CHINA
Since 1644

A History Through Primary Sources

Including essays, classroom activities, *and* hundreds *of* primary sources

EDITED BY THE CURRICULUM SPECIALISTS AT PRIMARY SOURCE, INC.

SECOND EDITION

CHINA SINCE 1644

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Foreword by Dr. Ezra Vogel
Introductory essay by Dr. William Kirby

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Foreword

There is tremendous dynamism in China, and it is unlikely that anything will stop the continued rise of China. Perhaps nothing is more important in maintaining peace between two great powers, the United States and China, than better understanding between the people of the two nations.

The world is also becoming a smaller place. Over 20 percent of the world's population is Chinese, and Chinese people will play a larger role in affairs around the world in every arena—politics, business, art, music and sports—and in dealing with issues like managing the environment, aiding the poor people of the world, coping with disease, and responding to terrorism.

People around the world may use the same cell phones and the same computers, but the people behind those cell phones and computers have a very different culture, a very different history, a very different way of thinking. It is important for all Americans to be prepared for a world in which they will be interacting with Chinese people.

China Since 1644: A History Through Primary Sources combines knowledge from specialists in the field and the curricular expertise of classroom teachers. It is a timely contribution to helping prepare Americans for the world of the twenty-first century. It is well rounded, covering many different topics from geography to history to society. We should all be thankful to the dedicated teachers who have put together this wonderful sourcebook.

Jump in.

Ezra F. Vogel

Henry Ford II Professor Emeritus,
Harvard University

Lessons of China's Modern History: A Nation Engaged with the World

By William C. Kirby, Geisinger Professor of History and Director, Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, Harvard University

It is a pleasure to introduce this extraordinary volume, *China Since 1644: A History Through Primary Sources*. By exploring the texts and images of the past few centuries, the voices of Chinese people become more real and vivid, less distant and abstract. This important approach, of making Chinese perspectives closer and more accessible, mirrors a key shift in our understanding of China's history more broadly: China is not a land apart; it cannot be studied in isolation. China has been shaped by the wider world and the world by China. The sources in this volume extend and illustrate this theme, raising rich questions as they reshape our understanding.

Until recently, scholarship on China (and indeed *in* China) emphasized China's insularity vis-à-vis other cultures. There are to be sure, both symbols and monuments of Chinese defensiveness, such as the Great Wall, built mostly as an anti-Mongol defense perimeter during the Ming era (1368–1644). But for the large majority of the imperial era, China-based empires crossed (often loosely defined) borders routinely, and for good reason: to engage in trade; to adjudicate diplomatic disputes; and to fight wars—that most common of human "international relations."

Particularly in the twentieth century, foreign relations became, quite simply, all penetrating, all permeating, all prevailing—*durchdringend*, as the Germans say—ultimately forcing their way into every part of Chinese society. In the realm of high diplomacy, Chinese statecraft delineated and protected the borders of the new nation-state to which all Chinese (and not a few non-Chinese) were now said to belong. China's modern economic development was founded in turn on an unprecedented opening to international economic influences. The early decades of the last century witnessed the first "golden age" of Chinese capitalism (we are now in the second) as well as the birth of modern state capitalism, neither of which could have existed without foreign partners. Patterns of dress and consumption would be influenced by international models, from the Sun Yat-sen (or "Mao") jacket, a military tunic adopted from Japan, to the nationwide addiction to nicotine, aided by the British-American Tobacco Company. Most striking of all in the twentieth century was the self-conscious attempt to overhaul Chinese culture, particularly political culture, according to international categories. Every government sought legitimacy in the context of one or another internationally authenticated "ism," from constitutionalism to communism.

What lessons might we draw from China's modern international history? Let us start, a bit more than a century ago, in the mad summer of 1900.

On June 21, 1900, the Great Qing Empire declared war on eight countries, including the United States. The Qing—the Manchu dynasty that had ruled China since 1644—besieged the legations of the foreign powers in Beijing. During the "Fifty-Five Days in Peking," as Hollywood

would later film it, a small band of foreigners held out against great odds before an international expeditionary force could rescue it. This 20,000-man force then subdued an empire of 450 million subjects, making quick work of the Qing armies and the "Boxer" irregulars who joined them. The Western forces sacked and plundered Beijing, occupied its ancient palaces, and extracted an enormous indemnity. The humiliation of the Qing was complete. Eleven years later it collapsed, ending an imperial tradition of more than 2,000 years.

How the world changes. Little more than a century earlier, at the time of the American Revolution, the Qing dynasty presided over the strongest, richest, and most sophisticated civilization on the planet. It was supremely self-confident. It ruled China, and dominated East Asia, by a combination of power and cultural prestige. Through the famous examination system, it recruited the most learned men in the realm to government service. It did not want or need contact with the West. By 1895, however, China had been invaded, defeated, and degraded by first the Western nations and then Japan. Such was the sudden, overwhelming power of the industrial revolution and the aggressive militarism of the imperialist age. The Boxer Uprising was a final, futile act of resistance by a government, and indeed an entire system of governance, that would be blown away. Today, more than a century after the Boxer Uprising, China is again formidable. It is an industrial power, a military power, and a growing economic power. It has become a great power because of, not despite, its relations with the rest of the world. Yet its power is at once shaped and constrained by its modern history.

China is an ancient civilization, but it is really a very young country. "China" as a political entity did not exist until 1912, when the Republic of China—Asia's first republic—was proclaimed as the successor to Manchu rule. The questions posed at that time are the dominant ones for Chinese history in this century. What would be China's physical domain? How would China interact with the outside world? What kind of government would replace that of the old empire? Let us discuss these questions, briefly, as a prelude to allowing the primary sources in this volume to speak for themselves.

China's Borders

The government that succeeded the empire in 1912 inherited not what one might call "historical China" but the vast Qing Empire, a multinational and multicultural expanse that included Manchuria, Mongolia, Eastern Turkestan, and Tibet, among other areas. No *Chinese* empire had ever been so big for so long as the Qing realm of the Manchus. The amazing fact of the twentieth century is that this space had not only been redefined, as "Chinese" and as the sacred soil of China, but also defended diplomatically to such a degree that the borders of the People's Republic of China today are essentially those of the Qing, minus only Outer Mongolia. The Qing fell but the empire remained.

These borders have enjoyed international diplomatic recognition since 1912, because the great powers of the day believed—rightly—that a divided China would be a source of international instability. But it was the job of Chinese governments to defend these borders, often from a position of great weakness, relying on a diplomacy that was hard-pressed, often creative, and always obstinate.

For example, Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government, which ruled the Chinese mainland from 1927 to 1949, held on to at least nominal title to areas that the Manchus had governed but where the new Republic had little power: in Tibet, for example, where the Nationalists, like the Communists after them, would aim to undermine a stubbornly autonomous Dalai Lama by playing up the authority of a (China-friendly) Panchen Lama; or in the Muslim region of Xinjiang (Eastern Turkestan), in the far northwest, where Chinese rule was finally reasserted in the mid-1940s after a period of Soviet occupation. In each instance China used forms of what we would call the non-recognition doctrine: refusing to recognize anyone else's sovereignty until matters could be settled in China's favor. The non-recognition of unpleasant realities was carried to an art form in the case of

Introduction for Students

In his book *Arts of China*, Michael Sullivan writes, "The Chinese painter deliberately avoids a complete statement because he knows that we can never know everything… All he can do is to liberate the imagination and set it wandering… His landscape is not a final statement, but a starting point. Not an end, but the opening of a door." That is precisely how we view our book, *China Since 1644: A History Through Primary Sources*. Our goal is to introduce you to events that occurred in China and people who lived through them. In addition, in the final section, we take a look at contemporary China. Through essays, primary source documents, and student activities, our book provides a starting point for understanding the complex, vibrant, and sometimes tumultuous recent history of a people with the longest continuous civilization in the world.

