

History HL Regional Option East and South East Asia

Section 1: East and South East Asia on the eve of European expansion from the late 18th century to 1860: an introductory survey

Traditional Societies in the Late 18th Century

The Political System

- Confucian ideal of government: Government and society dominated by the Confucian elite. The Emperor was the supreme patron of the Confucian scholars; the role of the scholars was to advise the Emperor and to govern by his authority
- All important matters had to be referred to the Emperor: himself proved the worst of all the bottlenecks of Chinese administration
- Controversy over whether the Chinese village was self-governing (if so, because government could not stretch itself to the grassroots level)

The Canton System of Trade

- General attitude: the Middle Kingdom had no need for things foreign, but benevolent emperor allowed trade as a mark of favor to foreigners and as a means of retaining their gratitude
- 13 hong (Chinese traders with monopoly rights) authorized to trade with foreign merchants, fixed prices, contracts made a year in advance
- Alongside were 13 foreign factories – on the banks of the Pearl River, outside the walls of Canton – the Barbarian Houses
- British trade dominated by the East India Company (E.I.C.), larger than all other foreign traders
- Trade restricted to October – January
- Tea the main item of trade (90.95% of total exports to England), second was silk
- After 1759, the Flint incident, new strict regulations, harsh Chinese law – caused friction with foreigners, increasing demands for territorial privileges

Decline of the Manchu Power (1775/Qianlong onwards)

Reflect the inner workings of the “dynastic cycle”, made the country vulnerable to the twin evils of internal rebellion and external invasion

- Administrative Inefficiency:
 - o Mutual distrust between Manchus and Han Chinese
 - o To not get into any trouble: avoid issues
 - o A tendency towards compromise, superficiality, temporization in order to not disturb the status quo
 - o Over-employment of minor officials grew out of proportion, became parasitic class of local power-brokers, clogged the local government

- o system and formed a formidable barrier to reform
 - o Large decisions were made by the emperor: thus state could only prosper proportional to the capacity of the emperor
- Widespread Corruption:
 - o E.g. Heshen, the imperial bodyguard, amassed a fortune of 800 million taels, more than half the actual total state income for twenty years
 - o Graft, extortion, irregular levies (tax) became common, office seen as the way to self-enrichment
 - o Major brunt of payment fell on the peasant, who under pressure of the tax collector and local gentry had to pay 50% more than the stated tax in cash and up to 250% more in grain
- Degradation of the Manchus and the Bannermen
 - o Manchus not permitted to trade or farm: leisure, laziness and irresponsibility
 - o Bannermen (1.5 million): the backbone of the Manchu military power – lacked training, corrupt, not only did they not fulfill the duty of defending the dynasty, they had even become parasites on the society
 - o Corruption also in the army, prolonged campaigns to milk the military funding further enriching corrupt officials (e.g. suppression of the White Lotus rebellion, 8 yrs)
 - o Chinese Green Standard Army declined to the point of uselessness
- Financial Stringency
 - o Corruption, military campaigns, trend towards luxury and massive government spending
 - o Tax level fixed by previous emperor out of benevolence. Limited the tax base
 - o Result: silver inflation by 200%
- Population Pressure
 - o Population increased much faster than did land acreage, causing decline in standard of living
 - o Land increase 1660-1812, 50%, while population increase more than 100% over same time period
 - o Displaced poor, became bandits, increased competition for public office
 - o However kept in check by cycles, e.g. rebellion trims down the population
- Intellectual Irresponsibility
 - o Scholars sought refuge in the study of ancient texts, rather than concentrating on contemporary society or politics, based on Confucianism
 - o Lost track of unity of knowledge and action
 - o Society deprived of moral leadership

European and American Penetration, Decline of the Canton System of Trade

**see below Chinese “tribute system” and Macartney missions etc.*

- Motives for European powers and the USA to become more influential
 - o Economic expansion, resulting from industrial revolution and technological supremacy
 - o Military and naval supremacy
 - o Belief in national and cultural superiority
 - o Assertion of free trade and open door policy, seeking new markets
 - o Missionary and educational zeal (France, USA)_
 - o Territorial imperialism (Russia, Germany)
 - o Mutual rivalry between the powers

Opium Wars and the Treaty System

Causes of the Opium War (1839-42)

- Essentially a clash between the declining Manchu empire, attempting to preserve the tributary system, and the self-confident, expansionist British empire, insistent on imposing its claim to free trade (view in light of Macartney, Amherst and Napier Missions below)
- Underlying incompatibility in Chinese claim to overlordship with the Western idea of national sovereignty, also conflict in tributary/diplomatic relationships and confrontation between self-sufficiency and expansionary (since Industrial Revolution)
- The opium trade for China:
 - o 2-10 million smoked it
 - o Encouraged crime and violence, decreased the efficiency of the workforce
 - o Addicts spent up to half their income on opium – stagnation in the demand for other commodities
 - o Severe outflow of silver from China, caused the debasement of the copper coinage, and resulted in lower tax yields for the Manchu government
- The opium trade for Britain:
 - o Lucrative profits, worth US\$18 million compared with the tea and silk trade of US\$17 million
 - o Sanctioned by the Br. Govt. which “cherished it, extended it, and promoted it.” (Wellington, 1938)
 - o In period of trade depression in the late 1830’s/early 1840’s
 - o Was the only commodity that the Chinese had interest in sufficient quantities to make up the balance of tea/silk.
 - o Sustained a trade imbalance with India (purchase tea) – and a triangular trade was established between Britain, India and China
- Failure of the Napier mission (see below) and resulting breakdown of relations
- Increasing opium trade after the 1833 Govt. of India Act which removed the monopoly of the E.I.C. and allowed private traders (e.g. Jardine, Matheson) to trade more energetically
- Imperial opium policy 1836, decision to suppress both dealers and users

ruthlessly – by early 1839, opium imports into Canton had been virtually stopped – British regarded this as unfair restraint of trade (the free trade movement was gathering momentum in Britain)

