exploits, he was made governor of Jiangsu; afterwards Li Hong Zhang was decorated with an imperial yellow jacket, and was enfeoffed as an earl.\footnote{Samuel Chu. C, Kwang Ching Liu, \textit{Li Hung Chang and China’s Early Modernization}, London: An East Gate Book, 1988, pp. 10–45.}

An incident connected with the surrender of Suzhou soured Li’s relationship with Gordon. By an arrangement with Gordon, the rebel princes yielded Nanjing on condition that their lives should be spared. In spite of the agreement, Li ordered their instant execution. This breach of faith so infuriated Gordon that he seized a rifle, intending to shoot the falsifier of his word, and would have done so had Li not fled. On the suppression of the rebellion (1864), Li took up his duties as governor, but was not long allowed to remain in civil life. On the outbreak of the Nian Rebellion in Henan and Shandong (1866)\footnote{Liu, Kwang-ching. \textit{The Confucian as Patriot and Pragmatist: Li Hung-Chan’s Formative Years, 1823-1866}, Harvard: Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 30, 1970, pp. 5-45.}, he was ordered again to take to the field, and after some misadventures, he succeeded in suppressing the movement. A year later, he was appointed viceroy of Huguang, where he remained until 1870, when the Tianjin Massacre necessitated his transfer to the scene of the outrage. He was appointed to the
viceroyalty of the metropolitan province of Zhili, and justified his appointment by the energy with which he suppressed all attempts to keep alive the anti-foreign sentiment among the people. For his services, he was made imperial tutor and member of the grand council of the empire, and was decorated with many-eyed peacock feathers\(^{265}\).

To his duties as viceroy were added those of the superintendent of trade, and from that time until his death, with a few intervals of retirement. In his political career Li Hong Zhang created the foreign policy of China. He concluded the Chefoo Convention with Sir Thomas Wade (1876), and thus ended the difficulty caused by the murder of Mr. Margary in Yunnan; he arranged treaties with Peru and Japan, and he directed the Chinese policy in Korea.

On the death of the Tongzhi Emperor in 1875, Li Hong Zhang introduced a large armed force into the capital and effected a coup d'etat which placed the Guang Xu Emperor on the throne under the tutelage of the two dowager empresses.

In 1886, on the conclusion of the Sino-French War, he arranged a treaty with France. Li was impressed with the necessity of strengthening the empire, and while viceroy of Zhili he raised a large well-drilled and well-armed force, and spent vast sums both in fortifying Port Arthur and the Taku forts and in increasing the navy. For years, he had watched the successful reforms effected in Japan and had a well-founded dread of coming into conflict with that nation.\(^{266}\)

Because of his important role in Chinese diplomacy in Korea and of his strong political relations in Manchuria, Li Hong Zhang has found himself leading Chinese forces during the very disastrous Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). In fact, it was mostly the armies that he established and controlled that did the fighting, whereas

\(^{265}\) Cited from: [http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Li_Hongzhang](http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Li_Hongzhang)

other Chinese troops led by his rivals and political enemies did not come to their aid. Corruption rife in the army further disadvantaged China.\textsuperscript{267}

For instance, one official used ammunition funds for personal use. As a result, shells ran out for some of the battleships during battle forcing one navy commander, Deng Shi Chang, to resort to ramming the enemy ships. The defeat of his modernized troops and a small naval force at the hands of the Japanese undermined his political standing, as well as the wider cause of the Self-Strengthening Movement. Li paid a personal price for China’s defeat, while signing the Treaty of Shimonoseki (馬關條約) ending the war: a Japanese assassin fired at him and wounded him in the face, below the left eye. As compensation, the treaty was softened.

In 1896, he has traveled around in Europe and the United States of America, where he advocated reform of the American immigration policies that had greatly restricted Chinese immigration after the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (renewed in 1892. He also witnessed the 1896 Royal Naval Fleet Review at Spithead.) It was during his visit to Britain in 1896 that Queen Victoria made him a Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order.

Li Hong Zhang played a major role in ending the Boxer Rebellion. In 1901, he was the principal Chinese negotiator with the foreign powers who had captured Beijing, and, on September 7, 1901, he signed the treaty (Boxer Protocol) ending the Boxer crisis, obtaining the departure of the foreign armies at the price of huge indemnities for China. Exhausted, he died two months later cause liver Inflammation increase spitting blood at Shenlian Temple in Beijing. Guangxu created him the title

Marquis Suyi of the First Class (一等肅毅後). After his death, this Peerage was inherited by his grandson Li Guo Jie\textsuperscript{268}.

4.2 His Role in the Self-Strengthening Movement and Military Modernization

The key person of this study Li Hong Zhang has seen that getting control of China needed the military modernization first. Besides other units like, banks, schools, weapons etc… must be renewed. That was the way that Li has seen the better and strong China. His skills in International relations gave him a big chance to deal with the foreigners better than the others in China. He could communicate with in International way. His key role was accepting the Western technology and leading the foreigners in the borders. He had a very careful position with Qing rulers otherwise Qing rulers especially the empress Cixi could cut the limited support to him. He knew that getting well along with the Qing Palace could give him more space to improve China’s army. Beside the army Li also wanted to improve Chinese Maritime Customs, the banking system and railways in China.

In this part of the study the author gives his important decisions and efforts for the movement.\textsuperscript{269} As the key person of Military Modernization of China, Li Hong Zhang’s efforts would advance the further case studies about him and his period’s other figures.


\textsuperscript{269} Imperial Chinese Navy’s web site: http://www.beiyang.org/mrt/lhz.htm
4.2.1 Chinese Maritime Customs and Li Hong Zhang’s Role

In the former chapters author gave the basic information about the Chinese Maritime Customs (CMC). In this part author wants to focus on Li Hong Zhang’s efforts for this unit. This unit sure was one of his most important achievements in Chinese modern History.

By the 1870s provincial officials beg the state to, as Li Hong Zhang put in it a letter about the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company (CMC), get a share of the foreigners’ profits. Inviting merchants (Zhaoshang) (招商) was used to involve private shipping in the transport of tribute rice along the Grand Canal in the early 19th century.

Li Hong Zhang’s original goal for the CMC fit the zhaoshang pattern, by providing government incentives for merchants to invest their own capital in company shares. Moreover, at no time did the state prohming businesses on their own. Between 1872 and 1883 management of the CMC was left to its merchant investors. Government subsidies, largely in the form of preferential use of company shto move tribute rice, assured large profits during these early years of the firm.270

In 1883 the government replaced merchant management with bureaucratic management. From then on merchant support for the weakened, company funds were increasingly donated to support the government investment in maintain wharfs, build warehouses and buy new ships declined. In the end the principle of guandu shangban (State-supervised merchant-managed industrial development) did not provide a template for the kind of government support for early industrialization that scholars

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270 A useful reference book Zhang Jia Yun, Gong Guo Nan Duan Li Hong Zhang Yin Ke Publisher House, 2009.
like Gershenkrhave argued was critical for the development of later industrializing countries.

By the 1880s a beleaguered Chinese state increasingly diverted the income from *guandushangban* companies directly into ventures of a less commercial nature. Li Hong Zhang himself diverted CMC funds to the Beiyang Navy and other projects. Moreover, newly recovered from the mid-Qing rebellions and engaged in a war with the British, then French, then the Japanese and then with the whole foreign community and the Boxer rebels, its institutional supports that would have encourose.  

4.2.2 Patriotism: Li Hong Zhang and the Foreign Threat

In 1862, three of China’s most important and effective officials, Zeng Guo Fan, Li Hong Zhang, and Zuo Zong Tang, were locked in a mortal battle against the last hold outs of Hong Xiu Quan’s Taiping Rebellion. Even as the armies of Zeng and Li used Western designed weapons and troops (The Ever Victorious Army led first by the American Frederick Townshend Ward and later by Charles “Chinese” Gordon), Li Hong Zhang has started to worry about the motives of foreign intervention in this internal conflict and at the growing power of the foreigners in China’s major port cities.

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In early August 1862, he wrote to Zuo Zong Tang:

“Although Shanghai is on our population register and on our map, the hearts of the officials and the people have long since gone over to the foreigners, as if unaware that the Chinese [themselves] can still manage affairs and that the Chinese troops can still fight”\(^{272}\)

Li Hong Zhang has strongly suspected that the British and French had territorial designs on China in the areas adjacent to Shanghai and Ningpo. By mid-August, Li wrote Zeng Guo Fan that local Western-language newspapers (which were translated for him regularly) had published a proposal that all of Shanghai, not just the foreign settlement, should be placed under Western control until the Taiping threat receded.

“In my official communication to the Zongli Yamen,” Li reported to Zeng, “I had said earlier that it was difficult to guarantee that someday the foreigners would not occupy [Shanghai]…We are treading on frost over ice; there is indeed a hidden danger.\(^ {273}\)

In the midst of the Taiping rebellion, it is telling that Li, who would go on to be the Qing’s most important and celebrated diplomat and statesman, would feel such

\(^{272}\) Qing Dynasty History web site, *Jottings from the Granite Studio*, Jottings from the Granite Studio provides commentary, analysis, and opinion on China and Chinese history. It is written by Jeremiah Jenne, a PhD Candidate at a large public research university in Northern California. Currently, Jeremiah is in Beijing teaching history, doing archival research, and working on his dissertation. This part quoted from: http://granitestudio.org/2006/10/28/patriotism-li-hongzhang-and-the-foreign-threat/

trepidation at the growing foreign influence on China’s coast. Li is writing in 1862. Two years earlier, an Anglo-French allied force had marched on Beijing and razed the Summer Palace to the ground. Even as they provided arms and troops for the Qing against the Taiping, Britain and France forced the Qing to renegotiate the earlier Opium War treaties on terms even more favorable to the foreign powers including (for the first time) outright legalization of the opium trade and the right for foreigners to buy land to build churches and missions anywhere in the Qing Empire.

Even early in his career, Li could see that despite the danger of the Taiping armies, in the long term, it was the Europeans who posed the real threat to the future of the Qing Empire.

But that begs the question: Did officials such as Li and Zeng Guo Fan want to preserve the Qing dynasty and the Manchu court or were they trying to save something else? Some might argue that they were culturalists, trying to preserve the “Ancient Confucian traditions.” The late and eminent Qing historian, K.C. Liu, disagreed and saw in Li the prototype of the modern patriot.

Li’s letters of 1862–1863 show that a new patriotism was growing in him, one distinguished from the traditional Chinese pride in the celestial dynasty and in the inherited culture. He had to deal constantly with European consuls and naval and military men; he could not but be aware that the world was made up of contenders of varying strength and that the West was superior to the China in power and technology. Li continued, of course, to identify with the Qing dynasty, as he would do throughout his life. But when he used the phrase Zhong Guo (中國) or Zhong Tu (中土), which he frequently did, he was undoubtedly thinking not just of the dynasty, but also of China’s land and people…
Li Hong Zhang wrote repeatedly in his letters that the future role of the Europeans in China “Depends on the strength of China’s armies,” and that if China should fail to strengthen herself, “The calamity for the future is unthinkable”. “The quest to be a strong and independent nation capable of standing up to the world has been a quest for Chinese patriots for a long time”. 274

The fears of Li Hong Zhang would only partially come true: China never became a full colony. However, the restrictions placed on China’s development by the foreign treaties would make modernization difficult and the Qing court’s continued resistance to the ideas and plans of men such as Li and Zeng Guo Fan impeded the importation and dissemination of Western military and industrial technology. Moreover Li, more than Zeng Guo Fan, understood that there was more behind the military power and industrial capability of the west than simple technology. Li was no blind culturalist, but he was nevertheless in a box of his own making: tied to the dynasty by circumstance and title, he was loath to change the system that made him the man he was.

It would have meant to have had a leader like Li Hong Zhang or Zeng Guo Fan? What did they think as imperial negligence and official corruption wasted or distorted their best plans and ideas?

The questions Li asked resonate down to the present day: How can China be a strong and independent nation? How to stand against other nations? Li Hong Zhang

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274 Quoted from Qing Dynasty History web site, Jottings from the Granite Studio: http://granitestudio.org/2006/10/28/patriotism-li-hongzhang-and-the-foreign-threat/


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asked that question in 1862. Yan Fu, Liang Qi Chao (梁啓超), Sun Yat Sen (孫中山), and Mao Ze Dong (毛澤東) among many others, would take up the call.276

4.2.3 Li Hong Zhang’s Germany Visit and Policy

After Germany won the war against France in 1870/71, news of the military success immediately spread to Qing officials. Their success at war made the Qing officials so curious about German’s technology that they thought to have their support in China’s military modernizations. At that time Li Hong Zhang knew that the strong power of Germany and he was looking forward to have more relations with Germany and the other European countries.

First and foremost Li Hong Zhang saw Germany as an example and partly also as an ally, as ten years previous France together with England had conquered and burnt the summer palace of the emperor. Under the framework of the Self-Strengthening movement and on Li’s initiative, a group of seven sergeants were sent to Germany.277

In Berlin, the young Chinese received about three years of training at the Prussian Military Academy in Spandau under the supervision of the German colonel Lehmeyer, who had been working for three years with the Krupp envoy in Tianjin.