"In 1600, the empire of China was the largest and most sophisticated of all the unified realms on earth," writes Jonathan Spence in his seminal work *The Search for Modern China* (p. 7). By 1800, the empire was not only still the most sophisticated state on earth, but had more than doubled in size. Why then, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, did we talk about China *becoming* one of the global superpowers? What happened in the intervening centuries?

Who Are We?

Primary Source is a non-profit global education organization dedicated to helping you prepare for the challenges and complexities of today's interconnected world. In partnership with teachers, scholars, and the broader community, Primary Source strives to equip you with the skills, knowledge, and resources necessary for global literacy. Primary Source is guided by a commitment to affect the way you learn history and understand culture such that your knowledge base is broad, your thinking flexible and given to inquiry, and your attitudes about peoples of the world open and inclusive.

Using Primary Sources

Primary Source, the organization, takes its name from the same term used by historians to distinguish original, uninterpreted material from second- or third-hand accounts. Thus a photograph, a memoir, or a letter is a primary source, while an essay interpreting the photograph or memoir is usually, though not always, a secondary source.

China Since 1644 utilizes a range of primary sources, some of which have never previously appeared in print. We include letters from American traders in Guangzhou (formerly Canton), writings of missionaries, treaties, imperial writing, propaganda posters, poetry, short stories, photographs, and more. All Chinese text has been translated, making it, arguably, no longer a primary source. We have selected translations by eminent scholars to ensure the most accurate reading possible.

While it is imperative to read secondary sources, including textbooks, in order to understand context and background, access to "the real stuff" (albeit some in translation) offers opportunities for you to make discoveries independently. Original source material provides rich opportunities for inquiry, and the chance to move from concrete to abstract thinking.

How to Use This Book

The Organization of *China Since 1644*

The first two chapters in the book introduce information helpful to understanding all the chapters that follow. Chapter 1 looks at China's geography and diverse population of today, and provides a sense of how the vast majority of China's people—the rural population—lived in much of the twentieth century and before. Chapter 2 steps back into the sixteenth century, the last century of China's Ming dynasty, to showcase the cities and capture the lives of the elite who contributed to making the empire "the most sophisticated on earth."

The remaining chapters are arranged chronologically and clustered in units. Each unit begins with an overview and most also include a timeline that lists the events in China in the context of related events in regional and world history.

Each chapter contains:

- Chapter Contents
- Key Idea
- Guiding Questions
- Terms to Know
- Essay
- Primary Sources
- Activities
- Suggested Resources
- A Closer Look

Together, the **context essay by Dr. Kirby** at the beginning of the book, the **unit overviews**, and the **introductory essays** to individual chapters provide background information necessary for understanding the primary sources and engaging in the activities. The book is designed so that chapters can be used independently of each other. *We strongly recommend that you read a unit overview before reading an isolated chapter.*

Terms to Know are included, and the words are defined in the **glossary** (The glossary is in the book and on the companion website at **www.chinasince1664.com**).

Each chapter includes a variety of **activities** from which to choose. Each activity is based on one or more **primary sources**. Together they are designed to stimulate critical and creative thinking. Excerpts of the primary sources appear in the book; in most cases, longer versions are included on the companion website. *It is important to understand that in order to complete any of the activities, you must read the full text of the document on the companion website.* Suggested activities include study and analysis of primary sources, mapping, research and writing, debating, and creative responses.

A list of **Suggested Resources** (websites, books, and films) is provided in each chapter in the book, and on the companion website. While every effort has been made to ensure that reputable websites are current and stable, material on the Internet does change. Be sure to carefully evaluate information found online, always considering who the author is, who sponsors the site, and what biases might be present.

Wherever applicable, chapters include the special feature **A Closer Look**. This feature gives the reader a more in-depth look at men and women who played key roles in events explored in the chapter.

The Companion Website

A wealth of chapter, supplementary, and additional materials to support learning can be found at **www.chinasince1644.com**, including:

- Materials for **Chapters** include primary source documents and images, suggested resources (websites updated annually), and links to websites for specific activities. Many of the documents on the companion website include background introductions not found in the text.
- **Additional Resources** include essays on the histories of Taiwan, Tibet, and Xinjiang, a glossary, online search tips, maps, and indexes of all slides and slide shows.

A Note on the Text

In 1859, Sir Thomas Francis Wade, professor of Chinese at Cambridge University, created a system for the Romanization of Chinese characters. His successor Herbert Giles revised it in 1892, establishing the Wade-Giles system, which served as the primary English-language method of writing Chinese in the Roman alphabet until the middle of the twentieth century. In 1953, the People's Republic of China devised its own system of Romanization, called *pinyin*. Most older transliterations use the Wade-Giles spelling of Chinese words, while recent publications have increasingly adopted pinyin as the standard. We use pinyin throughout *China Since 1644*, with just a few exceptions. The names of Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yat-sen appear in their older Romanized forms because those spellings are most familiar to the majority of readers.

Note that for Chinese names in the Suggested Resources, we have followed the ordering of first and last names that the author uses in publishing his or her work. Chinese authors using the Chinese convention appear last name then first name with no comma separating the two. This also applies to Chinese who are well-known in the West by the Chinese form of their name (Deng Xiaoping or Ding Ling). Chinese authors using the Western convention appear last name, first name with a comma between the two.

In the introductory essays, the first time that historically significant words or phrases appear, we have included the word written in *pinyin* and simplified Chinese characters. Sometimes the terms are already in *pinyin*, so only characters are included in the parentheses that follow.

All monetary figures cited in the book are given according to the currency of the time; they have not been converted into present-day rates.

Finally, many of the English primary source documents written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries include spelling, capitalization, and syntax typical for the period. We have left those unchanged. In a few letters, we did add periods where sentences end and capital letters where new ones begin for clarity.

CHINA SINCE 1644

A History Through Primary Sources

UNIT TWO

The Qing Dynasty

(1644–1911)

UNIT OVERVIEW

By Liz Nelson

The words highlighted in this overview are key people, concepts, or movements that appear in the chapters that follow.

After the last Ming emperor to rule from Beijing hanged himself in 1644, the Manchu people swept down from the northeast and gradually took control of China. They established the **Qing dynasty**. Throughout Chinese history northern peoples had often ruled part of China, sometimes for several hundred years at a time. The Mongol Yuan dynasty from 1279 to 1368 was one of these. But the Qing dynasty of the Manchu people was the largest and most successful of all the dynasties controlled by northern peoples. Over the course of the next century, Qing forces expanded and solidified China's borders, creating an immense continental power.

Under the reigns of **three powerful emperors: Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong**, China enjoyed more than a century of peace during which culture and commerce flourished. These three rulers and their successors incorporated Chinese values and aesthetics into Manchu court life, while at the same time keeping a firm grasp on military power. Chinese scholar-officials continued to be appointed to government positions, ensuring their support. By the 1700s, Chinese culture and society under the Manchus was at one of its zenith points. A huge "civil service" of bureaucrats and officials governed the country, woodblock-printed books were in wide circulation, refined poetry was being composed, and material luxuries of all sorts were produced in great numbers.

The Chinese had had experience interacting with peoples beyond their borders for centuries. For example, Chinese merchants were engaged in trade over the Silk Routes for extended periods of time, first during the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) and again during the Tang dynasty (618 C.E.–907 C.E.). During the latter period, Xi'an,[1] the start of the trade route, was the most cosmopolitan city in the world. By the thirteenth century, the Chinese had developed the most reliable ocean-going vessels in the world, with watertight bulkheads and moveable rudders. This advanced technology allowed them, 200 years later, to launch an enormous fleet of 300 vessels on tributary missions in South and Southeast Asia, the Persian Gulf, and East Africa.