- Short-term
 - o Manchu policy against the opium trade was intensified with the appointment of Lin Tse-hsu with special responsibility for suppressing the trade at Canton
 - o March 1839: Lin issued an ultimatum, demanding opium stocks to be surrendered by the “Barbarian Houses” this was followed by a blockade of the foreign houses
 - o Charles Elliot (Br. Superintendent of trade) came and persuaded the merchants to comply. Opium handed over and burnt. May 1839: Elliot withdrew to Macao with the entire British merchant body
 - o Demands by British merchants to be reimbursed as a result of the Opium handed over. British government refused therefore looked to China to provide compensation
 - o Elliot sought military/naval support from the British govt. for a demand for compensation from China – seemingly wanted to teach the Chinese a lesson

The Consequences – the Unequal Treaties

- Treaty of Nanjing (Aug. 1842)
 - o Indemnity of \$21million
 - o Abolition of the cohong – therefore free trade in Canton
 - o 5 treaty ports opened: Canton, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Ningbo, Shanghai
 - o Cession of Hong Kong indefinitely
 - o Diplomatic equality
 - o Fixed tariff (5 % ad valorem) – (treaty of the Bogue Oct. 1843)
 - o Extra-territoriality
 - o Most favored nation status – i.e. any advantageous agreements of another nation with China apply
- Nothing mentioned about the opium trade – still officially banned, but continued and worsened
- China forced to make concessions to USA (Tr. Of Wanghsia, July 1844) and France (Tr. Of Whompoa, Oct. 1844) – most favored nation status; fixed tariffs; extra-territoriality
- Displayed Manchu weakness, in some respects sparked internal rebellions
- But didn't shock the Chinese people in realizing their backwardness – only moderate beginnings in Western studies
- Began the “treaty century” 1842-1942, subjected China to further encroachments and reduced her to semi-colonial status

Section 2: China from the mid-18th century to 1870

Qing absolutism and the preservation of Manchu power

**see also section 3 on the self-strengthening movement and 1911 revolution*

- Manchus maintained their power by appointing approximately half Manchus/ Bannermen, and half Han Chinese in government positions over their period of reign
- Manchu was the official language, and Manchu traditions remained prominent
- Retention of the Bannermen
- Prohibition of marriage between Manchus and Chinese
- Duplication of offices, both a Manchu and a Chinese officer at its head
- Unique effectiveness in their adoption of Chinese ruling techniques and customs
- Flexibility in political organization – deploying non-chinese traditions and alternative approaches in dealing with minorities (e.g. Mongols, Tibetans)

Chinese “tribute system” and Macartney, Amherst and Napier Missions

- Based upon China’s view of the outside world with a sense of superiority and a deep ignorance
- The “tribute system” was a ceremonial which confirmed the imperial hegemony
- Conflict came from the Br. government officials unwilling to compromise the dignity of their country and perform the “kowtow” and a misunderstanding between states about the tributary system, diplomacy, and equality of states
- General dissatisfaction with the Canton system of trade, i.e. the limitation to one port, limitation of trading dates, all trade controlled by the cohongs, the humiliating restrictions on personal freedom, generated attempts to change the Canton system of trade
- **The Macartney Mission (1793)**
 - o Aims: to gain treaty ports, to relieve existing abuses at Canton, to arrange diplomatic representation at Beijing and to open up China and the Far East to Br. Trade
 - o Despite being well received – he was dismissed by Qianlong without achieving anything because of his refusal to perform the kowtow
 - o However, Macartney’s observations revealed the corruption of the government, backwardness of China, and the weakness of its army
- **The Amherst Mission (1816)**
 - o Sino-Br relations strained by the Br. occupation of Macao and its attack on Nepal
 - o China threatened to stop the Canton trade
 - o Amherst failed to see the Emperor because of his refusal to kowtow: nothing achieved
- **Napier Mission (1834)**

- o Ordered to place Britain on an equal footing with China, while adopting conciliatory and friendly methods
- o Napier overly anxious to defend his dignity and his country's honor
- o Went into Canton without permission, big fiasco, Napier retreated but only after having strained Sino-Br. relations
- The failure of these missions led Br. to the only reasonable alternative to use military force
- Opium War seemed inevitable in the 1830's between an expansionist, industrialized, naval power and a decadent, largely agricultural, land empire

Challenges to and changes in the structure of Chinese society

**see section 3 reform*

Reigns of the emperors Qianlong and Jiaqing

**see section 1, Decline of the Manchu Power*

White Lotus, Taiping, Nien and Moslem rebellions

**Put in context with section 4, the importance of foreign powers, and section 3, the self-strengthening movement, to investigate the extent to which their failure was due to inherent flaws of the rebellion, Manchu government, intervention of western powers*

Qing weakness demonstrated in the Opium War, and the weaknesses expressed in section 1, "Decline of the Manchu Power", especially population pressure and inflation, led to a popular rise of rebellions

- **White Lotus Rebellion (1796-1804)**
- Led by Zhu Yuanzhang advocating the White Lotus religion
- The various sects united under a charismatic sect leader, the announcement of the imminent millennium and a call for a Ming restoration
- Government intervention sparked more open rebellion – joined by bandits, smugglers etc. too
- Defeat of the rebellion came at heavy costs and loss of military prestige
- **Taiping Rebellion (1850-64)**
- The most severe of several anti-Manchu rebellions of the period, based on a distorted Christianity
- Causes:
 - o Population increase, high rents and taxes, migrants forced to fight for land
 - o Debasement of copper coinage, shortage of silver, lower prices for agricultural produce and higher taxes combined to squeeze peasants
 - o Natural disasters: drought in Honan 1847, flooding of Yangzi 1849
 - o Defeat of Manchus in the Opium War – reduced prestige, "legitimacy of an alien government was put in question" time for a dynastic change?
- Main Characteristics:
 - o Hong Xiuquan, charismatic leader, inspired by his vision of himself as