276 Quoted from Qing Dynasty History web site, Jottings from the Granite Studio’s web site: http://granitestudio.org/2006/10/28/patriotism-li-hongzhang-and-the-foreign-threat/
277 This part was Cited from Dr. Hong Meng’ study and amended by the author, Chinese in Germany at the end of the Qing-Dynasty, J. of the GCPD, Vol. 7, No. 1, October 2003, pp. 33-36. For Pdf version of his study please visit: http://www.gcpd.de/publication/wuli03/meng.pdf
The inevitable opening of China to the world led to increased private travel of Chinese to Germany from the middle of the 19th century onwards. According to recent archive studies the first Chinese student was enrolled in a German university as early as 1873. Rankin H., from the port city Ningbo, enrolled in Easter of 1873 for one semester at the faculty of philosophy in the Leipzig University. It was only in the winter term of 1898/99 that another Chinese from Beijing called Xu Shen started to study Law at the University of Berlin. Prior to that he had been teaching Chinese at the faculty for oriental languages since 1891. One year later two other graduates of the Chinese public academy for foreign languages “Tongwenguans” (同文馆) started to study in Germany.278

The famous visit of the Chinese viceroy Li Hong Zhang at the end of the 19th century was a special event for the citizens of Berlin. Li Hong Zhang was famous for his “Construction plan for China and his negotiation skills with regard to foreign affairs.” At the Court of Prussia he was even called the “Bismarck of the East”.

On 13th June 1896 Li Hong Zhang has arrived in Berlin, coming by train from Russia. The reception that awaited him was very extraordinary. Reichs-Chancellor Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst went through the suburbs on special order of Emperor William II in order to escort Li in a pompous decorated four-wheeled coach, pulled by six horses, into the Capital of the German Reich. In Berlin, Li enjoyed the special attention of three German China Experts. On the second day of his visit Li was invited

278 Cited from Dr. Hong Meng’ study, Chinese in Germany at the end of the Qing-Dynasty, J. of the GCPD, Vol. 7, No. 1, October 2003, pp. 33-36. For Pdf version of his study please visit: http://www.gcpd.de/publication/wuli03/meng.pdf
by Emperor William II to his palace where he was awarded the decoration of the “Großkreuz des Roten Adlerordens”. 279

In his visit to Berlin, Li Hong Zhang has met several other politicians, he visited some factories for military equipment as well as some shipyards in Potsdam, before going to Friedrichsruhe to meet Bismarck (奥托馮俾斯麥), who was eminently respectable in China. When Li Hong Zhang met with his counterpart Bismarck, China and Germany were having very limited relations. Bismarck has warmly welcomed him and said:

“I am very happy to see you in my country, it is for me very great pleasure to welcome China’s most celebrated statesman.` After hearing this words Li Hong Zhang replied very softly and in a gentle manner `Now I have seen your Serenity’s eye, I fully understand your greatness. I know today I see a hero of many successes. When they began to talk about China Li Hong Zhang asked Bismarck” How can we best reform in China? We want to have a modern and stronger army. We have the men but not enough trained as we want. Now I am here for to ask your advice and support. We must reorganize and we must do it with the

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279 The Order of the Red Eagle was an order of chivalry of the Kingdom of Prussia. This medal was awarded to both military personnel and civilians, to recognize valor in combat, excellence in military leadership, long and faithful service to the kingdom, or other achievements. As with most German (and most other European) orders, the Order of the Red Eagle could only be awarded to commissioned officers or civilians of approximately equivalent status. However, there was a medal of the order, which could be awarded to non-commissioned officers and enlisted men, lower ranking civil servants and other civilians.
help of Prussian officials and on the Prussian model. Bismarck replied “Army need to be distributed all over the country.” After they talked a while the topic turned to German questions and foreign politics. Bismarck started to talk about the Prince Hohenlohe whom he had been friends for 30 years. He said he always interested in China. He then continued to talk about their daily life and took pictures with the other officials. Later, Li Hong Zhang wrote to Bismarck’s album in Chinese; ‘After hearing with admiration for more than 30 years of the fame of the greatest statesman of the present century it give me very great pleasure to see Serenity Prince Bismarck at his country, during my extraordinary mission in Europe and to write my name in this book in commemoration of this happy event.” Prince Bismarck accompanied the Viceroy Li Hong Zhang to his carriage, and they bade each other a hearty farewell, amid the cheers of the bystanders. 280

However, two years later however German troops, for Li the archetype for the Chinese troops, occupied the Chinese Bay of Jiaozhou, and Qingdao became a German Colony. When Prince Chun visited Berlin in 1901 the atmosphere in the German Court had changed to against the Middle Kingdom.

Due to the assassination of the German envoy in Beijing, von Ketteler during the boxer-uprising, the younger brother of the Chinese emperor not only had to pay huge reparation, he also had to apologize on behalf of the Qing Government. The

exotic young prince however was able to gain the respect of the Germans because of his excellent literature and negotiation skills; his politeness was also highly appreciated. Not only he did bring precious gifts for the German emperor but he also distributed presents among the attendees of invitations and receptions or awarded decorations. He visited German companies and cities where he was warmly welcomed with “Hurrah”.

In Danzig, Emperor William II awarded him later with military decorations. The excitement of the German population for the Chinese prince made it possible for Chinese living in Germany to wear their traditional Chinese costumes again. After Chun’s visit to Germany, the German government changed its colonial policy towards China. Instead of military measures, Germany placed emphasis on cultural policy. China introduced broad reforms within the so-called “New Policy”. Between the two countries a productive approach took place, not only in the economic sector but also in political and cultural aspects.  

4.2.4 Li Hong Zhang’s United Kingdom Visit and Policy

Following defeat in the first Sino-Japanese war (1894-5), Li Hong Zhang, an imperial envoy of the first rank, visited Great Britain in August 1896. The visit lasted 20 days, and took him, in addition to London, to Southampton, Portsmouth, Manchester, Flintshire (Wales), Barrow-in-Furness (Cumbria), Glasgow, Rothbury (Northumberland) and Newcastle upon Tyne, among other places. While in the UK,  

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281 This part was cited from Dr. Hong Meng’ study, Chinese in Germany at the end of the Qing-Dynasty, J. of the GCPD, Vol. 7, No. 1, October 2003. For PDF version of his study please refer to: http://www.gcpd.de/publication/wuli03/meng.pdf
he was received by Queen Victoria at Osborne House, Isle of Wight, and also met with a number of important people, including the Prime Minister Lord Salisbury (Robert Cecil), the former Prime Minister William Gladstone, and the renowned scientist, Lord Kelvin (William Thomson).

The visit of Viceroy Li Hong Zhang’s visit was extensively recorded in the British press and official archives, and was the main object of my research indifferent libraries during the period of Mellon Foundation fellowship at the NRI in 2006-2007.

One of the most interesting reports concerns Li’s toast at a reception that the Great Eastern Extension (telegraph and cable) Co. gave in his honor at its headquarters in Greenwich:

“We Chinese people live in a world of evolution, in which the two principles, the struggle for existence, and the survival of the fittest, will always hold good. Telegraphy and railways are the fittest means of communication… I have always the amalgamation and combination of European skill with the unlimited natural resources we have in China and the prosperity of the Chinese telegraph administration shows the effect of the combination… a combination of European scientific knowledge with Chinese

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282 The Needham Research Institute, is the home of the Science and Civilization in China Project, and houses the East Asian History of Science Library. As a recognized global centre of study, the NRI offers a unique collection of books and other published materials on the history of science, technology and medicine in East Asia, and welcomes scholars from all over the world. Please see: http://www.nri.org.uk
natural resources not only for the benefit of England and China, but for the benefit of humankind in this world”.

Through this visit, Li Hong Zhang undoubtedly gained a more profound knowledge of the general state of the world and of the weak, impoverished condition China was in. However, his notion of achieving “Benefit of humankind in this world” through the “Combination of European scientific knowledge with Chinese natural resources” was only a daydream in an era when Social Darwinism prevailed.

Li Hong Zhang’s era saw the worse Imperialism attacks of foreigners in China and Asia region. The Western strong powers have made plans to share Asia and its rich recourses. In this reason, they were looking for new plans throughout the continent. Building railways would make the transportation easier, so foreign powers could easily send equipments in the region when needed.

In this part, the author of this study wants to dig out many key details about the Asia and Chinese territory. Here the author’s will is making the Imperialism steps clearer for reader. Understanding the background of railway building will open a vast road for the next coming future of China. 19th century railways will be the key locations in 20th century. This part includes the background, Li Hong Zhang’s era and later periods of railway constructions.

During the last years of the 19th century, the railway was the chosen as tool by European big empires of the West. The golden rule was: Build the railway and get the

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283 The Times, Aug 15, 1896.
284 Prof. Lin Dun, *Chinese Premier in Queen Victoria’s Land*, Needham Research Institute, Cambridge: Newsletter, New Series, No. 4, December 2007, p. 3
resources out. Using the advantages of railways, Europeans started to build railways all around the Asia. It was at this time that the European empires acquired their final boundaries, and the role of railways in that process was critical. Thus, on China’s northern frontier Russian Finance Minister Sergius Witte both consolidated the Russian Far Eastern Empire and laid the abortive foundations of another in Manchuria with the building of the Tran Siberian and Chinese Eastern railways.286

At the same time, on China’s southern frontier both British and French adventurers staked out imperial claims with railway proposals. The earliest proposal dated from 1866 and envisaged the connection of the British Burmese port of Moulmein with Simao in Yunnan through Chiang Mai. At that time the concept of a frontier scarcely existed on the upper Salween or Mekong, but clearly this would anticipate British domination of both northern Siam and part of Yunnan.

By the beginning of early 1880s two energetic British imperial publicists, Holt Hallett and Archibald Colquhoun, were identified with the scheme which became known as “The overland to China.” The prospect of penetrating and exploiting the putative wealth of southwestern China from Britain’s Indian empire and only a railway could make it possible.287

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286 In this part the author has used the study of Robert Lee’s: Tools of Empire or Means of National Salvation? The Railway in the Imagination of Western Empire Builders and their Enemies in Asia, University of Western Sydney, Macarthur, for internet version please visit: http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/irs/irshome/papers/robert1.htm#1.

The political chaos and terrible topography of the region, which made for grand adventures and fine scenery but very expensive railways, scarcely discouraged late Victorian enthusiasts from such schemes.

Even more quixotic was the first French plan to build a railway in the area. This came from the feverish imagination of Frédéric Haas, one of France’s most enthusiastic and long serving but least prudent consuls in China and Southeast Asia. In 1885 he represented the Republic in Mandalay during the last months of Burmese independence. He sought to win the Ava monarchy over to alliance with France, and offered as a sweetener the construction of a railway from Haiphong to Mandalay. The line would pass through the same inhospitable country as the Hallett-Colquhoun scheme, with even less economic purpose. The government in Paris quickly disavowed Haas proposed treaty and railway, and his career thereafter did not prosper.288

It was a real railway, the line from Rangoon to Toungoo which had opened early in 1885, which helped determine the fate of Burma much more than any imaginary ones. British troops invading the kingdom were able to begin their journey by train. A quarter of a century later a French railway did actually penetrate Yunnan from Haiphong, but a British line from Burma, either through northern Siam at the Shan states of Burma (British territory after 1885) was never built. Strangely enough it was Curzon, a figure normally associated with imperial overreach, who recognized

the limits of railways as a tool of empire. In 1901 he derided dreams of linking India and China by rail as phantasms, engineering and financial impossibilities: “Were a bonfire made tomorrow,” he declaimed, in Rangoon of all places, of the prolific literature to which it (the Burma-China railway) has given birth; I do not think anyone in the world would be the loser.  

At a time when imperialist expectations of railway construction were very high, Curzon’s bleak realism was a rare commodity indeed.

On the whole, both ambitious railway schemes and more solid railway building in Asia were the products of Western imperialists. However, three traditional Asian states, Japan, China and Siam, retained some degree of sovereignty during the late nineteenth century including some control over railway policy. The development of railways in the two continental states, Siam and China, was influenced both by competing world views within the traditional elites and by Western imperial aspirations for which the term “Informal” seems a little too modest. They are stories rich in drama and irony in which ignorance and idealism, greed and arrogance are constantly at play.

Although the Self-Strengthening Movement (1861-1894) saw Chinese provincial authorities implement significant programs of economic and military modernization, railways were not adopted in any significant way at this time. This was not due to any lack of awareness of the importance of railways on the part of the self-strengtheners in the Chinese elite. As early as 1867, for example, Shen Bao Zhen,

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289 This part was quoted in Lee, France and the Exploitation of China: A Study in Economic Imperialism, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 251.

son-in-law of the celebrated opponent of opium and Confucian moralist Lin Ze Xu had raised the matter. His view, typically Confucian, looked to the long term:

“What shall we do about telegraphs and railroads? The Qin dynasty built the Great Wall, and at the time it was considered a calamity, but later generations relied on it. If telegraphs and railroads are built, China will likewise enjoy great benefits from them in the future.... However, although the foreigners plead with the Court to conclude a formal treaty permitting them to begin this work, this absolutely must not be done.”