Each dynasty conducted its relations with non-Chinese-speaking peoples (regarded as "barbarians") with the understanding that China was the Middle Kingdom, the direct

[1] Formerly known as Chang'an

TIMELINE

Elsewhere in the world as the Manchus founded the Qing dynasty:

- The Ottoman Empire, founded in 1288 and ruled from present-day Istanbul, spanned southeastern Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa. At its height, it stretched from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Caspian Sea.
- Africa knew this as the period of Great African Kingdoms (e.g. Dahomey, Great Zimbabwe, and Axum).
- The Mughal Empire, in existence from the early 1500s, stretched across the Indian subcontinent.
- In Korea, the Joseon dynasty began rule in 1392.
- In Japan, during the Tokugawa or Edo period, the country was unified under a military government, beginning in 1600.
- In Vietnam, the Le dynasty had ruled since 1428.

1600

1602: Dutch East India Company established

1644: Qing dynasty established

1648: Taj Mahal completed in India

1650: Dutch East India Company brings tea to New Amsterdam (later New York City)

1652–1654: The English begin to drink tea

1661: The first of two 17th-century civil wars in Vietnam between Trinh in the North and Nguyen in the South (the second civil war begins in1672)

1662: Kangxi Emperor begins his reign (1662–1722)

1670: England's King Charles II expands powers of British East India Company

1683: Qing annex Taiwan

1689: Peter the Great becomes emperor of Russia

1689: Treaty of Nerchinsk signed with Russia

1697: Qing conquer western Mongolia

translation of its name, *Zhongguo*. (In much the same way, "Mediterranean" means "middle of the earth," with Rome at the center.) The emperor was the Son of Heaven and all foreign rulers owed him allegiance as heads of what the Chinese rulers considered **tributary states**.

In the late 1700s, the emperors of the Qing dynasty continued to focus on their immediate neighbors and had little knowledge of or interest in **European imperial powers**. When they had to, they dealt with them as they had with other nations—as unequal parties. But with the Industrial Revolution underway in the West, China was up against a new kind of "barbarian," and China's lack of knowledge cost the Chinese dearly. Western imperial powers, followed by Japan later in the nineteenth century, were transforming themselves from agrarian into industrial nations with new kinds of weaponry and territorial ambitions. Their merchant fleets traded all over the world, and their citizens eagerly purchased the tea, silk, and porcelain from China that ships brought home. China, however, had no interest in Western products and restricted Western traders to Guangzhou[2] in what was known as the **Canton System**. The Chinese government also demanded payment in silver, supplies of which were plummeting

[2] Formerly known as Canton

1700

1700s: Age of Enlightenment in Europe

1700: As Mughal authority weakens, regional powers rise in India

1711: East India Company establishes trading post in Guangzhou

1715: Chinese Rites Controversy

1720: Tibet becomes Qing protectorate

1723: Emperor Yongzheng begins his reign (1723–1736)

1729: Opium smoking prohibited in China

1736: The reign of Qianlong, China's longest-ruling emperor, begins (1736–1795)

1750: Population of China 177.5 million

of Europe 140 million

of the 13 North American colonies 1.3 million

1757: Battle of Plassey; victory gives East India Company control of Bengal, beginning expansion of British rule in India

1759: Qing annex Xinjiang

1770: Bengal Famine kills an estimated 10 million people, one third of the population in the affected area

1771: The Tay Son Revolt topples the Le dynasty in Vietnam

1773: British Parliament passes the Tea Act, sparking protests in Boston, Massachusetts

1775–1783: American War for Independence

1784: The vessel *Empress of China* opens trade between the United States and China

End of 18th century: Industrial Revolution begins in Great Britain

1789–1799: French Revolution

1793: The Macartney embassy meets with Emperor Qianlong

1793–1815: Napoleonic Wars; end with Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo

1796–1805/06: White Lotus uprising

in the West. British and American merchants began to import opium into China, and after Qing officials banned its production, use, and importation, Western vessels smuggled the drug in via Chinese middlemen. The Western nations also demanded rights of trade, travel, and residence in China that traditionally had not been granted to foreigners.

Tension between China and the West escalated until in 1839, the British government used its state-of-the-art weaponry and highly trained soldiers to conduct "gunboat diplomacy." China lost both what became known as **Opium Wars** and the Manchus were coerced into signing a series of **unequal treaties**, thus ushering in what the Chinese refer to as their "century of humiliation."

At the same time that Qing leaders were coping with pressure from the West, various factors contributed to **social unrest** in many areas of the country. The population of China had tripled from 143 million in 1741 to 430 million in 1850, but arable land had only increased by about 35%, exacerbating hardship for peasants. The ever-growing smuggling of opium had now reversed the trade balance: more silver was leaving China than entering. As a result, the price of silver rose sharply, and members of the working class, who were paid in copper coins, found it increasingly difficult to

1800

1800: Dutch East India Company dissolved

1802: Nguyen dynasty founded in Vietnam

1807: British Atlantic slave trade ends

1810–1820: The majority of Latin American countries declare independence from Spain and Portugal

1811: Population of China 358.5 million

1812–1815: War of 1812 fought between United States and Great Britain

1813: Opium smoking banned in China

1819: The British establish Singapore as a colony

1826: Cholera pandemic begins in India and spreads from Russia to Central Europe to Scotland by 1832

1839–1842: Opium War fought between Britain and China ending with the Treaty of Nanjing, the first of the "unequal treaties"

1849: First Chinese immigrants arrive in Peru

1850: Emperor Xianfeng begins his rule

1848–1858: California Gold Rush; first Chinese immigrants begin to arrive in the United States

1851: Population of China 431.9 million

1850s: First Chinese immigrants arrive in Australia

1851–1854: Taiping Rebellion led by Hong Xiuquan

1851–1868: Nian Rebellion led by Zhang Luoxing

1853–1856: Crimean War between Britain, France, the Ottoman Empire, and Russia

1854: Convention of Kanagawa negotiated by Commodore Matthew Perry ends Japanese isolation policy

1858: Treaty of Tianjin

1858: British East India Company's rule ends, and direct British rule begins in India

1861–1865: United States Civil War

1862: Treaty of Saigon is the first unequal treaty between France and Vietnam

pay taxes in silver currency as the government required. In the 1840s and 1850s, millions also suffered from such natural disasters as droughts and floods. The educated elite had trouble finding employment. Some who did have government positions had bought them rather than having passed the traditional examinations, and corruption was widespread. In addition, the army was in dismal shape: poorly equipped and, like all other segments of society, riddled with opium addicts. Four major rebellions rocked the Qing dynasty mid-century, the most significant of which was the **Taiping Rebellion** (1851–1864).

The combination of internal strife and external pressure greatly damaged the Qing dynasty. While a number of prominent Chinese scholar-officials launched many thoughtful plans to reform China, their **self-strengthening efforts** were up against an entrenched bureaucracy and a dynasty desperate to hang onto power. Chinese students studied abroad, and foreign language schools and armories were established at home, but no multi-faceted program took hold. China lagged decades behind the industrial strength of the West and Japan rather than forging ahead as it had in the past.

1862: Six-year-old Tongzhi becomes emperor; Cixi acts as Empress Dowager; Tongzhi Restoration

1863: Cambodia becomes a protectorate of France

1868–1912: Meiji Period in Japan begins, launching the Meiji Restoration

1875: Tongzhi dies; three-year-old Guangxu appointed emperor; Empress Dowager Cixi continues to rule

1882: Chinese Exclusion Act passed in the United States

1887: French create the Indochinese Union (ICU), which includes Cochinchina (southern Vietnam) as a colony and Annam (central Vietnam), Tonkin (northern Vietnam), and Cambodia as protectorates; Laos added as a protectorate in 1893

1894–1895: Sino-Japanese War. Treaty of Shimonoseki cedes Taiwan to Japan and gives Japan control of Korea

1897–1910: Emperor Gojong proclaims the Republic of Korea

1898–1901: Boxer Uprising

1900

1900: Commonwealth of Australia established

1901: Australia passes the Immigration Restriction Act, also known as the "White Australia Policy"

1904–1905: Russo-Japanese War won by Japan; Treaty of Portsmouth ends hostilities

1905: Abolition of traditional Confucian examination system

1906: Great Earthquake of San Francisco

1908: Empress Dowager Cixi dies; Puyi becomes emperor

1910: Japanese colonial rule in Korea begins

1910: Slavery abolished in China

1911: Qing dynasty falls to revolutionary forces led by Sun Yat-sen

Merchants from Britain, France, Portugal, the United States, and Russia set aside segments of China's port cities, such as Shanghai and Tianjin, as their own "concessions," where *their* legal systems applied instead of China's. Now they traded freely with inland China, too. Thousands of Protestant and Catholic **missionaries** proselytized and established schools and hospitals across the country. Much of their social work improved the lives of countless Chinese men, women, and children. But increasing hardships for the Chinese peasantry made foreigners an easy target for mistrust, and violence broke out a number of times, culminating in North China in the **Boxer Uprising** of 1900.