God's second son

- o Gave him a messianic vigor which undoubtedly won many converts
- o Highly religious, Hong's relatives given great positions of power
- Events/Reasons for failure:
 - o The Taiping force split (1852) and ignored invitations to join forces with the Short Swords in Shanghai (strategic blunders), therefore missed the opportunity to take Shanghai
 - o Failure to support the Northern Expedition (1852) with sufficient force
 - o Shanghai would have provided the Taipings with a link to the western powers, possibly get them on their side, Western powers more interested in trade than anything else
 - o Having captured Nanjing, did not deal with two imperial armies North and South of the city speedily
 - o Fratricidal strife in Nanjing (failure in leadership), and suspicion among the top members of the Taiping hierarchy
 - o Inconsistencies in Taiping life – notably concubinage amongst the leaders, didn't practice what they preached, undermined their ideals
 - o Formation of modern armies by Zeng Guofan and his protégé Li Hongzhang
 - o Intervention of foreign powers, Frederick Bruce, British envoy, supported Prince Gong and opposed the Taipings, managed to convince the British government to support the Manchus
 - o Formation of British-sponsored force (1861 – the Ever-Victorious Army) and an equivalent French force, protected Shanghai
 - o 1864, Nanjing finally taken after a long siege by Zeng Guofan
 - o Distorted view of Christianity as well as bad treatment did not appeal to foreigners
 - o Suppression of opium by Taiping antagonized the western powers
- Consequences/Significance:
 - o Demonstrates the resilience of traditional society – sluggish, ill-coordinated, and corrupt as the machinery was, it worked
 - o The constant civil warfare caused around 20 million deaths, affect on economy, but also less strain on land
 - o Gave birth to the Qing Restoration, “self-strengthening” discussed in section 3
 - o Viewed by Communist historians as the first main peasant rebellion
 - o This showed that the fall of the Manchu empire was not inevitable

The Nian Rebellion (1851-1868)

- Primarily supported by the minority
- Had the tacit or active support of some government officials, who found it advantageous to conceal Nian activities and even to profit from them
- Rebellion triggered by flooding of the Yellow river and the Taiping Rebellion

- Had risen up “to rescue the impoverished, eliminate treachery, punish wrongdoing, and appease the public indignation”
- Defeat came at the hands of Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang who had used their new effective army – promoted the view that a purely Han Chinese military could succeed

Moslem rebellions (1856-1873)

- Increasingly severe discrimination against Muslims
- Zuo Zongtang dealt with the Moslem after the Taiping and Nian rebellions had been suppressed
- Further proof of the long-term viability of adopting western military and diplomatic techniques

The “Arrow” incident, second Anglo-Chinese War, Convention of Beijing

- **Origins of the Second Anglo-Chinese War (1856-58)**
 - o British disappointed with contracting trade – cloth was more cheaply available domestically and of good quality, trade imbalance
 - o Only the opium trade was still profitable
 - o French also seeking redress for the murder of French Missionary
 - o 1846: relations strained, Cantonese refusal to open the city to the British, as agreed in the Treaty of Nanjing
 - o Qiyong conceded the right of entry only after Sir John Davis captured the Bogue forts in April 1847 and occupied the factories with 900 troops
 - o But Qiyong resigned and was replaced by Xu Guangqin, who hated foreigners and supported Cantonese resistance
 - o 1847: on payment of last installment of the Opium War indemnity, Br. evacuated Zhoushan from where they had been able to threaten Nanjing
 - o Xian Feng succeeded Dao Guang as emperor, believed that China should resist the West
 - o Bowring (an idealist of free trade and pacifist convictions) exerted pressure on the Chinese
 - o Continual refusal to deal with him made him increasingly frustrated and annoyed

The Incident

- o 1854: Triad uprising in Canton, suppressed by Chinese forces and survivors turned pirate on the Pearl River
- o Most trade shifted to Hong Kong
- o This meant that Chinese ships had to have special licenses to trade with Hong Kong (foreign territory) and the British retaliated by giving Chinese trading vessels the right to fly British flags
- o The “Arrow Incident”: Ship flying the British flag was boarded by Chinese troops who suspected that it was an pirate. British demanded the

- o release of the crew and a public apology, but refused
- o Provoked Bowring to order the British fleet to bombard Canton
- o In retaliation the foreign factories were burned by Chinese troops
- o 1857-8: Canton captured in December
- o Elgin dispatched to China to enforce the Treaty of Nanjing and seek compensation
- o Taku forts and Tientsin seized in April 1858
- **Treaty of Tientsin (1858)**
 - o Permanent resident plenipotentiary in Beijing
 - o 10 new treaty ports
 - o Freedom of travel with extraterritorial rights
 - o Indemnity of 4 million taels for Br.; 2 million for France
 - o Freedom of movement for missionaries
 - o Later at the Shanghai Tariff Conference (Oct. 1858) it was conceded that Br. envoys would not permanently stay in Beijing
- The Third Anglo-Chinese war (1859-60)**
 - o Emperor refused to allow Bruce (replaced Elgin) to Beijing to sign the treaty
 - o The Peiho river was blocked and Bruce attempted to open it by force
 - o British marines suffered heavy casualties from the Taku forts
 - o Elgin returned and marched towards Beijing
 - o Torched the summer palace
- **Treaty of Beijing (Oct. 1860)**
 - o Br. demands to ratify the treaty in Beijing were opposed, had to use force to enter Beijing
 - o Indemnity increased to 8 million taels
 - o Tientsin opened to foreign trade and residence
 - o GB acquired Kowloon
 - o France gained the right for missionaries to own property in China

Section 3: China, 1860-1912

Taiping and Nien Rebellions: Consequences

**See also Section 2 on Taiping Rebellion consequences*

- **Long-term consequences in terms of the power balance between the central government and the provinces**
 - o During the rebellions, gentry support was vital, especially in raising of the regional armies
 - o Qing was forced to make fundamental readjustments in the relationship of the two parties
 - o Total number of gentry rose from 1.1 million to 1.45 million
 - o Gentry positions were increased in proportion to the level of the

- contributions a province provided
 - o This was an indication of a weakening of the government, the gentry escaped government control and became more difficult to manage
 - o Local militarisation continued, no more monopoly on military force
 - o Growth of regionalism: the emergence in key areas of China of military and political power centers that assumed some of the important functions (military, tax collection) of the state but still remained within its framework
- Population pressure release and other short-term see section 2