After a decade later Shen Bao Zhen had the opportunity to be true to his word, when, as governor-general in Nanjing, he bought and then ordered the demolition of China's first railway. This line, was going from Shanghai to Wusong, it was only 16 kilometers long and built to light and cheap engineering standards. It had been funded by British merchants and was totally unauthorized when opened in July 1877. The official Shen sent to do the job was, ironically enough, the young Sheng Xuan Huai (盛宣懷), a future director of the Chinese Imperial Railways Administration. Sheng performed his destructive task with the same efficiency and commercial aptitude which were to bring him later both so much wealth and so brilliant an official career, but also, he later claimed, with a heavy heart.

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291 Quoted from Hueneman, *The Dragon and the Iron Horse*. p. 1
Why did the Self-Strengtheners build steamships, arsenals and telegraphs, adopt Western military technology and employ Western experts with such enthusiasm, but not embrace railway construction, even within their own satrapies?

The author Robert Lee thinks that, it is partly in their awareness that the railway was far more universal and pervasive than the technology and practices they did adopt. Unlike them, the railway would penetrate down to village level and directly affect, for good or ill and with consequences that could only be guessed, the lives of many millions of Chinese. The railway could have a negative impact on both Chinese cultural values, through the destruction of graves and villages, and on employment in traditional transport industries such as porterage and inland shipping. Having just suppressed the Taiping Rebellion, using conservative ideological weapons, if rather innovative financing and firepower, the Self-Strengtheners had good cause to fear the effects of such changes on the people. The thought of Robert Lee gives clear opinion about Chinese people.

Here besides the Robert Lee’s opinion the author wants to add some of his opinions about the Chinese peoples’ thought. As the author already wrote that the Chinese people have effected deeply by the Confucian ideology and here we can see that the thousand year old thoughts build a barrier in front of the people. Chinese people were still thinking about the spiritual side of the railway building. But at the same time Westerners were moving deeper areas in the Chinese mainland.²⁹³

Moreover the railway was beyond their control in other ways as well. The Self-Strengtheners were content to employ foreign experts in high positions, but the railway is a vastly decentralized operation, involving the employment of large

²⁹³ Please see: Robert Lee’s: *Tools of Empire or Means of National Salvation? The Railway in the Imagination of Western Empire Builders and Their Enemies in Asia*, University of Western Sydney, Macarthur, [http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/irs/irshome/papers/robert1.htm#1](http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/irs/irshome/papers/robert1.htm#1)
numbers of people in responsible positions in remote locations. Stationmasters, engine
drivers, and engineers maintaining track and rolling stock could constitute a class the
like of which had never been seen in China before. Far more than officers in a
semi-Westernized army, its members would need to have foreign education if the
railway were to work effectively. Its business and technical operations would have to
be thoroughly Western, not semi-Western like most the Self-Strengthening projects, if
the railway were to operate safely and return the profits needed to cover the cost of
construction. And that was another problem. Railways were enormously expensive.
The Self-Strengtheners avoided dependence on foreign loans with great success right
up to 1895. However, because China did not have any modern commercial legislation
until after the Boxer Rebellion it would be almost impossible to mobilize the large
sums of capital required from wealthy Chinese merchants or gentry. There was simply
no guarantee they would ever see their money again. Zhang Zhi Dong’s (attempt to
build the Beijing-Hankou line after 1889 using Chinese capital failed for this reason.

There were, then, four reasons why the Self-Strengtheners were hesitant about
building railways. First, the railway could offend Chinese cultural values. Second, it
could create unemployment among workers in traditional transport industries. Third,
it would involve large numbers of Europeans or Westernized Chinese working
permanently over a large area. Finally, railways would almost certainly require
foreign loans.  

Despite those compelling factors, the Self-Strengtheners did take the first steps
to create China’s railway system. Typically it was Li Hong Zhang who took the first
initiative. Moreover he did so with the astonishingly successful dissimulation that was

294 Please see: Robert Lee’s: Tools of Empire or Means of National Salvation? The railway in the
imagination of western empire builders and their enemies in Asia, University of Western Sydney,
the wily Viceroy’s hallmark. One of Li’s modern enterprises was the Kaiping Coal Mines at Tangshan, and in 1880 he had its English engineer, C.W. Kinder, build a ten-kilometer mule-drawn tram line from the mine to navigable water. Kinder built the line to the European standard gauge of 1435mm (4ft 8½ in) and to ludicrously high engineering standards for its putative purpose. What he had built, in fact, was the first stage of the Beijing to Shenyang line, and after a few months steam traction made its debut.²⁹⁵

The defeat by France in 1885 tipped sentiment at Court in Beijing in favor of further modernization, and railway construction found a champion in the form of the new Admiralty Board. This Board was intimately tied to Li, and was responsible for the Port Arthur naval base and the creation of the superficially impressive Beiyang fleet over the next decade. It soon authorized extensions to the railway essentially for military reasons. With no need for further dissembling; by 1894 it reached south to Tianjin and north to just beyond the Great Wall at Shanhaiguan. Its aim was to assist in the defense of Manchuria. The railway proved no more effective in this role than any other of Li Hong Zhang’s tools such as the Beiyang fleet or the Port Arthur base when war with Japan did break out in 1894.

Li Hong Zhang was not the only provincial governor who saw railways as an essential part of Self-Strengthening Movement. Liu Ming Chuan actually managed to build a short line on Taiwan. More significantly, in 1889 Zhang Zhi Dong, newly installed as Viceroy at Wuchang, successfully memorialized the Court urging construction of China’s first great main line from Hankou on the Yangzi to Beijing.

²⁹⁵ Please see: Robert Lee’s: Tools of Empire or Means of National Salvation? The railway in the imagination of western empire builders and their enemies in Asia, University of Western Sydney, Macarthur, http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/irs/irshome/papers/robert1.htm#1.
He proposed to use Chinese capital and even Chinese materials as much as possible. To this second end he established the massive Hanyang Iron Works in 1890. Together with its associated mines, this formed the beginnings of modern industrialization in central China. Despite initial promises of financial support from Beijing, support lost partly because the Shanhaiguan line had greater immediate military significance and partly because his rival Li had more influence at Court, Zhang was unable to since the necessary capital from either official or private sources. The railway project, but not the ironworks, remained dormant until after the defeat by Japan, when the Court, shocked by the war, authorised construction.296

Shortly after Zhang sold both to Sheng Xuan Huai, desperate for a career change after the collapse of his patron, Li Hong Zhang’s military and industrial complex in north China. Sheng, the man who had arranged the destruction of the Wusong railway, was initially determined to continue Zhang’s policy of using Chinese capital and material, even if that delayed the railways’ completion. Western observers, now much more powerful than before 1895, naturally wanted some of these profits, and deprecated reliance on “That gigantic white elephant, the Hanyang Ironworks”, as one English writer described China’s most serious attempt at industrialization.297 The same writer later analyzed the differences between Western imperialist and Chinese reformist ideas on railway construction:

“Ten years would not seem to China a long time for the completion of the Peking-Hankow line, although foreign

296 Please see: Robert Lee’s: Tools of Empire or Means of National Salvation? The Railway in the Imagination of Western Empire Builders and Their Enemies in Asia, University of Western Sydney, Macarthur, http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/irs/irshome/papers/robert1.htm#1
297 North China Herald, 13 November 1896.
engineers and foreign capital might complete it in a year. She believes that she can wait and gradually do this work in small pieces. This is the foundation of her confidence in the sufficiency of native capital, and we must confess that it has some grounds. From our point of view, an immediate opening up of the whole country, the employment of the idle class in the construction of useful railways, and the free use of modern methods of civilized life, would bring new prosperity and revive the dying embers of national life. But it must always be remembered in all these matters that China is still in control of her own country, and the only way we can safely surmise as to what she will do, is to regard events from her own viewpoint. She is in no hurry for railroads and is determined that they shall be build according to her own ideas."

Unfortunately two years later, China was clearly could not control her railway policy, or indeed of many other things, as the Western powers bullied a weak and drifting Qing court into granting all manner of railway and other economic concessions. These concessions fell into three categories. First group were the railways originally planned by the Self-Strengtheners with the aim of enhancing China’s economic and military integration. Under the changed circumstances of the late 1890s China could no longer either afford delay in their construction or resist foreign importunities, so they were now built with foreign capital and wider foreign

298 North China Herald, 9 April 1897.
supervision. These lines were the Beijing-Hankou, now to be built with Franco-Belgian funds; the Kaifeng-Luoyang, similarly Franco-Belgian; the Tianjin-Pukou (near Nanjing), which was Anglo-German; and completion of the Beijing-Shenyang using British capital.\(^{300}\)

The second group was the lines draining the hinterland of treaty ports dominated by either Britain or Germany. The sole German line was in Shandong from the German leased port of Qingdao to Jinan. The British lines were the Shanghai-Nanjing, Ningbo-Suzhou and Kowloon to Guangzhou (Canton). Although these lines were hardly in China’s military or political interests, they would have some economic value to China and at least were built to the same gauge and technical standards which Kinder had established as the Chinese standard.

By contrast, railways in the third category positively threatened China’s sovereignty and political integrity. These were the railways of penetration from neighboring European-controlled states. Most extensive were the Russian railways, the Chinese Eastern Railway which crossed Manchuria to link Vladivostok to Siberia, and the South Manchurian Railway which branched southwards from the Chinese Eastern at Harbin and ran south to the twin ports of Dalian and Port Arthur. These railways were built to the Russian gauge of 1525mm (5 feet) and involved such enormous political and military Russian privileges for their ‘protection’ that their concession came close to anticipating a virtual Russian protectorate over all of Manchuria. In 1905 Japan inherited these privileges by defeating Russia, and,

\(^{299}\) Quoted from Robert Lee’s: *Tools of Empire or Means of National Salvation? The railway in the imagination of western empire builders and their enemies in Asia*, University of Western Sydney, Macarthur, [http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/irs/irshome/papers/robert1.htm#1](http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/irs/irshome/papers/robert1.htm#1).

\(^{300}\) Quoted from Robert Lee’s: *Tools of Empire or Means of National Salvation? The railway in the imagination of western empire builders and their enemies in Asia*, University of Western Sydney, Macarthur, [http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/irs/irshome/papers/robert1.htm#1](http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/irs/irshome/papers/robert1.htm#1).
significantly, converted the South Manchurian to the standard gauge of her own railways in Korea. In Yunnan, both Britain and France forces have obtained the right to build railways of penetration from Burma and Vietnam respectively. All were to be built to the meter gauge of their colonial systems. Although neither the British line from Burma, nor the French line through Guangxi was ever built, the French railway from Haiphong to Kunming was the most spectacular of all the railways of penetration. Many French imperialists, although ultimately not the French government, hoped to use this railway as an excuse for annexing Yunnan: as high an official as Governor-General Paul Doumer told the French parliament late in 1898 that, “The railway is also a military instrument.” His activities in Yunnan left no doubt that he meant to use the railway in this way.\(^{301}\)

All three types of railway were foreign dominated, and all three were attacked during the Boxer Rebellion and Yunnan revolt of 1900: Chinese peasants knew what they disliked and could hardly be expected to differentiate between nation-building railways and railways of foreign penetration. The spectacular failure of the Boxer Rebellion, however, changed attitudes to railway construction at all levels of Chinese society. The qualified support of the Self-Strengtheners, the grudging acquiescence of the Court, and the open hostility of the people, were all replaced by a massive enthusiasm which has never really died. The last Qing officials and the provincial gentry, republican revolutionaries and warlords, Guomindang (中國國民黨) and Communists; all have been fanatical railway builders. The Chinese people, moreover, as soon as the lines opened flocked to the stations to buy tickets and consign goods. The 20th century, then, has been China’s true railway age.

During the last decade of the Empire (1901-1911) this enthusiasm expressed itself in three ways. First, the Government actually funded and undertook the construction of some railways itself. These were the ziban or self-built railways, the most important of which, opened in 1909, ran from Beijing to Kalgan. Significantly its engineer was an American-educated Chinese, Zhan Tian You (詹天佑) and it was funded, at Zhili governor General Yuan Shi Kai’s insistence, by the surplus profits of the Beijing-Shenyang line. This enthusiasm in Beijing marked in a sense the accession to power there, at last, of the Self-Strengtheners. Li Hong Zhang had never controlled the imperial government’s modernization policies, but within months of his death in 1901 it was his protégés like Yuan and Sheng who did.302

Second was the spate of local railway companies established by members of provincial elites. Some of these companies were sponsored by the increasingly autonomous provincial governments, others were entirely private. Collectively they were known as minye or people’s railways. The impulses behind them were genuinely nationalistic, and this meant a determination to avoid both foreign loans and foreign management. Unfortunately men like Zhan Tian You, were then very rare in China and provincial governments during the twilight of Qing rule, although increasingly representative, were often inefficient and corrupt. This meant that the real popular enthusiasm of the decade was not matched by achievement.303

The formation of minye companies was first authorised in 1903 and about twenty were eventually formed. The projects were often extremely long term. Han Su

302 Quoted from Robert Lee’s: Tools of Empire or Means of National Salvation? The railway in the imagination of western empire builders and their enemies in Asia, University of Western Sydney, Macarthur, http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/irs/irshome/papers/robert1.htm#1.