As increasing numbers of upper-class Chinese men and women studied abroad (especially in Japan), they became keenly aware of the disparities between industrialized nations and China. Expatriates, such as **Dr. Sun Yat-sen**, gathered supporters and funds, eager to end imperial rule and establish a republic in China. Several revolts failed, but eventually one that began by accident in Wuhan spread rapidly. The formal **abdication** by the child-emperor Puyi on February 12, 1912 marked the end of more than two millennia of dynastic rule in China.

CHAPTER RESOURCES

Primary Sources

DOCUMENT 3.1: Excerpts from "Shi Lang's Memorial on the Capture of Taiwan," 1683

DOCUMENT 3.2: Excerpts from the *Analects of Confucius*

DOCUMENT 3.3: The Kangxi Emperor's "The Sacred Edicts," 1670

DOCUMENT 3.4: "Fan Jin Passes the Juren Examination," an excerpt from *The Scholars* by Wu Jingzi, c. 1740

DOCUMENT 3.5: Excerpts from "Yuanchun Visits Her Parents on the Feast of Lanterns," *A Dream of Red Mansions* by Cao Xueqin, 1792

DOCUMENT 3.6: Excerpts from "A Worthless Son Receives a Fearful Flogging," *A Dream of Red Mansions* by Cao Xueqin, 1792

DOCUMENT 3.7: "Portrait of the Qianlong Emperor (r.1736–1796) as the Bodhisattva Manjusri"

DOCUMENTS 3.8a–n: Photographs of the Forbidden City, Beijing, 2006 & 2007

Supplementary Materials

ITEM 3.A: Map of China during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644)

ITEM 3.B: Map of China during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911)

ITEM 3.C: A Brief History of Taiwan

ITEM 3.D: A Brief History of Tibet

Excerpts of these primary source documents appear in this chapter. Go to **www.chinasince1644.com** for the full version of these documents and for the Supplementary Materials.

CHAPTER 3

Three Manchu Emperors

By Jamie Moore

Chapter Contents

Key Idea

The Manchu were an ethnically non-Han people who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries controlled the largest territory that China had ever possessed in one of the country's most prosperous periods. Qing rulers kept their own Manchu identity, while at the same time incorporating and preserving Chinese culture and values.

Guiding Questions

What were the effects of foreign, Manchu rule on China?

What were the challenges and benefits of territorial expansion for the Qing dynasty?

In what ways did Qing rulers preserve Chinese values? What did they emphasize? What did they control?

Terms to Know

civil service examination system
Confucianism
courtesan
dynasty
edict
eunuch
Han Chinese
Manchu
maxim
Mongols
Qing
queue
treaty

Essay

The Manchu Invasion

In the early 1600s, the Manchus (*Manzu* 满族), who lived in the northeast in what are now Liaoning (辽宁), Heilongjiang (黑龙江), and Jilin (吉林) provinces, began to consolidate their forces north of the Great Wall. They took advantage of the declining Ming (明) dynasty (1368–1644) to begin their gradual conquest of China. In the twelfth century, their ancestors had ruled northern China as the Jin (晋) dynasty. The Manchus used this historical connection as a justification for the legitimacy of their rule.

Nurhaci (*Nuerhachi* 努尔哈赤) (1559–1626), the *khan* or ruler of the Manchus, organized his military forces into eight units known as "banners" that consisted of soldiers and their family members. This was an efficient way to keep track of people and plan strong military advances. As the *khan* conquered Chinese territory, he encouraged the Chinese to join him by giving them powerful leadership positions. After Nurhaci's death, his sons pushed for the complete defeat of the Ming, and in 1636, Huangtaiji (皇太极) (r.1626–1643) officially named the new dynasty "Qing" (清), meaning "pure" or "clear." After an uneasy first forty years, the dynasty's early history was one of relative stability, unity, and success. This can be attributed to the rule of three powerful Qing emperors: Kangxi (康熙), Yongzheng (雍正), and Qianlong (乾隆). They ruled the largest land empire of the time from 1662 to 1796, a period heralded by scholars as one of the most stable in China's history.

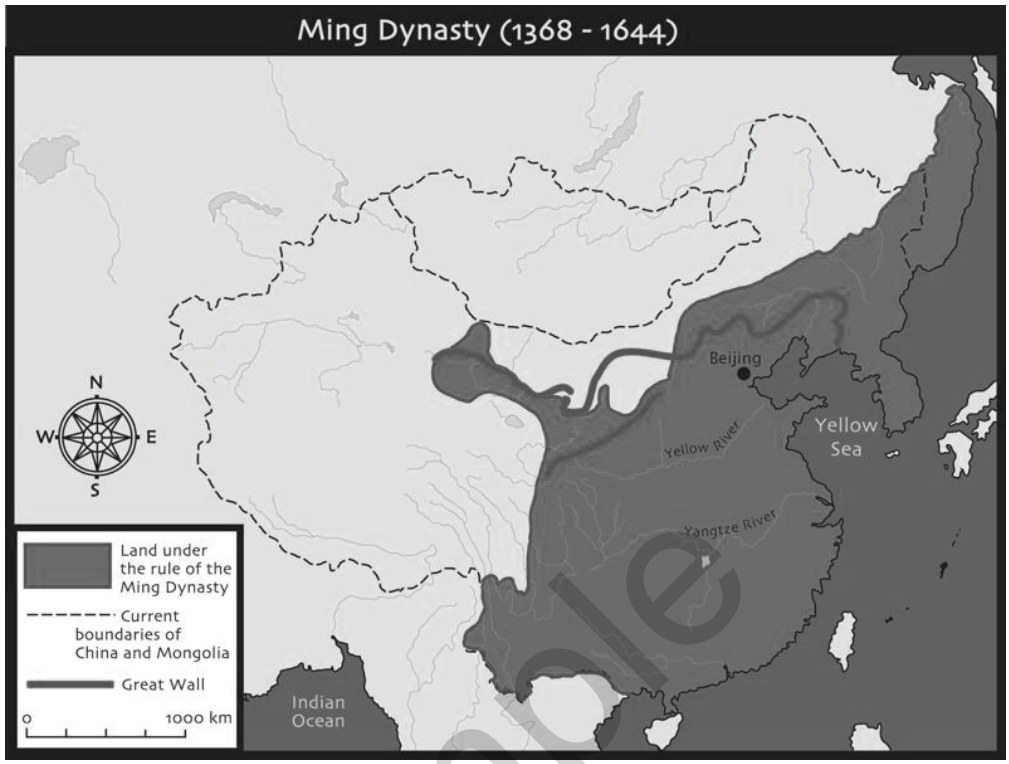
Territorial Expansion

Kangxi, the first of these three emperors, came to power in 1662, and under his leadership, the Qing dynasty quickly consolidated territory in southern and southwestern China that had previously been controlled by three warlords. In addition, the Qing also expanded and solidified borders. To suppress resistance by Ming dynasty loyalists who had retreated to Taiwan, they captured the island in 1683 and made it part of the Qing empire (see Item 3.C on the companion website for an overview of Taiwan's history). The Qing then solidified the northeast border of China by signing the Treaty of Nerchinsk with Russia in 1689 (see Chapter 4, Document 4.2). A subsequent treaty outlining the border west of the 1689 treaty was signed in 1727 under the Yongzheng emperor.[1] The Manchus defeated the Eastern Mongols in the 1630s and the nomadic Zunghar tribes (western Mongols) in 1696. They also invaded Tibet (*Xizang* 西藏) (an area almost twice the size of the state of Texas) in 1720, continuing a long legacy of Chinese involvement in and efforts to control the region (see Item 3.D on the companion website for an overview of Tibet's history). In the 1750s, Manchus conquered the vast, primarily Muslim territory of Xinjiang (新疆). Over the course of a century, the Qing had significantly increased land holdings north, south, and west, which included people of many ethnicities. As the empire expanded, however, the Manchus also faced the task of coping with periodic rebellions, which were often led by secret societies such as the White Lotus (see A Closer Look at the end of the chapter).