Challenge of Christian Missions and Chinese Reactions

- Tang Liangli argued: no group of foreigners had done greater harm to China than foreign missionaries, whose activities had served to denationalize hundreds of thousands of Chinese converts and whose misrepresentations had led to China being grievously misunderstood in the West
- Under the unequal treaties missionaries could reside and establish churches in the treaty ports, preach anywhere in the empire and Chinese subjects were given the right to practice Christianity
- Alongside preaching the Gospel, missionaries became increasingly involved in philanthropic, medical and educational activities – medical missionaries pioneered the training of Chinese doctors in Western medicine
- By 1906, 250 mission hospitals, 1899, 1766 Protestant schools
- Hostility of Chinese to missionaries a consequence of Taiping rebellion – Taiping version of Christianity – left a legacy of hatred against Christianity
- Not until 1860, was widespread hostility towards missionaries apparent:
- Gentry the main opponents of Christian missionaries – missionaries posed a threat to their cultural hegemony and at the same time challenged their role in the political, economic and legal structures of rural society
- Missionaries would challenge gentry dominance on literature, health care, charitable activities, litigation
- Much written (true and false) to denounce Christianity, gentry circulated anti-Christian literature, fueled hostility
- Anti-missionary incidents
 - o 1862: Catholic orphanage and church destroyed
 - o 1868: missions buildings plundered, missionaries treated roughly
 - o retaliation from this, Br. forced in to get the official dismissed
 - o 1870: A crowd, incensed by rumors of kidnapping and malpractice in an orphanage attacked the Catholic mission in Tianjin, 19 foreigners killed
 - o indemnity, exile of officials as punishment
- The settlement of such incidents further undermined the prestige of the Chinese government
- In the 1890's, anti-missionary activity became entangled with anti-dynastic

agitation (see also Boxer uprising section 4)

Cixi and her Influence in China

**see also her roles in self-strengthening etc.*

- **The coup of 1861 and the rise of Cixi**
 - o 1861: Xianfeng died and succeeded by his son who was only five years old; he was advised by an 8-man council
 - o Empress Dowager Cixi, having confirmed the support of Prince Gong, issued an edict accusing the council for precipitating the war with Br. and Fr. In 1860 – council was arrested, and some executed
 - o Empress Dowager assumed her power as regent, which she retained until her death
- Empress Dowager, the dominant force at court throughout the period, has been depicted as preoccupied with her own position and the gratification of her own expensive pleasures
- Her despotic intervention in the succession – selecting her nephew with no basis – showed her ruthless determination to cling to power
- Because her position was never entirely secure, she had to manipulate sections of the bureaucracy (Divide and Rule?) – playing off the provincial bureaucracy against the central bureaucracy, conservatives against those who supported the pragmatic policies of self-strengthening
- In doing so she ensured that there was no consistency of aim and the throne failed to provide effective leadership

The Importance of Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang and Zuo Zongtang; Self-Strengthening Movement + Tong Zhi/Qing Restoration

Self-strengthening movement with three arms: military modernization, industrial expansion, diplomatic equality

- **Military**
 - o The aim was “to learn the superior techniques of the barbarians to control the barbarians”
 - o Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang and Zuo Zongtang were front line generals but their successes helped to expand their influence to government admin
 - o The Hunan and Huai Army – A Han army, based on strict discipline, soldiers from solid peasant stock, officers from Han Confucian aristocracy, western training, strong personal loyalties to specific generals
 - o Military applied use of modern rifles, cannons, machinery purchased from western sources
 - o Most effective in helping in the rebellions after Taiping; no match for western forces

- o Elleman: Han Chinese became trained in how to use modern weapons, merely delayed the decline of the dynasty; a Han only army could succeed
- **Industrial enterprises**
 - o Arsenals, foundries, ironworks, coal mines, dockyards, steamship companies, textile mills
 - o Designed to give China the productive capacity to equip a modernized army and navy
 - o Guandu-Shangban principle – government supervision and merchant management
 - o Failed in the main because of bad govt intervention, failure to invite foreign investment, inexperience (see further)
- **Diplomatic Self-Strengthening**
 - o Prince Gong's creation of the Zongli Yamen as a prototype foreign office
 - o Later addition of the Tong Wen Guan (language school) and education
 - o Convinced of the need for treating the foreign powers as equals and for a policy of conciliation rather than confrontation with superior armed forces
 - o Efforts to little avail: limited by the vulnerability of Prince Gong to Cixi, side-lined by the effective foreign minister Li Hongzhang (superintendent for trade)
- **Maritime Customs Service (1861)**
 - o Designed to bring a new source of revenue by reforming collection of taxes and introducing western civil service practices, and officials
 - o However, much of the revenue collected was wasted (e.g. 36,000,000 taels spent instead on Cixi's new summer palace)
- **Changes at Court: The Qing Restoration *(?) before Self-Strengthening**
 - o Restoration of the Confucian order
 - o Examinations, schools, libraries, academics back in importance
 - o Collective responsibility, aid/social welfare projects sponsored
 - o Rehabilitating the agricultural sector
 - o Balanced power between local elite and central government
 - o Not a genuine revival, but survival – hampered the dynasty from establishing relationship with the ordinary people
- **Failure**
 - o Resoundingly demonstrated by the Chinese defeat to Japan in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95, and the carving up of China following this by the Western powers (foreign intrusions 1897-98)
 - o Failure because of lack of coordination and support of Cixi
 - o Limited vision of the reformers – concentrating on military strength, no the underlying structural flaws of the state
 - o Lack of capital for industrial investment
 - o Foreign imperialism continued to take advantage of China's internal weakness
 - o Conservatism of attitudes – no real modernizing zeal

- o Corruption and moral weakness (e.g. Cixi spending 30 million on the new summer palace instead of the navy)
- **Consequences/Results**
 - o Further reform in 1898
 - o Suppression led to increasing inclination towards revolution
 - o Industrial development associated with the arsenals and dockyards stimulated the growth of coastal cities: the emergence of a middle class entrepreneurs in these areas
 - o Infiltration of western ideas such as liberalism, nationalism, social democracy, Christianity

“Hundred Days Reforms” of 1898

Origins lie in the crushing defeat by Japan 1894-95, the ineffectiveness of the self-strengthening movement, a genuine intellectual renaissance stimulated by western influences challenging essential Confucianism and its ideals