303 Please see: Robert Lee’s: Tools of Empire or Means of National Salvation? The railway in the imagination of western empire builders and their enemies in Asia, University of Western Sydney, Macarthur, http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/irs/irshome/papers/robert1.htm#1.
Yin (韩素音), for instance, writes about her Sichuanese father’s education as a railway engineer in Belgium: the Sichuanese wanted to build a railway, so first they sent some sons of the local elite to what they naively imagined was an industrialized but not imperialist country, Belgium, to acquire the necessary expertise.\footnote{Han Su Yin, The Crippled Tree, London, Jonathon Cape, 1965. Uses her father’s life as an extended metaphor for the Chinese national experience in the first half of the twentieth century. Quoted in Hueneman, The Dragon and the Iron Horse, the Economics of Railroads in China, 1876-1937, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1984, p. 71.}

In the case of Han’s father, that’s what happened, although the Belgian wife and Eurasian children were not part of the script. It was a very nationalistic, but rather regionalist and also very slow way to build a railway. For although Sichuan’s first \textit{minye} railway company was formed in 1903, the first locomotive to steam into the province was adorned with a portrait of Chairman Mao Ze Dong. Other factors besides the failings of the \textit{minye} companies were of course responsible for the half-century delay, but the companies’ failure to capitalize on real popular enthusiasm is astonishing. For just five years after the Boxers were demolishing railways in northern China, the \textit{North China Herald} reported the response to the formation of a \textit{minye} company in Guangdong:

“Not only are the moneyed classes rushing to buy the shares, but the poorest of the poor and even those who are supposed of no cash to spare and hardly enough to keep body and soul together are buying up one or more shares. The accounts are very graphic, detailing as they do nuns, chair coolies, and even
blind musicians, coming forward and securing a share or two in the enterprise.”

The third way in which China’s new enthusiasm for railways was expressed was in the redemption of three important railway loans during 1908. Fewer than three separate agreements the Beijing-Hankou, Tianjin-Pukou and Beijing-Shenyang loans were renegotiated. Foreign investment remained, but no longer foreign control or foreign appropriation of profits beyond those needed to service the loans. Control shifted to Sheng Xuan Huai’s Imperial Railway Administration. These changes were the product of greater confidence on Sheng’s and his political master’s part in their ability to build and run railways. This confidence was shared by Western bankers, who after 1908 no longer demanded control over railways as a condition for lending the funds required for their construction. It was a remarkable change in attitudes on the part of all concerned from those at the time of the scramble for concessions, just a decade earlier.

The success of the redemptions of 1908, and the large profits which then flowed to Beijing as a result, prompted Sheng to push for the transformation of the minye lines into government railways funded with foreign loans. In May 1911 he secured an imperial edict authorizing such nationalization, and signed an agreement with a four-power consortium to borrow £6 million to build the two most important minye proposals, from Hankou to Guangzhou and into Sichuan. The response was


306 Please see: Robert Lee’s, Tools of Empire or Means of National Salvation? The railway in the imagination of western empire builders and their enemies in Asia, University of Western Sydney, Macarthur, http://www.york.ac.uk/inst/irs/irshome/papers/robert1.htm#1.
first protest, then rebellion, and finally revolution, led in Sichuan by the Sichuan Railway Protection League. Far more than either the radical revolutionaries led by Sun Yat Sen or the military rebels in Wuhan, it was the provincial railway-builders who brought down the Qing. Not even Sheng’s dismissal could save the dynasty, and his career ended as it began with the purchase of a railway. The differences, however, were enormous. In 1877 he had bought a railway in order to demolish it, while in 1911 his aim was to build it more quickly and integrate it into a national system; in 1877 the reluctant vendors had been British merchants while in 1911 they were the vanguard of the nationalist Chinese bourgeoisie.

The importance of railways in the Revolution was emphasized by the nature of the new order. The leading surviving self-strengthener, Yuan Shi Kai, became president of the new republic, while the other contender for the position, Sun Yat Sen, contented himself with becoming Director-General of National Railways. In any other country it would have been an unlikely career move for a revolutionary hero either real or mythological. In China it showed just how important railways, or the lack of them, had become to national political life. Railway building, moreover, gave Sun just as many opportunities for speculative philosophy as had revolution.307 A new era of railway construction, nationalist, ambitious and cerebral, appeared to have arrived.

307 For Sun’s attitudes to railway construction, see his, The International Development of China, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1920.
4.2.5 Business Institutions in 19th Century in China and Li Hong Zhang’s Role

The author of this study considers that the business modernization solutions in new China need to be known by the China study researchers. Modernization of China covers a huge area including many different new modernization efforts, however. Because of the limited time and topic, the author digs just some of the main modernization steps. In this efforts as the author’s key person Li Hong Zhang has the main importance. In modernization era except Li Hong Zhang also the other key figures and the reformist leader such as: Zeng Guo Fan, Zuo Zong Tang must be known. Their efforts in modernization have created very efficient solutions for China’s business institutions and the other units.

The author used the very valuable resource of William Goetzmann, and Elisabeth Köll. They have spent a very long time to make a very precious study on China’s business institutions. They focused on business institutions and did a very distinctive research on China’s modernization period in 19th century. Their study gave the author very supporting knowledge about that period and the efforts of reformist leaders. The author has used their words in his study and cited many of their opinions and put in his study. These two researchers’ efforts have helped the author to write this part of his study.

After we have a clear understanding of new modernization steps of this period, events will appear in our eyes better than the past. So, with the general picture of this period we would obtain much more opinions. This opinions and new perspective will help us to make better discussions about modernization period of Qing Dynasty.
4.2.6 Li Hong Zhang and the other Reformist leaders

Together with moderately reform-minded officials and political authorities such as Zeng Guo Fan (1811-1872) and Zuo Zong Tang (1812-1885), and Li Hong Zhang.

They demanded that the Chinese government should spend more efforts to improve its military equipment and technology in order to defend herself against the Western powers and their invasions in China. However, these government officials were not proponents of launching an industrial revolution or a modern economy in China. On the contrary, they wanted to restore the traditional economy, including agriculture and commerce, and were not planning on “Enhancing the strength and wealth of the country at the cost of its traditional institutions.”

That is why the initial establishment of industrial enterprises at the time has to be interpreted as a step towards regaining military strength and national pride without contesting the status quo of government and society, rather than as a step towards planned economic development. In order to secure control over this policy, any industrial enterprise founded before 1895 required not only sanction or permission but even active supervision and sponsorship from the government and its agents, the official bureaucrats. Famous and notable examples of this promotion of industrial enterprises under government sponsorship in the 1860s and 1870s included the Jiangnan Arsenal and the China Merchants’ Steamship Navigation Company, both in

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308 In this part of the study, the author has used the study of, William Goetzmann, Yale University and Elisabeth Köll, Case Western Reserve University, The History of Corporate Ownership in China, First Draft, 19 September, 2002, pp.1-28.

Shanghai, as well as the Kaiping Coal Mines near the harbour city Tianjin. Curiously, the China Merchants’ Steamship Navigation Company evolved from a business proposal by Yung Wing, a Yale College graduate, who, like Ma Jian Zhong drew upon his experience overseas to propose innovations in Chinese enterprise. Feuerwerker notes that the idea of beating the West at its own game, which is, adopting Western-style corporate business practices to government-controlled enterprise, was present in Wing’s initial conception. Quoting Wing’s autobiography, “No foreigner was to be allowed to be a stockholder in the company. It was to be a purely Chinese Company managed and worked by Chinese exclusively.”

All three enterprises self-evidently demonstrate the immediate goals of the Self-Strengthening Movement: the Jiangnan Arsenal was to improve China’s military strength by manufacturing modern arms, the steamship company was to facilitate the grain transport for the government as well as make China less dependent upon foreign-owned transportation companies, while the mines were supposed to provide the power for national transportation facilities and limited private consumption. This strategy was certainly not an ambitious program aimed at nation-wide industrialization through private initiatives. In order to stress their close relationship with the government’s agenda, these new industrial enterprises carried the character ju for governmental bureau in their names instead of the characters for factory (chang) or industrial company (gongsi) which would have indicated a private business concern. While each of these firms was funded in part by the issuance of shares to Chinese merchants, they were not floated on a public capital market in the manner we understand today, nor indeed were they funded through a public issue in the manner.

used by foreign-registered corporations in Shanghai at the time. Although a public share market for domestic Chinese companies existed in fits and starts from the 1880’s, the domestic Chinese capital market in the late 19th century did not attract enough public investment to fund large-scale operations such as mines, railways, and factories.\(^{311}\) Despite this competitive financial disadvantage, these new enterprises, initiated by Chinese government officials, operated on a much larger scale than traditional private manufacturing and transportation businesses and thus faced tremendous new challenges with changes in regard to financial and personnel management and technology.

One way to overcome the predicament of lack of public markets would have been to establish the new enterprises as government monopolies similar to the economic strategy of the Meiji government in Japan during the 1870s and 1880s. However, given its strained financial situation, the Qing government could not provide sufficient funds available for such investment. In addition, the machinery, the technological and managerial procedures of the new enterprises required expertise which government officials with their administrative background could not provide.\(^{312}\)

In order to solve these problems, the new industrial enterprises established in the 1870s and 1880s took the form of government-sponsored enterprises, known as guandu shangban (government supervision and merchant management) enterprises. The bureaucratic term for this type of enterprise had its origin in the traditional set-up of the government’s salt monopoly where merchants had provided capital and management while government officials had been in control of production and trade

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quotas. Under the new scheme for large-scale industrial enterprises, private investors, mostly merchants, were expected to put up the capital and to manage their investment under the supervision of government officials. This arrangement meant that apart from some financial sponsorship through government loans, the merchants bore all the financial risks of the enterprise which often became joint-stock operation. In addition, they were required to work under the thumb of supervising government officials who often followed their own, not necessarily government-directed business agenda and who introduced bribes, corruption, and inflexible management into these enterprises. Albert Feuerwerker and Guo Hui Zhang have shown in detail the manifold problems these industrial government enterprises encountered due to the peculiar financial and managerial arrangements. Not surprisingly, the financial profit for the private investors in these guandu shangban enterprises in the 1870s and 1880s was rather limited. 313

For example, as Lai Chi Kong has shown, the China Merchants’ Steamship Navigation Company has attempted for a short while to consolidate the government-business cooperation with its new joint-stock structure between 1872 and 1884, but continued under dominant government influence in the following years. In the privatization process after 1895, the supervising director of the company appointed by the government, Sheng Xuan Huai (1849-1916), became an appointee of the board of directors. As Feuerwerker has shown, it was more a change in name than in fact, as Sheng Xuan Huai, while supervising director, had already acquired substantial shares in the company.314

During this period of timid state-directed industrial efforts, Li Hong Zhang became in his position as government official and personal supervisor/sponsor the most powerful patron and leader of guandu shangban enterprises. The China Merchants’ Steamship Navigation Company, the Kaiping Mines, and the Shanghai Cotton Cloth Mill were all under his official sponsorship which actually translated his political power in the government into the opportunity to establish his own sphere of economic influence and to control these enterprises in a quasi-monopoly situation. This is not to say that Li Hong Zhang’s patronage had a totally negative impact on these enterprises. As Chi Kong Lai has shown for the China Merchants Company, in the beginning Li’s sponsorship actually secured sufficient financial support and autonomy for the merchant managers.\textsuperscript{315} Only when Li Hong Zhang was finally unable to prevent the government from assuming more direct control of the management, did the company encounter problems. Extraction, mismanagement, and misuse of funds accompanied the government’s growing intervention in the enterprise, leading to decreasing merchant investment. In general, lack of auditing procedures and absence of distinction between private and company funds characterized these government-sponsored enterprises as much as any family business at the time.

In order to attract private investment from merchants who had become less and less willing to risk their money in government-sponsored enterprises in the 1880s, the government devised a compromise and promoted a more attractive kind of cooperation for merchants in the form of guanshang heban (official and merchant joint management) enterprises. According to this new arrangement, merchants were to be more in control of the capital invested and of the management. However, this move

by the government towards more flexibility and private financial as well as managerial involvement never really materialized and did not trigger the desired outpouring of investment funds. In fact, the dissatisfaction of the merchants grew during the early 1890s and was even acknowledged by government officials.  