Manchu and Chinese Cultures Integrate

Throughout their rule, the three emperors (Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong) balanced ways to maintain military and civil power with practices that integrated Confucian-trained Chinese intellectuals into the Manchu government. On the one hand, the Manchus established dominance by requiring Chinese men to wear a braided queue in the Manchu style. They prohibited Manchu women from binding their feet, which limited intermarriage between Manchu women and Chinese men since Chinese men believed bound feet to be a sign of refinement. The Qianlong emperor also persecuted Chinese writers suspected of harboring anti-Manchu sentiments. On the

[1] The Treaty of Kiakhta



(Minneapolis Institute of Art)

other hand, when the Qing established six ministries of government (Civil Affairs, Finance, Rituals, War, Justice, and Public Service), they had a Manchu and a Chinese leader for each ministry. They also kept the civil service examination system, which was based on knowledge of four key Confucian books and five ancient Chinese classics. They even added a special exam in 1679 for men of great talent, to draw more Chinese into their government.

The three emperors incorporated Chinese culture to make the Chinese more accepting of their rule. The Kangxi emperor not only studied and debated proper moral behavior and values found at the heart of the ancient classics, but wrote his "Sacred Edicts" in 1670, summarizing sixteen maxims that he considered to embody Confucius's most important moral values. In 1724, the Yongzheng emperor added his own comments to these edicts and mandated that they be publicly presented to the common people twice a month. The Qing court sponsored literary endeavors, such as the writing of encyclopedias. The Qianlong emperor sponsored a major compilation of famous literary and historical works known as the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*. He is also noted for having studied Tibetan Buddhism in order to model himself as a Buddhist savior kind to his non-Chinese subjects.

Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong expanded the empire and solidified key borders, which allowed China to prosper culturally and economically. The few Europeans who visited China were stunned by the sheer opulence and wealth of the Qing court. Until the nineteenth century, the high standard of living, material resources, and inventions of Manchu China were unrivaled in the rest of the world.

Primary Sources

DOCUMENT 3.1:
Excerpts from "Shi Lang's Memorial on the Capture of Taiwan," 1683

Cannon shot and arrows fell like rain; smoke and flame covered the sky. It was impossible to see even a foot beyond the ships…. The fighting went on from the early morning until the late afternoon. Our sailors fought without regard for their own lives and used all of their energy to attack and kill the bandits. Eighteen of the bandits' big gunboats were set aflame and destroyed by our navy's incendiary buckets and grenades. Eight other heavy gunboats were sunk by cannon fire. Thirty-six large "birdboats," sixty-seven silk junks, and five refitted foreign ships were also burned and destroyed. Moreover, our navy used the wind to propel incendiary boats into other bandit ships; one "birdboat" and two silk junks were destroyed in this way. The rebellious bandits fought feverishly and when their forces were exhausted, [they] packed gunpowder in holds of their own ships and blew themselves up. In this way, they burned nine gunboats and thirteen "birdboats." Some bandits panicked and jumped into the sea and, in this way, we captured two "birdboats," eight silk junks, and twenty-five two-masted junks. What was to be burnt was burnt; those to be killed were killed….

SOURCE: Rpt. in Pei-Kai Cheng, Michael Lestz, and Jonathan Spence, eds., *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary Collection* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999) 50–51.

Go to **www.chinasince1644.com** for the full text of **Document 3.1**.

DOCUMENT 3.2: Excerpts from the *Analects of Confucius*

Confucius is believed to have been born around 551 B.C.E., during the time of the Warring States and great political disorder in China. He became a scholar and traveled from province to province hoping to spread his ideas about good moral behavior and the proper way for rulers to treat their subjects. While he never had the impact he hoped for during his lifetime, Confucius's thoughts were recorded by his students in the Analects. *Since the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.), Confucius's ideas have shaped Chinese society and were used as the foundation for political and social life in dynastic China long after his death.*

1.2 You Zi (a disciple of Confucius) said, "It is rare for a man whose character is such that he is good as a son and obedient as a young man to [go against] his superiors… Being good as a son and obedient as a young man is perhaps the root of a man's character."

1.6 The Master said: "At home, a young man must respect his parents; abroad, he must respect his elders. He should talk little, but with good faith; love all people, but associate with the virtuous. Having done this, if he still has energy to spare, let him study literature."

1.16 The Master said, "Don't worry if people don't recognize your merits; worry that you may not recognize theirs."

2.3 The Master said, "Guide them by edicts, keep them in line with punishments, and the common people will stay out of trouble but will have no sense of shame. Guide them by virtue, keep them in line with the rites, and they will, besides having a sense of shame, reform themselves."

2.7 Nowadays people think they are dutiful sons when they feed their parents. Yet they also feed their dogs and horses. Unless there is respect, where is the difference?

2.15 Confucius said, "To study without thinking is futile. To think without studying is dangerous."

Sources: D.C. Lau, trans., *Confucius: The Analects* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2000). Simon Leys, trans., *The Analects of Confucius* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997).

Go to **www.chinasince1644.com** for the text of **Document 3.2**.

DOCUMENT 3.3: The Kangxi Emperor's "Sacred Edicts," 1670

1. Highly esteem filial piety and the proper relations among brothers in order to give due importance to social relations.
2. Give due weight to kinship in order to promote harmony and peace.
3. Maintain good relations within the neighborhood in order to prevent quarrels and lawsuits.
4. Give due importance to farming and the cultivation of mulberry trees in order to ensure sufficient clothing and food.
5. Be moderate and economical in order to avoid wasting away your livelihood.

6. Make the most of schools and academies in order to honor the ways of scholars.
7. Denounce strange beliefs in order to elevate the true doctrine.
8. Explain laws and regulations in order to warn the ignorant and obstinate.
9. Show propriety and courtesy to improve customs and manners.
10. Work hard in your professions in order to quiet your ambitions.
11. Instruct sons and younger brothers in order to prevent their committing any wrong.
12. Put a stop to false accusations in order to protect the good and honest.
13. Warn against giving shelter to deserters in order to avoid punishment with them.
14. Promptly and fully pay your taxes in order to avoid forced requisition.
15. Get together in groups of ten or a hundred in order to put an end to theft and robbery.
16. Free yourself from resentment and anger in order to show respect for your body and life.

SOURCE: Paul Brians et al., ed., *Reading About the World,* Volume 2 (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace CustomBooks, 1999). http://www.wsu.edu/~wldciv/world_civ_reader/world_civ_reader_2/kang_hsi.html

Go to **www.chinasince1644.com** for the text of **Document 3.3**.

DOCUMENT 3.4: "Fan Jin Passes the Juren Examination," an excerpt from *The Scholars* by Wu Jingzi, c. 1740

"This is to announce that the master of your honourable mansion, Fan Jin, has passed the provincial examination in Guangdong, coming seventh in the list. May better news follow in rapid succession!"