- Kang Youwei a young scholar; urgent calls for reform
- New emperor Guangxu without influence from the semi-retired Cixi
- Guangxu had been educated by conservative reforming tutors – Weng Tonghe and Zhang Zhidong – Kang came to the attention of the emperor who was given a fleeting opportunity to move China onto a more progressive path
- Involved “revolution from above”, abolition of formal literacy exercises, new education, encouragement of trade, proposition for military reform etc. along Western lines
- Short lived, mid-September Cixi re-emerged began to mobilize forces of reaction
- **Reasons for failure**
 - o No popular base
 - o Cixi had never really relinquished power
 - o The army, led by Rong Lu and Yuan Shikai, supported Cixi
 - o Reforms had only touched the surface, not the underlying imperial system
 - o Inexperience of the reformers – no political experience, no match for Cixi
 - o Too idealistic; depended on the cooperation of an unenthusiastic civil service to uproot the whole Confucian sub-structure
- **Consequences**
 - o Restoration of the ultra-conservative rule; execution of reformers
 - o Encouragement to anti-foreign reactionary groups like the Boxers, supported by Cixi and the court
 - o Widened the gap between the Manchus and the Han Chinese
 - o Convinced other reformers that progressive reform from the top down was impossible – that change could only come about through violent revolution

The Reforms of 1901-1911 (*not on syllabus?)

Split into two stages: 1901-1905; 1906-1911

- **1901-1905**
 - o Motivated by the need to restore credibility after the disastrous support for Boxers; a ploy to feign reform, not genuine
 - o Many reforms like those of 1898, but essentially power remained in the hands of the Manchus
 - o Social reforms a general failure, but education and civil service reforms went ahead – increased opening up of China to western, liberal, anti-Confucian ideas, eroding base
- **1906-1911**
 - o Japan's success became shocking reality after its defeat of Russia (1904-1905), orders to emulate Japanese Meiji reforms
 - o New constitution set up (Aug 1908) – but to be applied in 9 years!
 - o Study groups sent abroad to learn
 - o Powers of Han provincial governors severely reduced (Cixi trying to hang on to Manchu throne – policy of cunctation)
 - o Most powerful governor-general, Yuan Shikai, transferred to Beijing, losing control of his Beiyang army
 - o Efforts after Cixi's death (National parliament, elections) not enough to quell increasingly bold protest at Manchu monopoly of power

Sun Yatsen and the 1911 Revolution, fall of the Qing

Reasons for fall (short term)

- Death of Cixi and Guangxu sped up Constitutional reforms
- Realization by provisional governors that constitutional reform would not make the Manchus relinquish control
- Rise of anti-foreign feeling following the railways construction by foreign powers in the provinces. These were further territorial expansions by the colonial powers
- Qing decision in 1911 to nationalize the provincial railways
- The highly nationalistic Beiyang army (with western trained officers) were highly nationalistic, their command Yuan Shikai transferred to Beijing and lost his influence, further anti-Qing sentiment

Reasons for fall (long term)

- Refusal of the Manchus to share power with the dominant Han Chinese
- Failure to control the finances of the empire which led to increasing debt which was borne by the Han Chinese
- Failure to stop the foreign power intrusion (dynastic cycle?) and loss of support, decline of Manchu power

The Wuhan revolution (Oct 1911)

- Sparked more from self-preservation rather than genuine revolutionary fervor with Qing officials discovering the rosters of the Sun Yat-sen's movement
- Qing government ordered Yuan Shikai to suppress the revolution (which he did not)

- Yuan Shikai given the position of Premier after posing as protector of both the Manchus and the Han Chinese

The end of Qing rule

- Return of Sun Yat-sen, elected provisional president of the Chinese Republic
- Yuan Shikai forced the Qing abdication which members of the Revolutionary Alliance (Sun's supports) had wanted all along
- Yuan Shikai took the position of president after been offered/cohered Sun Yat-sen to give him

Section 4: International Relations, 1855 to 1918

Anglo-French Collaboration against China, 1856-1860

**Refer to above, second and third opium wars*

Sino-French War, 1883-84

Background

- Dispute over Indo China
- France had control over the southern part whereas the Chinese had control of North Indochina
- France also wanted to open up further treaty ports and gain more concessions from China

Consequences

- Showed that China was still no match for Western power, China's navy and army conclusively defeated

Sino-Japanese War, 1894-1895

Background

- Caused by Russian encroachments in Manchuria
- Japanese fears of Russian interference with Korea
- Mainly caused by the dispute over Korea as vassal state of either China or Japan
- Korea see as a "Dagger posed at the heart of Japan" (Meckel)
- Rise of the Tonghak rebellion (anti-foreign) and excuse for China and Japan to send in troops

Consequences, Treat of Shimonoseki 1895

- China recognized the independence of Korea and the ending of the tributary system with Korea
- Taiwan, Pengdu, and Taiwan were ceded to Japan
- Indemnity of 100 million taels
- Favored nation status
- Forced extensive borrowing by the Qing government which was now heavily indebt due to the indemnities

The Scramble for China

- Russia gained railway rights in Manchuria

- Germany gained the Shandong peninsula
- British gained the New territories
- France gained a lease on Guangzhouwan

Russo-Japanese War, 1904 to 1905

Background

- Hatred of Russia by Japan after the triple intervention forced Japan to cede the Liaodong peninsula to China
- Fear of Russian territorial ambitions in Manchuria and possibly Korea

Open Door Policy and China Japan

Refer to the scramble for China and the triple intervention

New Forms of Foreign Economic and Cultural Penetration

See economic reforms under the Self-strengthening movement and missionary actions

Boxer Uprising and Boxer Protocol (1898-1901)

Causes

Long Term

- Unequal treaties created intense anti-foreigner feeling after the Chinese humiliation
- Failure of the Self Strengthening Movement showed that the government was unable to stop foreign incursions, the people needed to work
- Flooding and Drought in 1898 and 1900 Increased friction between Chinese and missionaries
- “Scramble for China” further humiliation of China

Short Term

- Boxers advanced to Beijing in 1900 and subsequent Western power retreat sparked Qing hopes for ousting the foreign powers
- Deceleration of war 1900 21st June put formal support behind the Boxers.