Certainly, the now more restrained presence of the government in guanshang heban enterprises still offered private investors some advantage in regard to official protection against inconvenient national as well as foreign competition. Nevertheless, creating an encouraging investment climate for private activity in the industrial sector would first require the more drastic step of abolishing the general protectionist mechanism against private enterprises in China, namely, the government policy which did not allow Chinese nationals independently to open private industrial enterprises anywhere in the empire.

The turning point came in 1895 when we witness a new phase of industrial entrepreneurship in China. From that year on, enterprises in light industry and in the consumer goods industry were founded in greater numbers with a significant shift from government sponsored enterprises to enterprises with private involvement in ownership and management. For example, a boom in establishing cotton mills with full Chinese ownership took place after 1895. Between 1890 and 1894 only a total of five cotton spinning mills had been successfully established (all but one with government involvement), while by 1916 thirty new mills were in operation, all of them under private merchant management. The statistics of weaving mills is even

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more impressive. While only one factory in private management was operating in 1897, by 1916 81 private weaving mills were in business.\footnote{William Goetzmann, Yale University and Elisabeth Köll, Case Western Reserve University, \textit{The History of Corporate Ownership in China}, First Draft, 19 September, 2002, p. 10. For pdf format please see: \url{http://icf.som.yale.edu/pdf/hist_conference/Will_Goetzmann.pdf}}

In another important sector, 35 mining enterprises were founded between 1895 and 1911 as private enterprises in contrast to nine mining enterprises in total government ownership, ten other enterprises under joint government-merchant management and only two as government supervision-merchant management operations. As the government withdrew from direct involvement in the enterprises remaining under joint management, new forms of private business operations developed, now supported by structural aspects of incorporation, limited liability, and legal accreditation. The incentives for increased industrial activity and the changing ownership conditions did not originate in deliberate government reforms out of concern for a weak national economy; rather, they resulted from events in connection with China’s foreign policy.\footnote{William Goetzmann, Yale University and Elisabeth Köll, Case Western Reserve University, \textit{The History of Corporate Ownership in China}, First Draft, 19 September, 2002, p 1–20. For pdf format please see: \url{http://icf.som.yale.edu/pdf/hist_conference/Will_Goetzmann.pdf}}

The Treaty of Shimonoseki at the end of the Sino-Japanese war in 1895 for the first time granted foreigners permission to engage in manufacturing operations in Chinese treaty ports. As Shao Xun Zheng has pointed out, since permission had been given to foreigners for building factories in China, it was impossible for the government to prevent its own nationals from engaging in industry any longer.

However, Shao stresses that the fall of Li Hong Zhang from power in 1895 was also a vital factor. Li Hong Zhang’s personal patronage of such enterprises as the Kaiping Mines, the Shanghai Arsenal, and the China Merchants Steamship
Navigation Company had been a crucial reason for their success. Li Hong Zhang was powerful not only in Beijing near his power base in Zhili province, but also in Shanghai. There he exerted his influence in the appointment of the Shanghai circuit intendant (daotai), the most senior official in Shanghai’s administration, and worked successfully for his operations by networking through fellow provincials, colleagues, and fellow examination graduates. Through these formal and informal relationships Li Hongzhang was able to gain support from Shanghai and Jiangsu officials as well as from merchants and gentry members who either were attracted by Li’s financial awards or by their own vested interests in the enterprises. In short, as long as Li Hong Zhang was in power, the operations under his supervision were protected through his patronage and thus also through their exceptional monopoly status.319

Despite the fall of Li Hong Zhang and his monopolistic restrictions and the opening of the industrial realm to private initiatives, it took more than a decade before China was to experience substantial industrialization in regard to the number of factories and their output, and it was not until the post-1900 Qing reforms that the imperial court openly encouraged private business and industrial enterprise. Establishing factories for light industry production, transportation or banking businesses required considerable private capital investment from merchants or businessmen. Even without interference from the government and influential officials, the risk of investing private capital in major industrial operations such as cotton spinning mills or silk filatures was still considerable in the early twentieth century. Without an open and accessible capital market for domestic shares, the raising of capital was still one of the major problems in founding private enterprises, with the

exception of family businesses which recruited their capital from kinship and native-place networks.

There were, however, instances during this post-1900 period when the potential for full development of a Chinese share market appeared. Lee En Han documents the evolution of the Chinese Railway Rights Recovery Movement from 1904 to 1911, a period in which a number of domestic Chinese rail companies were chartered and capitalized in the wake of nationalistic zeal to recover the rail concessions made to foreign development firms. Nineteen major provincial railway companies were formed with Chinese capital raised through a combination of public share issuance, domestic, and overseas Chinese merchant investment and provincial government sponsorship. In some cases, these firms were given development rights that were stripped from foreign entities. Virtually all of these ventures foundered in the late Qing or early Republican period; some for political reasons associated with the suspension of their charters by the Imperial government, others from lack of capital, mismanagement and problems. The process of their failure itself is interesting. Lee En Han documents aggressive proxy contests challenging managerial expropriation.

The Dasheng enterprises reveal the strengths and weaknesses of industrial enterprises founded in the wake of 1895 and the transition that came about with the privatization process. Dasheng was originally conceived as a regional enterprise in the form of a guanshang heban operation; it was officially initiated by Zhang Zhi Dong who would lend his support as the patron in the beginning. However, in contrast to the previous system under Li Hong Zhang, Zhang Zhi Dong who represented the guan or

official side in the enterprise, did not represent the government as a corporate body but acted as an individual official. In this position he offered patronage and ineffective official protection for the enterprise, but not much else.321

One could say that the watering down of government patronage to individual official patronage eventually led to the complete disappearance of involvement by individual officials in the enterprise. Zhang Zhi Dong was unable to offer Dasheng vital financial support, and without financial leverage his official influence faded from the picture. The originally government-sponsored enterprise thus became soon a privatized operation under the strong impact of the founder’s family without ever developing into a family business. Registered officially as a shareholding company with limited liability in 1907, Dasheng then grew into a major industrial complex with considerable financial success and a substantial life-span.322

4.2.7 Pekin Syndicate, the Rothschild Archive, Li Hong Zhang and the Role of Angelo Luzzati

In this part the author cites many resources from the study of Frank H. King. Mr. King did very complicated research about the Italian Angelo Luzatti and Li Hong Zhang. However, this part includes more about Li Hong Zhang’s actions in the Pekin Syndicate. The original study of Mr. King can be found in the web that the author has already given. The author believes Mr. King’s study would be a very precious

research about China’s economic buildup. Economic build up and banking would be
the later new research topics of new students. Here, the author uses the Mr. King’s
study for the last part of his Li Hong Zhang’s chapter.

323 Contemporary commentators were virtually unanimous: behind the Pekin
Syndicate, founded in 1897. The Peking Syndicate Ltd, as initially conceived and
incorporated in 1897 was a financial venture designed to obtain concessions from
China and to promote these.324 There was also another important unit called
Rothschild finance. In 1899 Chinese Viceroy, Li Hong Zhang had remitted £4,203
through the Hong Kong Bank; he wished his friend Lord Rothschild to purchase
deferred shares in the Pekin Syndicate. Mr King thinks that this case itself is
important for History of China because:325

First because it confirmed there had indeed been a
Rothschild/Syndicate relationship and secondly because the
archives might somewhere and in some unexpected box contain

323 In this part the author quoted the study of Frank H.H. King, One letter and a new understanding: The Rothschild Archive and the Story of the Pekin Syndicate. His PDF format of study can be found in: http://www.rothschildarchive.org/ib/articles/AR2007Pekin.pdf

Mr. King is professor emeritus of the University of Hong Kong and honorary fellow of the university’s Centre of Asian Studies. His publications include Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1845–1895 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1965) and The History of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987–1991 [4 volumes]). He is currently preparing a history of the Pekin Syndicate.


325 Quoted the study of Frank H.H. King, One letter and a new understanding: The Rothschild Archive and the Story of the Pekin Syndicate. His PDF format of study can be found in: http://www.rothschildarchive.org/ib/articles/AR2007Pekin.pdf
further references, however remote, to the relationship. And then this summer a letter from Viceroy Li became available; its contents were to prove even more significant historically. The letter seemed to require a new interpretation of the Syndicate and its intended role in pre-Boxer China. Furthermore, if one were to follow the lead, scholars might be induced to reconsider the actual roles of the Powers and of private initiatives in the so-called Battle of the Concessions which followed China’s defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War.326

The Peking Syndicate was an exploration company, and it is worth noting that Rothschilds are known to have invested in several of this type of company. He also continues to explain the reasons of the importance of Peking Syndicate:327

The third reason is; while each exploration company had a separate history and unique development, there was a pattern. A group of legitimate financiers, investment bankers, and/or speculators and rogues would establish a company, modestly financed but suggestively named, to search out a possible project for development, mining, railway, or forest concession.

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326 Cited from Frank H.H. King: Page:41

327 Quoted the study of Frank H.H. King. One letter and a new understanding: The Rothschild Archive and the Story of the Pekin Syndicate. His PDF format of study can be found in:
The company’s capital would be used for preliminary expenses including, in several cases, bribes or shares for co-operating officials. The role of such a company was to find a resource suitable for exploitation, obtain the concession or right to exploit, and develop the concession or hype its potential to the point that it could be sold to a newly formed company with a greater nominal capital for public subscription and at a price which reflected market expectations as to the profitability of a speculative undertaking. The exploration company could then either be dissolved or move to another possible development, usually within the same region.

A promoter of an exploration company had committed little; if he succeeded in selling a concession he would profit from a market which anticipated successful development; alternatively he could purchase founders’ or deferred shares at low cost and sell at the peak of market expectations, if all went according to plan. In the case of legitimate promotion and the actual economically practical development of the concession, a founding promoter might gain a major business foothold in the region.

The Pekin Syndicate was initially an exploration company, but one with a history which marked it as exceptional even in those days of gold on the Rand, diamonds in South Africa, rubies in Burma, and tin in Malaya. A lone adventurer, finding alluvial gold, might be forgiven if he legitimately thought this was but the edge of a new Ophir and thereupon attempted in some way to duplicate the steps previously noted.

Such a man was an Italian engineer, Angelo Luzzati (b.1858 in Asti), who in 1885 obtained a gold concession in Bangtaphan near Kamnoetnopakhun from the Siamese government and, finding sufficient capital unavailable in either Bangkok or Italy, sought funds on the London market, working through Jewish co-religionists, thus first coming into contact with Rothschilds.
However, the enterprise was a failure: the alluvial gold was limited, and the expensive machinery, imported from Europe, a costly mistake. But Luzzati had a strong personality, ingratiating himself with business leaders in Bangkok and with investors in London.

While at the same time, as an Italian patriot, receiving an audience with the Italian monarch, Umberto I, and obtaining a diplomatic mission to Siam’s Rama V (King Chulalongkorn), the latter welcoming contacts with Europe’s royal families and operating with the belief that this would help ensure the continued independence of his country.328

For his efforts and to encourage his diplomatic role Luzzati was commissioned a cavaliere of the Order of Ss Maurizio e Lazzaro in 1889. Furthermore, he was now firmly established in the public press (and in history) as ‘Luzzatti’, thus permitting the assumption, wholly without foundation, that he was related (nipote) to Luigi Luzzatti, a Venetian, a noted economist, and sometime Treasury Minister. The founding of the Pekin Syndicate itself took place after Luzzatti’s return to Italy.

At some time in the early 1890s he became acquainted with Carlo di Rudini, son of Italy’s sometime premier, Marquis Antonio di Rudini (1839–1908), and a former supernumerary member of the Italian Legation in Peking [Beijing]. Also involved was a brilliant Chinese financial expert and linguist, Ma Jian Zhong a leading member of Viceroy Li’s staff. This unlikely triumvirate sought finance for an exploration company which would, inter alia, operate in China, attempting to acquire concessions and establish a note-issuing bank, a bank which would in turn finance further Syndicate projects, all reminiscent of such comprehensive schemes as those of

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328 Quoted the study of Frank H.H. King. One letter and a new understanding: The Rothschild Archive and the Story of the Pekin Syndicate. His PDF format of study can be found in: http://www.rothschildarchive.org/ib/articles/AR2007Pekin.pdf
Count Eugene de Mitkiewicz in 1887 or perhaps the Reuters concession in Persia. Once again Italian capital was not sufficiently forthcoming; in consequence the promoters turned to the same British capitalists who sponsored the Siamese companies, Gold Fields and the Anglo-Italian Exploration Company; to, that is, George Cawston, Carl Meyer, and the Rothschilds.\(^\text{329}\)

The result was the publicly traded Peking Syndicate, incorporated in 1897, as yet without a concession but with Luzzatti recompensed by an allocation of founders’ or deferred shares. Rudini had withdrawn from China, Ma continued his duties as a member of Viceroy Li’s entourage, leaving Luzzatti to be appointed the company’s Agent-General in China. Italian foreign policy in the East was indecisive, and the Italian chargé d’affaires in Peking, Marquis G. Salvago Raggi, tolerated Luzzatti as the only Italian with any apparent continuous interest in China. But he was not an admirer. He noted that Luzzatti possessed a heated imagination moving from proposed project to proposed project, often without real knowledge of their prospects.\(^\text{330}\)

When Luzzatti informed the German Minister of his interest in Shandong, for example, that gentleman, Salvago Raggi observed, raised his eyebrows and quietly suggested Shanxi, and to this idea Luzzatti reportedly turned without delay. He had been seeking and had now found a point d’appui.\(^\text{331}\)

Indeed, although Luzzatti reportedly knew nothing of the province, Ma Jian Zhong had friends and colleagues with close connections to the Shanxi provincial

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\(^{\text{331}}\) A point d’appui, in military theory, is a location where troops are assembled prior to a battle.
authorities, and they, together with a eunuch in the imperial court, handled the intricate details while Luzzatti eased the way with appropriate gifts, keeping contact with both the British Minister, the Syndicate being a British incorporated company, and the Italian chargé, Luzzatti insisting that this was an Anglo-Italian venture in which Italians should play a significant role.