Fan Jin feasted his eyes on the announcement, and, after reading it through once to himself, read it once more aloud. Clapping his hands, he laughed and exclaimed, "Ha! Good! I have passed." Then, stepping back, he fell down in a dead faint. His mother hastily poured some boiled water between his lips, whereupon he recovered consciousness and struggled to his feet. Clapping his hands again, he let out a peal of laughter and shouted, "Aha! I've passed! I've passed!" Laughing wildly he ran outside, giving the heralds and the neighbours the fright of their lives. Not far from the front door he slipped and fell into a pond. When he clambered out, his hair was dishevelled, his hands muddied and his whole body dripping with slime. But nobody could stop him. Still clapping his hands and laughing, he headed straight for the market.

They all looked at each other in consternation, and said, "The new honour has sent him off his head!"

His mother wailed, "Aren't we out of luck! Why should passing an examination do this to him? Now he's mad, goodness knows when he'll get better."

"He was all right this morning when he went out," said his wife. "What could have brought on this attack? What *shall* we do?"

SOURCE: Wu Jingzi, *Rulin waishi* [*The Scholars*], trans. Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1999).

Go to **www.chinasince1644.com** for the full text of **Document 3.4**.

DOCUMENT 3.5: Excerpts from "Yuanchun Visits Her Parents on the Feast of Lanterns," *A Dream of Red Mansions* by Cao Xueqin, 1792

For a long time they waited in silence, Jia She and the young men of the family by the entrance of the west street, the Lady Dowager and the women in front of the main gate.

Then two eunuchs wearing scarlet uniforms rode slowly up to the entrance of the west street. Dismounting, they led their horses behind the screens, then stood to attention, their faces turned towards the west. After some time another pair appeared, then another, until there were ten pairs lined up and soft music could be heard in the distance.

And now a long procession approached: several pairs of eunuchs carrying dragon banners, others with phoenix fans, pheasant plumes and ceremonial insignia, as well as gold censers burning Imperial incense. Next came a curved-handled yellow umbrella on which were embroidered seven phoenixes, and under this a head-dress robe, girdle and slippers. After this came attendant eunuchs bearing a [Buddhist] rosary, embroidered handkerchiefs, a rinse-bowl, fly-whisks and the like.

Last of all, borne slowly forward by eight eunuchs, came a gold-topped palanquin[2] embroidered with phoenixes.…

Source: Hsueh-chin Tsao and Ngo Kao, *A Dream of Red Mansions*, trans. Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang (Boston: Cheng & Tsui Company, 1996) 116.

Go to **www.chinasince1644.com** for the full text of **Document 3.5**.

DOCUMENT 3.6: Excerpts from "A Worthless Son Receives a Fearful Flogging," *A Dream of Red Mansions* by Cao Xueqin, 1792

The sight of his father paralyzed Huan with fright. He pulled up short, hanging his head.

"What are you rushing about for?" demanded Jia Zheng.… As he shouted for the servants who accompanied Huan to school, the boy saw a chance to divert his father's anger.

"I wasn't running to begin with," he said. "Not until I passed the well where that maid drowned herself. Her head's swollen up like this, and her body's all bloated from soaking in the water. It was such a horrible sight that I ran away as fast as ever I could."

Jia Zheng was astounded. "What maid here had any reason to throw herself into a well?" he wondered. "Such a thing has never happened before in this house. Since the time of our ancestors we have always treated our subordinates well. Of late, though, I've neglected household affairs and those in charge must have abused their power, resulting in this calamitous suicide. If word of this gets out, it will disgrace our ancestors' good name."

He called for Jia Lian, Lai Da and Lai Xing. Some pages were going to fetch them when Huan stepped forward and caught hold of his father's gown, then fell on his knees.

[2] A covered litter, or elaborate arm chair, carried by poles on the shoulders of two or more men.

"Don't be angry, sir!" he begged. "No one knows about this except those in my lady's apartment. I heard my mother say…." He stopped and looked around, and Jia Zheng understood. At a glance from him the servants on both sides withdrew.

"My mother told me," Huan went on in a whisper, "that the other day Brother Baoyu grabbed hold of Jin Zhuan in my lady's room and tried to rape her. When she wouldn't let him, he beat her. That's why she drowned herself in a fit of passion." Before he had finished Jia Zheng was livid with fury.

"Fetch Baoyu! Quick!" he roared….

SOURCE: Hsueh-chin Tsao and Ngo Kao, *A Dream of Red Mansions*, trans. Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang (Boston: Cheng & Tsui Company, 1996) 200–201.

Go to **www.chinasince1644.com** for the full text of **Document 3.6**.

DOCUMENT 3.7: "Portrait of the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1736–1796) as the Bodhisattva Manjusri," by Jesuit missionary Giuseppe Castiglione

This painting shows Qianlong in the center of a *thangka*—a Tibetan religious painting of a divinity. Bodhisattvas are individuals who have achieved great moral and spiritual wisdom, and Manjusri is the Tibetan Bodhisattva of Wisdom. The inscription on the painting states that Manjusri is the ruler of the Buddhist faith. Qianlong embraced Buddhism, frequently studying it at his court. *(Courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.)*

Go to **www.chinasince1644.com** for the color painting in **Document 3.7**.

DOCUMENTS 3.8a–n
Photographs of the Forbidden City, Beijing, 2006–2007

(Photos by Julie Newport)

Go to **www.chinasince1644.com** **Document 3.8a-n** for additional photographs of the Forbidden City.

Activities

ACTIVITY 1: Responding to Reading about the Qing Dynasty

Read the introductory essay and prepare to discuss:

1. Why were the Manchus able to gain power?
2. How did the status of the Manchus as foreigners affect their rule?
3. What about the three emperors stands out to you?
4. What characteristics would you assume early Qing leaders had (qualities, skills, abilities) that contributed to their success?
5. Compare the Manchu occupation of China to that of another military power occupying a country.

ACTIVITY 2: Examining the Capture of Taiwan

1. Read "Shi Lang's Memorial on the Capture of Taiwan" (3.1)
2. Create a comic strip to go with an assigned passage of the battle. Incorporate language or adjectives that were used to describe enemy forces and Qing Forces.
3. Share your comic strip in a group assigned by your teacher.
4. Be prepared to discuss in your group:

   Which side was superior and why? How were the enemies treated when they were captured? Based on the way the Qing treated the rebels, what message were they sending?

ACTIVITY 3: Mapping the Qing Dynasty

Examine maps of China (Items 3.A, 3.B on the companion website). Locate and compare the size of:

- the Manchu homeland
- China under the Ming dynasty
- China's borders under the Qing after a century of their rule
- China's borders today

When you have become familiar with the maps, you will discuss in class:

1. What does this expansion tell you about the Qing? What would they have needed in order to do this?
2. What challenges does any empire face when adding so much territory? (e.g. consider treatment of minority groups, differences in culture, organization, communication, etc.)

Extended Activity:

Look up maps showing the boundaries of earlier Chinese dynasties (for example, see Chapter 3 Activity Websites on the companion website) and prepare to discuss the implications of the changes in China's borders over the centuries.

ACTIVITY 4: Analyzing and Writing about Cultural Values

Part 1: Categorize

Individually, in pairs or in groups, read assigned excerpts from the *Analects of Confucius* (3.2). Put the analects in your own words, then decide what general category each belongs to (family, government, education, etc).

Part 2: Paraphrase and Categorize

Read and paraphrase the Kangxi emperor's sixteen "Sacred Edicts" (3.3). Again, categorize the edicts, as you did with the *Analects*. Discuss:

1. What are the similarities/differences between Kangxi's edicts and the *Analects*?
2. What did the Qing emperor emphasize?
3. According to the Qing emperor, what qualities make a good subject? What behavior should be avoided?
4. How could these edicts have been used to solidify the emperor's power and create harmony in society?
5. What conclusions can be drawn from the similarities between the Kangxi edicts and Confucius's *Analects*?

Writing Connections:

Choose from the following:

1. Write an essay addressing how leaders can consolidate and solidify their control over their subjects. Consider:
   a. How did the Qing emperors consolidate and solidify their control?
   b. How have other empires achieved these goals?
2. Write an essay addressing how cultural values are imposed or spread. Consider:
   a. What materials in your culture are used to disseminate values and ideals?
   b. What do you believe are the most effective ways to promote civility and harmony among people?