Consequences

- Punishment of guilt officials
- Indemnity of 67.5 million
- Apology mission to Germany and Japan
- Right of foreigners to station armed forces for Beijing embassies
- Destruction of the Taku forts
- Prohibition of arms imports for two years
- Stationing of foreign troops in Beijing and the road towards the sea
- Russians took over Manchuria and finally withdrew after been beaten by the Japanese
- Threatened the partition of China
- Further proof of the weakness of the Manchu empire and the need for a complete

overthrow of government to facilitate modernization

The First World War and its Impact

**See relevant plan on its impact on China and Japan*

The Paris Peace conference 1919

- Recognized the Japanese claims of Liaodong for its aid during the First World War
- Japan given a special position in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia
- Provoked the May 4th demonstrations
- Return of Laborers (Chinese aid to the Allies during World War I) and new ideas

Section 5: Japan from the mid-18th century to 1868

Essentially: Reasons for the fall of the Tokugawa

Long term and Background

Economic and social change

- The Tokugawa was on the decline by 1868 because of long term economic and social changes
- Economic strains because of soaring expenditures of the Bakufu which tended to exceed their sources of income – land taxes, and the rice tax
- Taxation system was not organized in a systematic manner → so as agriculture grew, taxes did not → not enough revenue
- Corruption and inefficiency
- Inflation reduced real income and tax revenues
- Resorted to forced loans and cutting stipends to make good the shortfall
- Alternate attendance system extremely costly
- Social problems: resentment from the samurai who had their stipends cut (up to -50%)
- Resented growing prosperity of the merchants and the richer peasants
- Also resented by poorer peasants (rising costs, falling incomes from rice crop) who resorted to violence: Osaka uprising 1837, Tempo crisis: revolt caused by bad harvests + famine
- Ideological problems: a rise in neo-shintoism and the decline of Confucianism, as well as early nationalism, provided an ideological basis for a reaction against the Bakufu's "appeasement" of the West
- "honour the Emperor, expel the barbarian" motivated samurai resistance to what they saw as the pusillanimous assimilation of western influences, rise of the Shishi, men of spirit
- The possibility of a successful reconstruction and reform seriously undermined by these factors

Isolation policy

- Japan followed a policy of national seclusion (sakoku) because
 - o Afraid of the impact of Christianity in degrading ideology and idolization of emperor and Shinto beliefs
 - o Felt superior and self-sufficient – National exclusiveness
 - o Not expansive policy because wanted to maintain social stability
 - o Restricted technological progress (industrial revolution in the west)
 - o However some trade: Korea, China, Dutch

“Dutch Learning” (rangaku), “National Learning” (kokugaku)

- Prompted a group of nationalist-minded intellectuals to preach scientific-military advance, and “eastern ethics-western science” as security against the fate of China befalling Japan

Attempts at reform (1820-40’s)

- Fundamentalist: return to earlier simplicity; restraint; austerity
- Realist: accept economic change and work with it
 - o State enterprises, monopolies; even end seclusion and increase foreign trade. But regarded as very radical
- Mizuno’s tempo reforms (1842-45) → fundamentalist: cut back expenditure, tried to suppress ostentation, disband merchant associations, prevent movement of population to Edo – failed
- Reforms were anachronistic → in fact reforming the old Tokugawa system, but Tokugawa society had already changed
- Failure of the reforms brought into dominance the school of realist leaders

Other Long Term Reasons

- Decline of the feudal government
 - o Bakufu were challenged by – the Daimyo (Choshu and Satsuma), the samurai (who might fight for a domain, or in independent bands)
 - o Emperor marginalized; barely a figurehead; replaced by the Shogun
- Underlying causes for the decline of feudalism
 - o Landed aristocracy and the samurai losing their purchasing power
 - o Rise of a merchant class – chief money lenders, wanted more power
 - o Lesser landowners and samurai coming to believe that they stood to gain from overthrowing a system which impoverished them
 - o Rising bourgeoisie increasing keen to exercise some influence on government
 - o Peasant discontent with rising taxes

The Role of the foreign powers

Impact of Commodore Perry and “black Ships”

- “Provided the explosives for the Bakufu’s demise” – Jansen
- See responses to foreign intervention in the various “attempts at reform”

- See also below: Japan and the foreign powers (1853-1868)
- Bakufu policy, after initial resistance, was to recognize Japanese weakness in the face of Western technical/military superiority, make concessions temporarily, whilst embarking on a long-term, gradual policy of self-strengthening, buying in Western arsenals, technology, education – students abroad
- Ideas prefigured the Meiji rulers, but too slow to satisfy growing hostility to what was perceived as a policy of submission
- Underlined Bakufu fundamental weaknesses and stirred up nationalist sentiment

Japan and the foreign powers (1853-1868)

The Arrival of Perry and the Treaty of Kanagawa (1853-4)

- Treaty ports to be opened
- Trade to be allowed

Consequences

- First official contact with numerous foreigners (Dutch were already present in small numbers)
- Intense anti-foreigner feeling, creation of the men of spirit (Shi Shi) after the ease at which the Japanese were pushed aside.

Treaty of Nagasaki

- Sparked intense debate between the Japanese Daimyo over the proposed Treaty
- Distribution of letter by Hatta showed the weaknesses of the Bakufu, they were unable to act without the support of the Daimyo
- Government was also divided and weak over this issue.
- This was followed by a wave of foreign acquisitions by Britain, France and Russia including most favored nation status and extra territorial rights.
- Split in Japanese government. Bakufu (appeasement) vs reactionaries Satsuma and Choshu (anti foreigner)

The Namagi Incident

- Weakness of Bakufu showed by inability to control and punish Choshu and Satsuma.
- This encouraged further revolts
- Further foreign concessions sparked further revolts (whom thought that the Tokugawa were weak)

Shimoeseki and Shishi

- Further failure to stand up to foreign powers as well as humiliation.
- Suppression of Shishi and subsequent ban on samurai pushed through displaced to the Choshu and Satsuma.