The initial negotiations of Luzzatti and Ma had been successfully undertaken, but the Chinese government dealt only through the foreign missions, and the next step had to be initiated by the relevant ministers. Sir Claude MacDonald, the British Minister, finding himself dealing with an Italian, sought and received assurances from London that the financing was sound; he also received Foreign Office encouragement. Both Mac Donald and Salvago Raggi, aware that the Shansi concession had the support of Li Hong Zhang and convinced that all Chinese interests appeared in agreement, pushed successfully for an imperial edict and the formal approval of the Zongli Yamen, China’s embryo foreign office. These obtained, MacDonald accepted the registration of the concession by the British Legation in Peking, thus apparently securing the legality of the proceedings under the Treaty System, for, as an agent of the Pekin Syndicate would later comment.

At a minimum the Syndicate obtained the coal and iron mining rights with a related railway concession covering an area of 21,000 square miles. Figures in the range of 900,000 million tons of coal were estimated which, when fully developed, would yield expected profits of £750,000 annually. Additionally the Syndicate obtained the petroleum rights for the entire province. And then, only a month later, the Pekin Syndicate obtained a second concession, in Henan Province of China, with terms similar to those of the Shanxi Concession. Written into the agreements and understandings were prohibitions barring alienation; the Pekin Syndicate had,
therefore, to transform itself into a mining and railway company, while continuing to negotiate for unrelated railway concessions as an exploration company. This increase in activity led in 1898 to the issue of £332,20,000 of ordinary shares at a premium of £106,000. Unable, however, to found a separate Anglo-Italian mining company, the Syndicate issued £1,200,000 specially designated ‘Shansi shares’ with the intent that somehow the two roles of the company, discovery and exploitation, would thereby be kept separate with over-all direction being retained by the original investors, the Rothschild interest now being confirmed by the designation of Carl Meyer as chairman.

The growing threat of the Boxers minimised public subscription, and a high proportion of the new shares were taken up by the underwriters. Their subsequent sale in the new century would lead to temporary French control, the financing of the Banque Industrielle de Chine, and the rumored involvement of Rothschilds. But that was in the future. With the signing of all relevant documents, there was celebration at the Pekin Syndicate’s company meeting in London; Rudini’s role was graciously acknowledged but Luzzatti was welcomed home a hero. He then disappears from the record, never returning to China. The exploitation of the concessions was delayed by the Boxer Uprising and afterwards China had changed; ‘Young China’ was in the ascendance; “Rights Recovery” prevailed. The Shanxi concession was retroceded, the railway was sold to the Chinese and paid for with the proceeds of a loan from the Syndicate, with one exception Honan licenses to mine were denied or delayed, joint marketing with rival Chinese mining companies enforced, with the consequence that the Pekin Syndicate paid but one, half-year dividend – in 1936.

332 Quoted from the study of Frank H.H. King. One letter and a new understanding: The Rothschild Archive and the Story of the Pekin Syndicate. His PDF format of study can be found in: http://www.rothschildarchive.org/ib/articles/AR2007Pekin.pdf
For an alternative scenario, The Rothschild Archive is a very precious place. The available documents in the archives with an accompanying signed photograph – proves that in 1896 Viceroy Li had met Lord Rothschild personally, that he had remitted funds for purchase of Pekin Syndicate shares, and that Lord Rothschild had been keeping Li informed of the Syndicate’s progress.

In a key 1899 letter, Li has recommended that Luzzatti be appointed the company’s special representative in Pekin.

In this letter, undoubtedly drafted by Ma Jian Zhong, Li urges that Luzzatti should not only be a member of the Board, but that he should also be free from specific duties, focused instead on such things as the political problems, continued negotiations, and trouble-shooting in relation to national and provincial authorities. That Li considered himself in a position to make specific recommendations is indicative of what he thought was a very close relationship.

The job description was appropriate to this alternate scenario since adjustments to the concession agreements were already being considered. Li’s analysis of Luzzatti’s qualifications for such a position was a virtual point by point rebuttal of the official criticisms of both MacDonald and Saalvago Raggi; it is as if Li (or Ma) had actually read the damning dispatches!

In rejecting Luzzatti, the Syndicate’s Board of Directors implicitly rejected the broader concept of the Syndicate’s role in China. The Syndicate would eventually become just another target in the battle for Rights Recovery. The Chinese government was not to be, as Li expected, a “Silent partner”. But if London lacked vision, Li in his later years lacked authority – though perhaps the question was in any case moot: Ma died in 1900, Li in 1901.
Peking, 6 April 1899

Dear Lord Rothschild, I have to thank your Lordship for your letter of 20th January with its favourable view of the Peking Syndicate. Your Lordship has referred to certain terms of the concessions which should be materially altered. These matters will be arranged and all difficulties removed, for it is now admitted on all sides that this enterprise must be established on a practical working basis. The Syndicate may count upon my support in whatever may be necessary for its success here.

It is most important that the Syndicate should be represented in China by competent agents; and especially that there should be a representative for official Affairs who should control all relations of the Syndicate with the Chinese Government, central, and provincial, and the native shareholders, distinct from the technical, and commercial staff.

The Chinese Government is really a silent partner in the Syndicate by virtue of its sharing profits. The operations of the Syndicate embrace the Northern provinces of Shanxi and Henan now actually in hand, with the province of Shensi probably to be added soon, not to speak of neighboring provinces whose markets and highways will be availed of; and it rests with the Syndicate to prove worthy of still further confidence, which will mean further expansion in China. All this shows the necessity for intimate relations between the Chinese Government and the Syndicate for the advantage of both; and in no way can a good understanding and intelligent cooperation be better promoted than by employing a discreet tactful agent who can

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333 Quoted from Frank H.H. King One letter and a new understanding: The Rothschild Archive and the Story of the Pekin Syndicate. His PDF format of study can be found in: http://www.rothschildarchive.org/ib/articles/AR2007Pekin.pdf
maintain the interests of the Syndicate on the one hand, while preventing friction and encouraging confidence on the other. With these important interests in proper hands everything should go smoothly; otherwise there may be a plentiful crop of troubles and no extension of field. I strongly recommend that M. le Commendatore Luzzatti be appointed a member of the Board, with special charge over all Chinese interests both public and private.334

M. Luzzatti is favourably known in China; to him is due the great merit of having discovered the particular channel which led to these concessions; he opened negotiations [sic] at the right time and conducted them in the right way, until he was able to place the business complete in the hands of the British and Italian ministers for their formal verification.

M. Luzzatti succeeded where most men, and certainly where all ordinary diplomacy, would have failed. No further proof of his fitness for work in China need be given, or doubtless will be required by the Syndicate. With such merit: possessing as he does the confidence of so many Chinese officials – myself among the number, and being in favour with our Foreign Office, M. Luzzatti appears to be singularly well qualified to act as your official administrator for China. It would give me much gratification to meet and to assist him in that capacity.

I remain

334 Quoted from Frank H.H. King One letter and a new understanding: The Rothschild Archive and the Story of the Pekin Syndicate. His PDF format of study can be found in: http://www.rothschildarchive.org/ib/articles/AR2007Pekin.pdf
My Lord,

Your sincere friend

(signed) Li Hong Zhang

4.3 Remarks

Chapter 4 covers the many different efforts of Li Hong Zhang. However, in a limited time and limited resources the author just gives the keys of Li’s period. Li Hong Zhang’s efforts have created a very International Environment for China. Before him Chinese leaders had limited relations with West. However, Li Hong Zhang has tried to build strong relationships with the foreign powers. His balance in politics was very effective that he could control his internal and external effect in China. His relations with the Qing court was also in a harmony that he could manage to act in his way. He got support from Qings; maybe that was the most important key of his period. Such a dangerous Empress Cixi and her tight control over China forced many leaders to act carefully. Among many leaders some of them were punished by her as they tried to get more control.

Under these circumstances Li Hong Zhang knew his borders and tried not to go much over it. As he making his policies he was controlling the Qing side too. His power has served in many areas such as; foreign politics, suppressing the rebellions, building the military units, business establishments etc… He also traveled Europe and United States in order to have better and stronger relations with West.

In Chinese History some people thinks that Li Hong Zhang is a traitor. According to Prince Esper Esperovich Ouchтомsky, Li Hong Zhang accepted bribery
of 3,000,000 Russian rubles (about US$1,900,000 at the time) at the time of signing the “Mutual Defense Treaty between China and Russia” on June 3, 1896.

Although some Chinese historians reappraised Li’s role already in the early 80ies when they discussed the Self-Strengthening Movement, Li Hong Zhang’s image in history education and the public in Mainland China remained negative until the TV series Towards the Republic was released in 2003. In this controversial history soap (歷史電視劇) produced by China’s Central Television station, Li was for the first time introduced as a hero to the Chinese audience. Many historians and scholars consider Li a sophisticated politician, an adept diplomat and an industry pioneer in the later Qing Dynasty era of Chinese history. Though many of Li’s signed treaties were considered unequal and humiliating for China and he was for some decades named a traitor, more and more historical documents are being found showing some of Li’s heroic episodes in his encounters with foreigners.

However in this study the author does not want to focus on Li Hong Zhang’s punishment. Historians would decide his actions and behaviors. Here in this study, the author’s will is focusing the efforts and effects of Li Hong Zhang’s in military modernization of China. The author believes that his efforts has opened a new era for China’s new coming future and showed the new leaders new kind of international relations in Chinese History.
CHAPTER FIVE: Aftermath of the Self-Strengthening Movement and Military Modernization

China’s start from the modernization phase to the end of Self-Strengthening movement Chinese people saw the big change in their outmoded technology in military units. The change was not restricted with the military, as the author’s study covers many areas of Chinese society saw the change.

In military part Chinese armies and navy have never used such developed arms and ships. However, it is hard to say that Chinese army used them very efficiently. This is the critical point of failure part in modernization of China. West’s enduring significance of science, technology, and medicine in China from late imperial to modern times were the totally new trends of Chinese society.

The Self-Strengthening movement had notable successes, and the science and technology promoted at the arsenals and dockyards often surpassed that of Japan. Only the Japanese victory in 1895 made the Self-Strengthening look like a failure. But Japan’s victory came from superior organization, not from superior technology. Japan threw its entire nation into the war, while the commander of China’s southern fleet, who had already engaged the French in the South, reserved his resources for southern defense. China’s bigness, not its traditional civilization, was her greatest weakness.335

The catastrophe of the Sino-Japanese war, however, discredited nearly all of the achievements of the previous three centuries in China, leading to radical attacks on tradition and violent erasure of the past. These totalistic dismissals of imperial

China’s scientific and technological achievements erased much valuable historical knowledge and threw China into uncritical adulation of the West.

5.1 Discussion of Success and Fail in the Self Strengthening Movement

So, what happened in this movement? Where was the mistake? The author of this study wants to join the discussion of other China studies’ scholars. As a general understanding of the Chinese studies researchers, they mostly have the similar conclusions about the Self-Strengthening period. The author thinks that China has suddenly jumped in to the modernization because of the invasion and China’s biggest mistake was being closed to outside world hundreds of years. This caused the underdeveloped technology in China.

The Self-Strengthening was aimed to preserve traditional Chinese ideals (Confucianism) and to incorporate modern Western technology into their society. It was “Learning the superior techniques of the barbarians to control the barbarians” as Wei Yuan stated. However, the Self-Strengthening Movement failed due to a number of reasons, some of these were:

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1- Lack of co-ordination,
2- Lack of money,
3- Lack of skilled people,
4- Traditional Confucian attitudes,
5- Limited scopes and government corruption.
6- Insufficient attendance from the Imperial court.

One of the most harmful to the Self-Strengthening movement was Chinese attitude to reform. Chinese people were very traditional therefore unwilling to change. There was a lot of opposition towards Chinese studying abroad. For a decade after 1872, 30 boys per year were sent to study in Connecticut. Chinese people back home disliked this as the boys become “Too Westernized” and had started dressing like Westerners.