ACTIVITY 5: Using Literature to Learn about Society

Part 1: Respond to Reading

Read the excerpt from *The Scholars*, "Fan Jin Passes the Juren Examination" (3.4). Prepare to discuss:

1. What elements of Chinese society are evident in the story? Cite the evidence in the text.
2. What do you think is the basis of Wu Jingzi's criticism of the examination system? Why does he use satire to make his point?
3. Do you think that he is justified?
4. How would having an examination system such as this for all civil service jobs affect government?
5. Should people pass exams to serve in certain jobs? Which jobs? Is this fair for everyone?

Part 2: Respond in Writing to Another Reading

Read the excerpts from *A Dream of Red Mansions*. (Document 3.5 details a visit to the wealthy Jia family by one of their daughters who was one of the emperor's courtesans. Document 3.6 gives insight into the hierarchy and relationships in the Jia family.)

For Document 3.5, write an essay that addresses the following:

1. What did the family do in preparation for the courtesan's visit?
2. Who were the eunuchs? What was their role?
3. What was the role of the imperial courtesans in society?
4. What does this description show about China at that time?

For Document 3.6, first diagram the family hierarchy. Then prepare to discuss:

1. How do various members of the household react to Jin Zhuan's suicide? What is thought to have pushed the maid to suicide? What conclusions can be drawn from the reactions?
2. What has Baoyu done to enrage his father and how does the father respond?
3. Which behavior is considered the worst? Why?
4. Who ultimately speaks to Jia Zheng about the way he punished his son? What happens next?
5. What does it mean to be "filial" in Chinese culture?
6. What questions do you have and where might you find answers?

Take notes for a class discussion or write an essay to answer: How does literature help us learn about another culture and era? What are the advantages and disadvantages of relying on literature for insights?

Alternatively, write a reaction piece describing your impressions of a wealthy family during the Qing dynasty.

ACTIVITY 6: Interpreting Visual Art

In the 1720s, the Qing rulers were drawn into Tibet and added the devoutly Buddhist region to the area under their control. (For more information about Tibet's history, read the essay in Additional Resources on the companion website.) Examine the painting "Portrait of the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1736–1796) as the Bodhisattva Manjusri" (3.7).

1. Describe the painting. What do you notice?
2. What relationship does the painting suggest exists between Manjusri—the Bodhisattva of Wisdom—and the Qianlong emperor?
3. What do you think Qianlong's objective was in commissioning this painting?
4. What can we learn about the Qing dynasty from this painting?
5. What are some other examples of government figures taking on a guise for a similar purpose?

Extended Activity:

- Find an article about an ethnic minority or national group within China and its relationship with the Chinese government today (for example, the Uyghur or Tibetans).
- Find information about an ethnic group anywhere in the world that wants independence from what it feels is rule by a foreign power.

Summarize the information you find and prepare to share it with classmates.

ACTIVITY 7: Exploring the Forbidden City

Examine the photographs of the Forbidden City (3.8a–n) and research online how the palace functioned for 500 years, until the early 1900s. You will then discuss as a class:

1. What is most striking about how the palace functioned?
2. How did the Forbidden City reflect the relationship among various elements of Chinese society?
3. What additional information does it give us about the Qing dynasty?
4. Compare the way the Forbidden City functioned to the government structure and operations in another country in the same time period (e.g. France, Great Britain, the North American colonies, or Japan during the period 1650–1750).

EXTENDED RESEARCH:

To further your understanding of Qing dynasty China, research any one of the following topics and present your findings in a paper, digital presentation, or visual display.

- The role of eunuchs in the imperial court
- Secret societies (such as White Lotus, Triad, etc.)
- The role of concubines
- *A Dream of Red Mansions* theme parks in China today
- Present-day Chinese soap operas set during the Qing dynasty
- Tibetan Buddhism
- Taiwan

Suggested Resources

Books

Barmé, Geremie R. *The Forbidden City*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.
A history of the Forbidden City in Beijing, China, with information about the dynasties and rulers who resided in the palace.

Bosse, Malcolm. *The Examination*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1994.
This historical novel gives a sense of the civil service examination system and secret societies.

Cao, Xueqin. *The Story of the Stone*. Trans. David Hawkes. Vol. 1. London: Penguin, 1973.
A translation of the famous novel also known as *A Dream of Red Mansions*.

Websites

The Art of Asia: Ch'ing Dynasty
http://www.artsmia.org/art-of-asia/history/dynasty-ching.cfm
Site from the Minneapolis Institute of Arts with history and maps of the Chinese dynasties. Includes curator videos.

Discovery Atlas China Revealed: Chinese Architecture, The Forbidden City
http://dsc.discovery.com/videos/discovery-atlas-china-revealed-chinese-architecture.html
A video about the architecture and history of the Forbidden City.

History & Maps, Ming Dynasty Map
http://www.artsmia.org/art-of-asia/history/ming-dynasty-map.cfm
Maps from the Minneapolis Institute of Arts showing China's shifting boundaries across the millennia.

■ A CLOSER LOOK

The White Lotus Society Rises in Protest

Though the early Qing years were times of relative peace and stability, small rebellions did occur, many inspired by secret societies. The White Lotus Society first emerged in the late thirteenth century during another period when China was ruled by foreigners. The Society originated in Sichuan Province in central China and its members were millennialists: they believed that the end of the world was close at hand. The Society drew on a sort of folk Buddhism, Daoism, and a belief in the support of the "Eternal Venerable Mother" goddess. Smaller branches believing in the same principles appeared again and again in later centuries. They usually rose in objection to the ruling dynasty of the time, but especially objected to the foreign Manchu rule.

White Lotus rebels, under the leadership of Wang Lun, emerged in the eighteenth century with the goal of reestablishing the Ming dynasty, whom they saw as the legitimate rulers of China. Most White Lotus followers were poor peasants, workers, and demobilized soldiers—those disaffected by society. The White Lotus also appealed to women, as the Society promoted social equality. While it is not clear whether there was a specific trigger to their rebellions, the movement suggests deep discontent in society.

Several factors may have led to the rise of the White Lotus Society: the poor management of emergency granaries (for use in time of famine), cruel and brutal treatment by Manchu soldiers, a growing population, high taxes, and government corruption. During the Qing dynasty, followers of the White Lotus often clashed with local officials and landlords and had to be subdued by the military. While these societies did not overthrow the Qing, they ultimately contributed to the dynasty's demise.

■ *Discuss: What secret and/or illegal organizations do you know of elsewhere in the world that destabilize a government? How do they operate?*

Inside Beijing's Forbidden City
http://today.msnbc.msn.com/id/26054286/ns/today-today_in_beijing/t/exclusive-inside-beijings-forbidden-city
A behind-the-scenes tour of the Forbidden City with "Today Show" host Matt Lauer and historic preservationist Henry Ng.

Recording the Grandeur of the Qing: The Southern Inspection Tour Scrolls of the Kangxi and Qianlong Emperors
http://www.learn.columbia.edu/nanxuntu/start.html
An interactive website about the Qing dynasty. From the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Columbia University.

Films

The Emperor's Eye (58 mins; 1990)
This documentary captures the preeminence of the arts in Chinese culture.