The Opposition

Rise of Satsuma and Choshu (1860-64)

- They were “excluded from the central government and generally distrusted by the Shogunate, they had a tradition of hostility towards the Tokugawa” (Pyle)
- Ruled rich, powerful and productive domains → reaped benefits from trade with the West, strong because adoption of western style army and navy
- As the Bakufu authority weakened, “Choshu and Satsuma emerged as the leading domains”

Short Term

Choshu wars and the end of the Bakufu

- 1859-60: attempt by Ii Naosuke to re-impose Bakufu authority over domains and the samurai; assassinated by the Shishi in 1860
- 1860-64: near anarchy. Attacks on foreigners (e.g. Namamugi Incident) → British bombardment of Kagoshima (in Satsuma) in August 1863
- Terrorism; many political murders, destabilizing and discrediting Bakufu ruler → a reaction against Japanese weakness in the face of Western retaliation
- 1864: Bakufu responded; crushed the shishi by force in August. But only a temporary victory, a policy of cunctation
- 1865-67 Bakufu regrouped under Hitotsubashi Keiki → attempted to crush Satsuma and Choshu with forces reorganized on Western lines, but not strong enough
- Civil war narrowly averted in Nov 1867, when Yoshinobu agreed to step down as Shogun, in the hope of becoming Chief Executive → unacceptable to Satsuma and Choshu
- 1868: Yoshinobu forced to resign Jan 1868, though his followers continued to resist for a year
- Opportunities on the battlefield: had the bakufu’s military commanders conducted themselves more adroitly than they did at Toba-Fushimi in 1868, the insurgent Satsuma-Choshu forces would have been hard put to continue

Historiography

- Left-wing Marxist approach – rising up, revolution, predestined
- Conservative view – replaced one ruling elite by another, made mistakes but not predestined
- Foreign powers – their intrusion was the primary reason, inadequate to grapple with problems caused by western intrusion

Section 7: China, 1911 to 1949

Yuan Shikai and Warlordism

The Birth of the Republic to Yuan's crowning

- With the elections in August 1912 the Revolutionary Alliance combined itself with four other parties and renamed itself the Guomindang. It was to gain a majority in both houses. Its leader was Song Jiaoren.
- Guomindang demanded that the powers of parliament be increased at the expense of the presidency and that the balance of power should be agreed on.
- Guomindang also criticised the policies of Yuan, especially the loss of Outer Mongolia.
- Not surprisingly Yuan did not agree, he had Song Jiaoren assassinated.
- The government, in increasing fiscal deficit took out a 25 million pound loan from the foreign powers but this sparked even more criticism because Yuan failed to get parliamentary approval.
- Attempted revolution by the pro-GMD provinces were crushed by Yuan mainly because of the support of the foreign powers, the unwillingness of the merchant class to get involved and the appeal of a unified China only available through Yuan.
- Following this attempted Second Revolution, Yuan used this opportunity to crackdown on any rivals as he prepared to ascend a new throne. In October 1913 he forced parliament to elect him as president and dissolved parliament and provincial assemblies.
- During this period there was a period of conservative reform (e.g. prisons built, judicial system enhanced, educational reforms)

The emperorship of Yuan to death

- Newly created body called the National Congress of Representatives elected Yuan as emperor. On January 1916 he ascended the throne.
- Fierce opposition in the form of Liang Qichao (a member of Yuan's cabinet)
- Military opposition from Cai E (one of Yuan's students) whom declared Yunnan independent.
- Cai E then proceeded to invade Sichuan and defeated Yuan's force.
- With this staggering defeat Yuan's supporters abandoned him and Yuan renounced the throne.
- He died on month later on 6th June 1916.

The start of Warlordism

- Provisional constitution restored under Li Yuanhong. However Duan Qirui (Premier) tried to bully parliament into entering the First World War on the side of the Allies. In return parliament voted to dismiss him.
- Duan Qirui turned to support to the military governors who favored war.
- Zhang Xun marched into Beijing and declared an imperial restoration but this was squashed by Duan.
- Li Yuanhong was forced to resign.

- However with Duan's return to power the Southern provinces seceded and created an alternative government.
- In response Duan launched a military campaign and negotiated the Nishihara loans from Japan.
- China then fragmented into different groups led by the warlords and alternative governments.

Reorganization of the Guomindang

- Prompted by Maring (Comintern) persuaded the CCP to ally itself with the GMD.
- Financial assistance from Russians and the aid of Borodin (Comintern) helped to persuade the GMD to allow the communist in.
- A military academy (Whampoa) was created to train a new core of officers to fight for the GMD.
- GMD mostly involved in party and army structure. CCP involved in mass movements (e.g. strikes).

The Versailles Treaty and its impact on China, May 4th Movement

Treaty of Versailles in relation to China

- Foreign powers recognized Japan's gain of Germany's sphere of influence in China.
- Also recognized the "special" relationship that Japan had with Manchuria (de facto control)
- Boxer indemnity to Austria-Hungary and Germany was cancelled but the other payments to other countries were to continue.
- China still not treated as a world power.

May 4th Movement

- Started as a response to the Japanese gain of Shandong and Manchuria.
- Became a massive anti-foreigner demonstration. Boycotts on Japanese goods organized.
- Demonstrations forced the resignation of Cao Rulin the Minister of Communications (e.g. foreign minister)

Significance of the May 4th Movement

- Signaled the birth of the CCP led by Li Dazhou and Chen Duxiu.
- Showed that there was still a strong anti-foreigner and nationalistic youth.

Cooperation and conflict between the Chinese Communist Party and the Guomindang

Refer to reorganization of the GMD above.