Hsu suggests that the Chinese people despised Westerners; this was shown in 1874 when the British-built short railroad from Shanghai to Woosung was ripped off its bed by angry mobs because the locomotive ran over a spectator. 339

Two years later the governor-general was pressured by the local gentry to buy this foreign railway and have it totally wrecked. Another reason as to why the Chinese attitude to reform was damaging to Self-Strengthening is the fact that there was no widespread support from Chinese society for industrialization. Apart from arsenals and textile mills that manufactured uniforms being set up in China, industrialization never got the support it needed from Chinese society. 340

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340 A reference book Jiangxi’s modernization would give the reader new informations about the other city’s of China. Thus, the reader would see the effects of modernization in another city. Please see:
5.2 The Opinions of the Other China Studies’ Researchers

China historians are discussing the results and mistakes of the movement over more than hundreds of years. Here, this part includes some of these important scholars’ opinions. The author wants to show the readers different perspectives of different people. Thus, readers could see many opinions and make their own discussions about the military modernization of China.

According to Gray, Chinese government rejected the opportunity of foreign investment and participation to help build railways, open modern mines, introduce the telegraph and to send diplomatic representatives abroad.\(^{341}\) When the proposal to help achieve these things was offered by Robert Hart, Zongli Yamen accepted the memorandum and it was sent to the Throne where it was “Dismissed immediately”: introduction of foreign capital was not accepted by the Chinese government.

There was a lack of skilled people, which contributed to the failure of the self-strengthening movement. Transmission of technology was stunted in 1881 when the scheme of sending boys abroad to study was terminated. According to Gray, it wasn’t until the first years of the 20th century that there was a significant amount of boys being trained abroad and exerting intellectual influence in China.

The Chinese had an opportunity to become educated by Westerners but they turned against it because of the fact that their students were becoming too westernized too quickly. The educational program, to send students abroad was in itself very limited. Only 30 boys a year from 1872 to 1881 were sent to study in American schools. Hsu states that “The government-supervised merchant undertakings, which

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Internet data base, for more information please refer to: http://essayinfo.com/sample/essay/464/
continuously suffered from… nepotism.” This is a very good example of a lack of skilled people working for the government because most of the people who were involved in nepotism probably did not have the right qualifications for the job they were subjected to.\(^{342}\)

China at this time was not economically endowed. One of the reasons for this was corruption of the Dowager Empress who had misused money that could have been spent on naval funds but instead it was used to “Construct the Summer Palace for the amusement of the dowager in retirement” as according to Hsu. Another example of mishandling the Chinese economy was the fact that profits “were distributed to shareholders as dividends rather than reinvested for growth” as stated in Hsu. The Chinese also rejected the opportunity for Western investment. Gray states that the Chinese government rejected the proposal for foreign investment and participation in the building of certain infrastructure. There was also discouragement of private investment. The Chinese also had to pay “Vast military expenses and indemnities”: “The Japanese invasion of Formosa in 1874 and annexation of the Liu-qi (流求) Islands in 1879; the British attempt to open Yunnan in 1875; the Russian occupation of Ili in Sinkiang, 1871–81; the French seizure of Annam and the war of 1884–85; and the Japanese aggression in Korea and the war of 1894–95” to name a few.

There was also no encouragement of private investments: “No legal changes which might protect and encourage enterprise… No encouragement of private enterprise in basic and defense-orientated industries.” Only later did the Chinese realize that there must be “Changes in law and in official practice towards merchants before investors would have the necessary confidence.”

\(^{342}\) Internet data base, for more information please refer to: [http://essayinfo.com/sample/essay/464/](http://essayinfo.com/sample/essay/464/)
There was corruption within the Chinese government which was a factor to the failure of self-strengthening. The Dowager Empress spent 30 million taels of naval funds to construct the Summer Palace for her “Amusement in retirement” as Hsu has stated. The 30 million taels were supposed to fund the navy. Hsu also suggest that Li Hong Zhang was “Not noted for high morals and character”. Apparently, Li left behind and estate of 40 million taels which his followers “squeezed and milked the factories and enterprises under their charge mercilessly.” 343

Self-Strengthening had a very limited scope of activity. According to Hsu, self-strengthening only stretched as far as improving “Firearms, ships, machines, communications, mining, and light industry. No attempts were made to assimilate Western institutions, philosophy, arts, and culture.” Basically, Western technology and the Confucian system that Chinese society was based on did not work together. This is due to the fact that Chinese people were unwilling to adapt to Western philosophy, art and culture because of their traditional Confucian ideals.344

Chinese had a lack of co-ordination especially when it came to war. In 1884 the Fujian fleet fought alone in the French war because the Nanyang and the Peiyang fleet “Refused to go to the rescue… Under enemy attack” as according to Hsu. In the Japanese war of 1894–95 the Nanyang fleet “maintained neutrality while the Peiyang fleet alone fought the Japanese navy.” The Chinese also had a lack of control over some provinces. There was weakening of central power and an incline of power in the provinces. This was due to the rebellions that took place during the time of self-strengthening such as the Nian rebellion (1853–68), the Muslim rebellion (1855–73) and the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64).

The Self-Strengthening movement failed due to many reasons. One of the most important is the attitude that the Chinese had towards modernization. Their Confucian based system disallowed much room to grow: only few steps of modernization were accepted within the Chinese society. In the 1950s and 1960s, Western and Japanese scholarship on the post-Taiping Rebellion (1850–64) era debated the success or failure of the 1865–1900 schools and arsenals in a modernizing Qing China.

American scholars such as Mary Wright contended that the imperial system and its classical ideology, which she labeled Confucian, were incompatible. The Taiwanese scholar Wang Ermin subsequently challenged Wright’s claim that classical learning and modernization were incompatible. In his study of modern Chinese naval development, John Rawlinson contended that traditional institutions based on classical ideology gave the Tongzhi Restoration (1862–74) and the “Self-Strengthening Movement” essential character and limited its achievements. Rawlinson concluded that the Qing failure to develop a national navy yielded a number of competing provincial squadrons based on weak imperial institutions and strong regional loyalties.

Others such as Thomas Kennedy have assessed both the external and internal forces that influenced the efficacy of the Self-Strengthening its programs. According

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to Kennedy, China’s modern ordnance industry was an institutional innovation that ushered in new era of mass production. Moreover, the Qing state managed the arsenals as bureaus within the traditional government, which resulted in corruption and inefficiency. Poor imperial leadership and lack of coordination among provincial officials limited the success of the modernization programs. Financial troubles at the arsenals and generally poor Western technicians were due to semi-colonial environment of the time. Similarly, Francis Moulder has maintained that China’s failure to modernize should be understood in light of China’s higher level of incorporation in the world economy than Japan, which enabled the more deleterious impact of imperialism in China.347

In his review of the literature, David Pong has contended that the Beijing court failed to create a unified imperial navy because of its inability to change the system of public financing and because of insufficient funds. On the other hand, Albert Feuerwerker has noted that the Qing government compensated somewhat for the depressed rural economy after the Taipings by instituting two new taxes to finance the arsenals and shipyards successfully: 1) customs duties on foreign trade; and 2) the tax on inter-provincial domestic trade.348

Feuerwerker has added that the Qing government could not tap into local economic resources or manage economic life and that the fundamental problem of revenues for reform was more internal weakness than outside imperialism. In his study of the successes and failures of the Self-Strengthening Movement in light of

Fuzhou Navy Yard, however, Pong at least has stressed the potential for change in this era and has avoided characterizing the Yangwu Yundong (洋務運動) (Self-Strengthening Movement) as a failure.

Japanese scholars of the late Qing modernization drive such as Hatano Yoshihiro have singled out the Qing bureaucratic system as the principal factor that ensured the maintenance of the old order in China, not economic backwardness, imperialism, or the inherited ideology and culture. According to this point of view, the Qing bureaucracy and its financial system rewarded imperial officials inordinately while the land market and economic corruption encouraged the status quo. Neither the Qing peasantry nor merchants were protected from official abuses and commercial exploitation.

According to Hatano, Qing officials and literati never fully understood the external crises they faced because they were schooled in the traditional ethos of the civil examination system and thus were ignorant of the outside world. To make his point, Hatano cites the Jiangnan Arsenal and Fuzhou Shipyard. Because each was under the control of regional governors or governor-generals they were inefficient, wasteful, and lacked centralized coordination. Non-military enterprises such as the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company, the Kaiping Coal Mine, and the Imperial Telegraph Administration were all defense oriented, but unlike the provincial arsenals they were organized on a profit-making basis and competed successfully against foreign companies.\(^{349}\)

Similar to Hatano’s discussion of late Qing industry, Ito Shuichi has contended that science and technology in late Qing China required the dethronement

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of the official dynastic orthodoxy and civil examination reform before they could be advanced. In Its view, although they served as a catalyst of the modern intellectual revolution in China, the publication of translated Western scientific works and technical books and the creation of new technical schools after 1865 contributed to the spread of Western social and political ideas among Chinese intellectuals, but the translations per se produced no scientists or engineers.

To challenge such negative views of the imperial Chinese state in Japanese scholarship, the eminent sinologist Miyazaki Ichisada, had written an earlier essay to refute claims that Qing bureaucratic control had ruined most of China’s early modern industrial enterprises. According to Miyazaki, it had been Li Hong Zhang’s desire to check foreign domination of shipping in China that had motivated him to sponsor the China.

Moreover, Miyazaki ironically has noted that the company declined only after 1909 when it was privatized under the industrialist Sheng Xuanhuai’s (1849–1916) personal control. Onogawa Hidemi in his study of the yangwu yundong has placed it in the first phase of a broader late Qing reform movement. The first phase focused on technical innovation, while the second phase shifted to institutional innovation after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).

In Onogawa’s view, the key figures of the first phase of technical and industrial reforms of the 1870s and 80s, such as Xue Fu Cheng (1838–94), who became an Administrative expert and advisor to many of the chief ministers of the late Qing, Ma Jian Zhong, Guo Songtao and Zeng Ji Ze advanced mercantilist proposals

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for developing mining, railroads, and foreign trade to create the material wealth needed for military Self-Strengthening.

In late 19th century, however, Wang Tao (1828–97) proposed sweeping changes in the civil examination, military, and educational systems. Others such as Ho Qi and Hu Li Yuan were critical of Li Hong Zhang’s policies in mid 1880s because of his focus on the navy rather than basic reforms in internal administration, which they regarded as more pressing. The doctrine of Self-Strengthening eventually evolved into a doctrine of reform. 351

Onogawa’s stress on the shift from science and technology to the institutional changes needed in China in terms of government organization in the 1880s suggests that the technical achievements before 1895 were recognized but deemed insufficient not in terms of a failure in science and technology but in light of institutional systems that needed reform.352

5.2 Chronology of Modern China and West (1583–2000)

The author thinks that this study will open a clear way to next coming changes in Chinese History. Because of this reason, the author adds a very wide chronology. 353

353 This chronology was cited from Saint Martin University’s webpage and amended by the author. You may refer to:
http://homepages.stmartin.edu/Fac_Staff/rlangill/HIS%20217/Chinese%20Chronology.htm
to the last part of his study. The chronology covers nearly 600 years of China and her relations with Westerners. In this study the author tried to do a clear research in his limited time about Military Modernization and especially during the Self-Strengthening Movement. The Opium War and its later 40 years has great importance in this study. However, the author’s will is not closing the modernization period of China. This study just gives a very little scale research of 50 years. However, China’s modernization especially ideological modernization journey continues after 1895 Sino-Japanese War and turns into a revolution in 1911. This chronology will help the readers to follow the steps of China from 16th century to 20th century. 354

CHAPTER SIX: Conclusion

As the author of this study wrote in the beginning part of this study, his research aims to make clear the background of China’s military modernization during Self-Strengthening Movement. The military modernization of China and the effect of West have changed China’s future. In this study the author gave 4 key points to understand the content of China’s military modernization. These are as written in chapter 1:

1. Analyze the background and starting point of the military modernization.
2. Historical researches of Self-Strengthening Movement and focus on its military modernization.
3. Case study on Li Hong Zhang (李鴻章) and his effects on the modernization of China and her society.
4. Discuss the Success and Fail of the military modernization.

Chapters 2 and 3 have opened the way for readers about China’s modernization period. The Opium Wars have the important role in this part. Understanding the Opium Wars mean that understanding Why China began military modernization? This is very critical question and the author gave the answers in chapter 2. The result of the war and defeat against to Westerners was the key of military modernization of China. The author’s picky book selection makes the background easier for readers especially for foreigners who want to understand Chinese modern history. Chapters 2 and 3 have a bridge between background of military modernization and real part of the military modernization.
In the real part of military modernization, the author means building the arsenals and opening the schools for military units in China. The first action that Chinese government did was accepting the superior power of West. It was never done till that time in Chinese history. So, China’s first move was; deciding the build a stronger army and accepting the foreign assistance.