CHAPTER RESOURCES

Primary Sources

DOCUMENT 18.1: Slide show "Contemporary China: A Study in Contrasts," with photographs taken in China, 2004–2012

DOCUMENT 18.2: Four excerpts of individual stories from the "new China," 2005–2006

DOCUMENT 18.3: Stories of their families written by the children of migrant workers living and working in Beijing, 2007

DOCUMENT 18.4: Excerpt from "Bridge over the Digital Divide" by Rong Jiaojiao in *China Daily*, June 2006

DOCUMENT 18.5: Excerpt from "Too Big, Too Fast" by Feng Jianhua in *Beijing Review*, October 27, 2005

DOCUMENT 18.6: "Bigger Net, Better Net" by Yin Pumin in *Beijing Review* February 1, 2012

DOCUMENT 18.7: Excerpt from "The Price of Health" by Tan Wei in *Beijing Review*, February 2, 2006

DOCUMENT 18.8: Excerpt from "Holiday Season" by Zhang Zhiping in *Beijing Review*, January 26, 2006

DOCUMENT 18.9: Excerpt from "Still Brewing" by Lu Ling in *Beijing Review*, January 19, 2006

DOCUMENT 18.10: Excerpt from "Quick, Pass Me a Burger!" by Tang Yuankai in *Beijing Review*, April 14, 2005

DOCUMENT 18.11: Excerpts from "Should a Lack of Filial Piety Be Penalized?" a Forum article in *Beijing Review*, February 23, 2006

DOCUMENT 18.12: "Wedding Bells?" by Lu Lin in *Beijing Review*, May 18, 2006

DOCUMENT 18.13: "Governing Gender" by Lan Xinzhen in *Beijing Review*, March 23, 2006

DOCUMENT 18.14: "Earning Their Keep" by Yuan Yuan in *Beijing Review*, May 16, 2011

Supplementary Materials

ITEM 18.A: Questions for Activity 4, Documents 18.4–18.7

ITEM 18.B: Questions for Activity 5, Documents 18.8–18.10

ITEM 18.C: Questions for Activity 6, Documents 18.11–18.14

Excerpts of these primary source documents appear in this chapter. Go to **www.chinasince1644.com** for the full version of these documents and for the Supplementary Materials.

CHAPTER 18

The Consequences of Modernization

By Michael Abraham

Chapter Contents

Key Idea

Modernization has affected different segments of China's population in very different ways. The extraordinary pace of economic development is leading people to adapt to dramatically altered living and working patterns.

Guiding Questions

How has the shift to a modern economy led to a rural-urban divide in Chinese society? Is this divide a new phenomenon?

How is the Chinese government responding to the pressures of a modern society?

What benefits and problems do Chinese people face, living in this era of change?

Terms to Know

demographics
floating population
migrant worker
multinational company
state-run economy
yuan

Essay

One of the most interesting consequences of China's rapid pace of modernization has been the changing face of Chinese society. From the style of clothing Chinese people wear, to the increased quantities of food in the countryside, to the influx of foreign-owned companies, China today looks very different than it did a generation ago.

The Changing Face of the Chinese Consumer and Economy

The face of a homogeneous, Maoist society where men and women all wear drab gray or blue tunic jackets, pants, and caps has become as much a remnant of the past as that of a society whose scholar-officials once wore silk robes. In the cities, in particular, increased capitalism and the growth of free enterprise have helped generate an abundance of consumer goods, such as smartphones and designer clothes. Young adults can now choose their own jobs and career paths. In the face of such change and opportunity, it is easy to understand why the generation that came of age under Mao Zedong (毛泽东) (see Chapters 13 and 14) might harbor resentment, particularly when some of those changes no longer guarantee life-long job security and social services.

The faces of China's industrial and market sectors have also changed. Today, private enterprises, foreign companies, and multinationals compete where state-run industries and factories once enjoyed monopolies. One does not have to walk far in a Chinese city before spotting a McDonalds™, KFC™, Starbucks™, or Pizza Hut™. Pedestrian malls and luxury auto dealerships now also dot the urban landscape. In addition, China's quest to modernize has resulted in large-scale investments in infrastructure, which has increased both the quantity and quality of roads, bridges, communications services, and high-rise housing units.

But while the standard of living has risen sharply during the reform era, the rise has been very uneven, especially when urban areas are compared to rural areas. By and large, incomes and social services such as education and health care are better in the cities (see Chapter 19 for information about education disparities). China's Gini ratio, which measures the income gap between the rich and poor, now reaches 0.47, well above the warning level of 0.40 set by the World Bank.[1] According to some reports, China now has 1.11 million millionaires (in U.S. dollars),[2] and yet about 400 million people still subsist on less than $2 a day.[3] Regional as well as urban-rural income disparities have the potential to threaten China's social and political stability.

Changing Demographics

China's total fertility rate dropped dramatically from 5.8 in 1970 to 1.54 in 2010. Experts credit modernization and improved living standards as well as the One-Child Policy.[4] In part as a response to protests charging human rights violations, the Population and Family Planning Law of 2001 called for far more flexibility in implementing the one-child goal and allowed for a number of exceptions to the policy. While the One-Child Policy has met its goal to control

[1] Chen Jia, "Country's wealth divide past warning level," *China Daily*, May 12, 2010.

[2] http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-05-31/china-s-millionaires-jump-past-one-million-on-savings-growth.html

[3] Bergsten, C. Fred et al., *China: The Balance Sheet: What the World Needs to Know Now About the Emerging Superpower* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2006) 3, 6. Published by the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Institute for International Economics.

[4] Hao Yan, "Rethinking of China's Population Policy in Line with the Change in China's Development Strategy," Berlin, August 2006

population growth, it has resulted in several challenging side effects. The age distribution in the population is changing dramatically as China's population is graying. In 2010, 178 million people in China were over age 60, representing 12.5% of the total population. By 2030, the number will grow to more than 350 million, larger than the current total population of the United States,[5] a change that China's inadequate pension system is not equipped to handle. How to take care of a rapidly aging population has become a huge challenge for the younger generation, the government, and the whole society.

In addition, a gender gap exists; China's national census of 2010 showed 118.08 males for every 100 females. According to Chinese tradition, a son takes care of his parents in their senior years. Since farmers do not receive pensions, a son is, in effect, a couple's guarantee for security in their old age (see Chapter 16 for additional information about the One-Child Policy).

Another changing demographic in China is the steady rise in the number of migrant laborers. While the great majority of China's population still makes its livelihood in agriculture, the opportunity to make more money in the cities has led to a "floating population" of workers, estimated at 140 million, moving from rural to urban areas. This phenomenon—a trend seen around the world—has put a strain on city services, as well as the fabric of the traditional Chinese family. Grandparents are stepping in for absent parents and raising children, at least for a few years.

[5] "Getting on: The Consequences of an Aging Population," *The Economist*, June 23, 2011. http://www.economist.com/node/18832070

The Changing Face of Religion and Politics

Religion was strongly repressed during the Mao years, but today the practice of religious beliefs is much more evident. Despite the more tolerant attitude, there have been clashes between the government and religious groups of different persuasions including Buddhists in Tibet (*Xizang* 西藏), Muslims in Xinjiang (新疆), and Christians. Any time one of these groups, or one such as Falun Gong (法轮功), is able to organize its followers, the Communist Party becomes wary, fearing possible political activity.

The government continues its efforts to control the pace of political reform, but China in the twenty-first century is a dramatically different society than China in the 1950s and 1960s. While today's calls for greater political openness and less state corruption have yet to match the high profile outcry of the 1989 Tiananmen (天安门) demonstrations (see Chapter 16), dissidents have proved effective at using the Internet to exchange and express their views. As a result, the government now restricts and censors the activities of foreign-owned Internet companies in China. At the same time, however, political reform is moving forward. For example, village self-government has been carried out since 1998. Entrepreneurs are now admitted into the CCP, and formal establishment of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) is permitted. In addition, there is a growing interest in recognizing the importance of the rule of law.

The Chinese government believes that human rights are important but that for developing countries the communal rights to survival and economic development outweigh the rights to personal freedom of thought, expression, religion, and organization. Nevertheless, in 2004, the Party added a new clause to the Constitution stating that "the State respects and protects human rights."

Primary Sources

DOCUMENT 18.1: Photographs taken in China from the slide show "Contemporary China: A Study in Contrasts," 2004–2012

Fruit vendor in Shanghai (*Photo by Jim Brown*)

The Conference Center in Pudong district, Shanghai (*Photo by Liz Nelson*)

Go to **www.chinasince1644.com** for the slide show "Contemporary China: A Study in Contrasts," **Document 18.1**.