Jiang Jieshi and the Northern Expedition

The foundation and rise of the CCP and Mao Zedong's rural revolution: Jiangxi Soviet, the Long March, wartime communism, the Yan'an spirit
The foundation and rise of the CCP and Mao Zedong's rural revolution (1919-1937)

Communist Influences pre 1921

- 1917-1921: Intellectual revolution: a strong nationalist sentiment developed to “save the country” from the twin scourge of foreign imperialism and domestic disorder; attacks on Confucianism and traditionalism
- 1919: May Fourth Movement: radicalization of politics, mass demonstration of students against the verdict of the Versailles Peace Conference on Shantung
- Other influences: Bolshevik revolution (1917), Beijing National University, magazines (*Xinqingnian*) which first circulated translations of Marxist Leninist works
- Found popularity because of the Bolshevik influence an intellectual appeal because it rejected both western and traditional Chinese thought

Formation of the CCP (July 1921)

- Early Communist party was led by Li Dazhao (in the north) and Chen Duxiu (in the south)
- Focused mainly on the cities and winning over the proletariat
- Fairly strong influence from the Comintern – orders from Russia were impractical, not understanding of the local situation
- Early ideology flourished on nationalist not class issues → attempts to rouse insurrection on class grounds after 1927 failed

Policy of insurrection 1927

- Some leaders believed that the revolution needed “teeth”
- Advised for an increase in agitation of army mutinies and organization of workers’ and peasants’ troops
- Three defeats during this time: Nanchang (August), Hunan (the Autumn Harvest uprisings, August to October), Canton (December)
- Chen Duxiu was replaced by Qu Qiubai, as the prestige of the party was ruined and someone had to be blamed

Rise of the Rural Soviets

- Although the center of the party retained an urban bias, there were some rural bases set up in this time
- The center continuously referred to the workers as the key, even though peasants made up the majority of the population; believed that peasants were fickle and opportunistic, interested in their own survival and whoever was winning
- As urban bases were penetrated by Jiangs white terror and city-based revolution

become more vulnerable, more bases (i.e. Mao's Jinggang Shan Soviet) appeared

- Mao later forced to move to Jiangxi
- By 1932 the Political Bureau could no longer operate from Shanghai and moved to the Jiangzi soviet
- Switch to peasant-based was a successful formula, center only gave in because urban bases were too diminished (practical)

Land Redistribution

- The more severe land policy the more support?
- Not necessarily – CCP wanted support from middle and rich peasants too – need to minimize strong enemies
- Extreme land policies would be damaging to total output – no economies of scale
- Difficulty in categorizing – depended on how many in family, not only size/quality of land

Red Army

- Refer to notes on the Red Army during the Civil War
- Mao's semi-guerrilla tactics: retreat into own territory – encouraging the enemy to move into unfamiliar, hostile territory. Red Army then move with rapidity against *one* enemy division. Therefore, though outnumbered in total, they enjoy actual superiority of numbers every battle. Key to success was military intelligence, and the key to intelligence was the support of the population

Central Committee and Rural Base (Mao) split

	Central Committee	Rural Base
Leaders	28 Bolsheviks	Mao (party)/Chu De (army)
Base	Underground Shanghai	Hinterlands of Kiangsi and Hunan
Ideology	Workers/Peasants	Peasant-based
Land Reform	Favor poor at expense of rich	All-grades to small, rich, poor peasants alike
Military Strategy	Positional/Conventional warfare	Mobile guerilla tactics
Japanese Aggression	Rejected collaboration with reformists (GMD)	Readiness to form a United Front

The Long March

- 1931-1934 Jiang Kai Shek launched his five encirclement campaigns
- First three were fought with Mao at the military saddle
- First three attacks underestimated the strength and skill of the Red Army,

unaccustomed to the local conditions

- Fourth and fifth campaigns were defended by Zhou Enlai as the CCP questioned Mao's tactic of luring the enemy into the base
- Still some success (with the help of peasants and speed), but new tactics (steady advancement of blockhouses and pillboxes, road-building) forced the CCP to abandon the central soviet in October 1934
- Long March (Oct. 1934-1935) a demonstration of the persistence and ability to improvise of the CCP
- Confusion and separatism in leadership → ultimately power rested in the hands of Mao
- In light of the failure of the fifth encirclement campaign, the Zunyi Conference (January 1935) repudiated the policies of the 28 Bolsheviks and installed Mao as the chairman of the military commission and regained him a seat in the Politburo
- Capital established in Yunnan in January 1937
- Development of Yunnan spirit

Wartime Communism (refer to CCP during the Sino-Japanese War)

Cooperation and conflict between the CCP and the GMD

For CCP-GMD conflict see above

Cooperation: First United Front

- January 1923, Comintern instructed the CCP to enter the Nationalist Party. The GMD retained the leadership positions
- Why the CCP joined
 - Lenin suggested that countries suppressed by imperialists should unite with other nationalist parties against colonial powers
 - Form a democratic united front
 - CCP could utilize GMD infrastructure and influence
 - Could control and transform the GMD from within
- Why GMD formed alliance
 - Absorb and assimilate the CCP
 - Utilize CCP ties with labor and agrarian population for the nationalist revolution
 - Most of all, the GMD wanted Soviet aid which was dependant on close cooperation with the CCP
 - Soviet advice on GMD reorganization along the Soviet model
- CCP became a bloc within the GMD
- CCP continued spreading propaganda and organizing the masses with great successes
- Communist-led unionism flourished on nationalist issues
- CCP grew to 60,000

GMD-CCP Split

- Marriage of convenience bound to tear apart
- By 1927 GMD-CCP alliance had conquered the majority of southern half of China
- GMD began to restrict CCP membership and, sparked by incidents of urban uprisings threatening Jiang's power base, the split became evident
- April 12, wholesale liquidation of the Communists → Shanghai Massacre
- Consequences:
 - CCP grew from 130 members (1922) to 60,000 by 1927
 - CCP forced underground by Jiang's purges
 - Realization that power could only come from the barrel of a gun
 - The CCP had to have an army, a territory (base) and a government to revolutionize the country

Second United Front and the Xian Incident (Dec 1936)

- Continued intensification of Japanese aggression in China produced calls for a united front
- Comintern, in light of growing fascism (Germany and Japan), urged all groups to ally in an anti-fascist coalition
- CCP accepted that without Jiang, Japan could not be defeated (nevertheless Mao still was opposed to Jiang being included in the coalition)
- Leading intellectuals criticized Jiang for being stubborn against the Communists
- Jiang captured in the Xian Incident
- CCP initially called for the execution of Jiang but then reversed this policy – he would probably be replaced by a more right-wing GMD official, less willing to fight Japan
- Jiang was proved indispensable

Impact of the Second World War

Refer to standard level notes

The Civil war and the decline of the Guomindang

Refer to standard level notes