Chapter 3 focuses on the Self-Strengthening Movement and the incidents during the movement. The author gave a very important attention to incidents and dates. Because this is the period that was started by Chinese reformist leaders in order to save country. China saw the weakness and some educated-talented figures pushed the start button for military modernization, this period is the first biggest modernization challenge in China’s long history. The author followed the historical order and dates in order to keep the order of incidents. Thus, the readers can follow the historical development of military modernization of China and her history. As the author dives in the military modernization period and incidents, his study became more interesting for readers. The wars, rebellions, Chinese government, important figures have a very big importance in these two chapters. Unfortunately it is not possible to point out all the incidents during the period; however, the author at least wanted to touch the main incidents. The understanding background means understanding the next period. The information and teachers came from Western countries and Chinese students went abroad. This period was the opening of China and her people to outside world. The first military modernization steps were done, but it was not the all. This was just the little beginning of everything in 19th century’s China.

Understanding the incidents can show us just the main frame; however, besides incidents the key figures are the most important keys of those incidents,
because they shape the history with their decisions, mistakes and characters. From the first key person of Chinese history the big Yellow Emperor till today’s Chinese leaders the historical figures changed the course of history. In this period, the author focused on the leader Li Hong Zhang and his role. The author gave him important place in chapter 4 and discussed his role in military modernization of China during the Self-Strengthening Movement. His life times and connections with other figures also have their parts in this chapter. His international travels for China and political power were researched by the author.

The author has spent long time to find and order the information about Li Hong Zhang and his lifetimes. In chapter 4, the author wanted to answer the questions who is Li Hong Zhang and what has he done? The author believes these 2 questions have their answers in chapter 4. Especially the foreign readers who have never read about him can know him and learn why he is so important for Chinese military modernization. He and the Chinese environment was described by the author, with the help of understanding his period, readers can touch the other important figures of China. The author has looked the military modernization not just from outside of China but also inside of China. This makes his study more international for readers. In China studies, if the authors use many Chinese cultural things the readers could read that study like a fairy tale. However, in his study the author dug out many different references from many different authors. The author has already added his own experiences and readings to his study too. This makes the study richer about references. Li Hong Zhang’s efforts in Chinese society and Chinese history should be studied deeper in next studies. Here in this study, the author just gave a frame of modernization steps of China. The firm steps actually start after the Sino-Japanese War; however, the Opium War has triggered the thought of modernization in China.
Till the chapter 5, the author did not add his or other researcher’s views in his study. The chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4 are the introduction chapters before the author put decisions in his study. The author used many other researchers’ comments about military modernization in China. Here, the most important thing is show the reader many different views before they do theirs. Understanding the 60 years long period and put a decision to end is a very hard thing for a writer. The author that’s why did not put very exact decisions in his study.

The point was the starting point of military modernization and its effects on China. Military modernization affected other units in society and modernization became visible in many parts of China. Till 1895, China just learned and got experience about modernization. Ideological modernization did its first steps but did not become a very strong as after 1895. The learning in the Self-Strengthening period was the starting point, till 1895 Chinese people did not have a firm nationalism ideology in their hearth. The worse defeat and the massacres during Sino-Japanese War showed China one more time the importance of a big modernization and revolution in their society. The real wake up was the 1895 Japanese occupation in China. However, all the former incidents and figures later have their effects in Chinese society. At least after the Opium Wars, China has learned the need of modernization.

The author’s study has aimed to pave the road to 1895. Understanding the background of military modernization and Qing China will open the doors for next part of Chinese history. From ancient China to modern China, the author’s this study can be seen as a bridge between old and new China. When the readers dive this world they will find more things by their selves. The author wrote in the first chapter that the
aim is support China studies for new learners about this world. This study can be seen a humble work of author. The starting words of this thesis in the page 10 were:

“The things I’ve chosen are a drop, no more:
The undiminished sea still crowds the shore.”

The readers have to jump in this sea and find more things about China. This is the author’s will that make the people more interested about China and her history. He believes that he achieved his aim by writing this humble study.
Annex

MING DYNASTY 1368–1644.

1583 - The Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci arrived in China.
1627 - First Manchu expedition to Korea.
1637 - Second Manchu expedition to Korea.

QING (MANCHU) DYNASTY 1644–1911.

1650 - First Catholic church established in Beijing.
1670 - The Manchus conquered Turkestan.
1683 - Taiwan fell to the Manchu power.
1689 - The Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689) with the Russians was drafted to bring to an end a series of border incidents and to establish a border between Siberia and Manchuria (northeast China) along the Heilong Jiang (Amur River). The treaty was China’s first bilateral agreement with a European power.
1692 - Jesuit missionaries welcomed by the Manchu court.
1697 - The Manchu armies occupied Outer Mongolia.
1704 - Papal decision condemned the Jesuit missionary work in China, which had been especially adept at fitting Christianity into a Chinese framework, for having tolerated the continuance of Confucian ancestor rites among Christian converts. The papal decision quickly weakened the Christian movement, which it proscribed as heterodox and disloyal.
1711 - The British East India Company established a trading post in Guangzhou.

1723 - Accession of the emperor Yong Cheng; Christianity is proscribed in China.

1727 - The Treaty of Kiakhta with Russia delimited the remainder of the eastern portion of the Sino-Russian border.

1751 - The Manchus conquered Tibet.

1760 - All foreign trade was confined to Guangzhou, where the foreign traders had to limit their dealings to a dozen officially licensed Chinese merchant firms.

1787-1788 - Bloody suppression of revolt in Taiwan.

1788 - Manchus expeditions to Vietnam.

1791-1792 - Expedition by the Manchu armies to Nepal against the Gurkhas.

1792-1794 - Lord McCartney became the first British envoy to Beijing.

1814 - First recorded Chinese convert to Western Christianity (the Nestorian form was long-established in China).

1816 - The British East India Company decided to develop imports of opium into China.

1839-1842 - The First Opium War has started and China entered the first big war against United Kingdom. Early in the 19th century, British merchants began smuggling opium into China in order to balance their purchases of tea for export to Britain. In 1839 the Qing government, after a decade of unsuccessful anti-opium campaigns, adopted drastic prohibitory laws against the opium trade. The emperor dispatched a commissioner, Lin Ze Xu (1785-1850), to Guangzhou (Canton) to
suppress illicit opium traffic. Lin Ze Xu seized illegal stocks of opium owned by Chinese dealers and then detained the entire foreign community and confiscated and destroyed some 20,000 chests of illicit British opium. Great Britain, which had been looking to end China’s restrictions on foreign trade, responded by sending gunboats to attack several Chinese coastal cities. Unprepared for war and grossly underestimating the capabilities of the enemy, the Chinese were disastrously defeated, and their image of their own imperial power was tarnished beyond repair.

1842 - The First Opium War ended with the defeat of Chinese forces. China, unable to withstand modern arms, was forced to sign the Treaty of Nanjing (1842) and the British Supplementary Treaty of the Bogue (1843). These provided that the ports of Guangzhou, Jinmen, Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai should be open to British trade and residence; in addition Hong Kong was ceded to the British. Within a few years other Western powers signed similar treaties with China and received commercial and residential privileges, and the Western domination of China’s treaty ports began.

1845 - The Sino-American Treaty of Wangxia permitted Americans to trade in the treaty ports and to purchase land for Protestant churches and missions. It also established the principle of extraterritoriality by which foreigners are tried only by their own consuls.

1850-64 - Taiping Rebellion. The peasants, having suffered floods and famines in the late 1840s, were ripe for rebellion, which came under the leadership of Hong Xiu Quan. Hong’s visions convinced him he
was the younger brother of Jesus, and he saw it as his duty to free China from Manchu rule. Taiping rebels captured Nanjing in 1853. Their attempts to capture Beijing failed, but an expedition into the upper Yangtze River valley scored many victories. Hong’s idiosyncratic Christianity alienated both Western missionaries and the Chinese scholar-gentry. Without the gentry, the Taiping forces were unable to govern the countryside or supply their cities effectively. The leadership strayed from its original austerity and descended into power struggles that left Hong without competent help. In 1860 an attempt to take Shanghai was repelled by US and British-led forces, and by 1862 Chinese forces under Zeng Guo Fan had surrounded Nanjing. Sporadic resistance continued elsewhere until 1868. The rebellion ravaged 17 provinces, took some 20 million lives, and left the Qing government was unable to regain an effective hold over the country.

1856-1860 - The Second Opium War. War broke out following an allegedly illegal Chinese search of a British-registered ship, the Arrow, in Guangzhou. British and French troops took Guangzhou and Tianjin and compelled the Chinese to accept the treaties of Tianjin (1858), to which France, Russia, and the United States were also party.

1857 - British and French troops occupied Canton.

1858 – In the Treaty of Tianjin China has agreed to open 11 more ports, permit foreign legations in Beijing, sanction Christian missionary activity, and legalize the import of opium.
1859 – China’s attempt to stop the entry of diplomats into Beijing as well as Britain’s determination to enforce the new treaty terms led to a renewal of the Second Opium War.

1860 - An Anglo-French force occupied Beijing and destroyed the Imperial Summer Palace. The Beijing conventions of 1860, by which China was forced to reaffirm the terms of the Treaty of Tianjin and make additional concessions, concluded the hostilities.

1860s-90s - The opening of a Foreign Office in Beijing in 1861 marked the beginning of a number of diplomatic and military modernization projects described collectively as the Self-Strengthening movement.

1872 - First Chinese students went abroad to study. This was a very critical turning point of China.

1876 - The Convention of Chih-fu (1876) opened four more treaty ports.

1881-1885 - Franco-Chinese War. China gave up its sovereignty over Annam and Tonkin (Now in North Vietnam). These territories were later included in French Indochina.

1897 - Russians occupied Dairen; Germany annexed the Qingdao area in Shandong.

1898 - The British acquired a ninety-nine-year lease over the so-called New Territories of Kowloon, which increased the size of their Hong Kong colony. Britain, Japan, Russia, Germany, France, and Belgium each gained spheres of influence in China. China is forced to grant a 25-year lease on Lushun (Port Arthur) and the Dalian (Dairen) peninsula. Germany acquired Jiaozhou Bay. France demanded a lease on Guangzhou Bay and Britain obtained a lease on Weihaiwei for as long as the Russians remained in Lushun and on Hong Kong’s New Territories for 99 years.

1898 - The Hundred Days Reform. In the 103 days from June 11 to September 21, 1898, the Qing emperor, Guang Xu (1875–1908), ordered a series of reforms aimed at making sweeping social and institutional changes. Opposition to the reform was intense among the conservative ruling elite, especially the Manchus, who, in condemning the announced reform as too radical, proposed instead a more moderate and gradualist course of change. Supported by ultra-conservatives and with the tacit support of the political opportunist Yuan Shi Kai (1859–1916), Empress Dowager Cixi engineered a coup d’état on September 21, 1898, forcing the young reform-minded Guangxu into seclusion. Cixi took over the government as regent. The Hundred Days Reform ended with the rescindment of the new edicts and the execution of six of the reform’s chief advocates. The conservatives then gave clandestine backing to the anti-foreign and anti-Christian movement of secret
societies known as Yihetuan (Society of Righteousness and Harmony).
The movement has been better known in the West as the Boxers.

1898–1900 - The Boxer Rebellion. An antiforeigner movement in China, culminating in a desperate uprising against Westerners and Western influence, led to the siege of the legations in Beijing. In June, 1900, the Boxers (some 140,000 strong and now led by the war party at court), occupied Beijing and for eight weeks besieged the foreigners and the Chinese Christians there. Provincial governors in southeast China suppressed the court’s declaration of war and assured the powers of protection for foreign interests, thus limiting the area of conflict to north China. The siege was lifted in August by an international force of British, French, Russian, American, German, and Japanese troops, which had fought its way through from Tianjin.

1899 - The Open Door Policy. The United States, which had not acquired any territorial sessions, proposed in 1899 that there be an “Open door” policy in China, whereby all foreign countries would have equal duties and privileges in all treaty ports within and outside the various spheres of influence. All the Powers except Russia agreed to the United States overture. Despite the agreement, China continued to be divided into separate zones of influence.

1901 - By the Boxer Protocol China is required to pay an indemnity of $333 million to the Western powers, to amend commercial treaties to the advantage of the foreign nations, and to permit the stationing of foreign troops in Beijing.
1905 - Civil service examinations were abolished. In Tokyo, Sun Yat Sen formed the Alliance Society, precursor of the Guo Min Dang or Nationalist Party (KMT).

1908 - The Empress Dowager Cixi died at the age of 74 and the 2-year-old Pu Yi (溥儀) is proclaimed emperor. China held the first elections for regional assemblies the following year.

1910 - Division of north-eastern China into Russian and Japanese spheres of influence.

1911 - The republican revolution broke out on October 10, 1911, in Wuchang, the capital of Hubei Province, among discontented modernized army units whose anti-Qing plot had been uncovered. It had been preceded by numerous abortive uprisings and organized protests inside China. The revolt quickly spread to neighboring cities. By late November, fifteen of the twenty-four provinces had declared their independence of the Qing Empire. A month later, Sun Yat Sen returned to China from the United States, where he had been raising funds among overseas Chinese and American sympathizers.
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226


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