

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Chinese of the period under consideration have produced abundant material covering the Taiping rebellion and the subsequent careers of the principal actors in that movement. For Tsêng Kuo-fan we have not only his voluminous collected works but also his diary in photographic reproduction. There is also the set of works on the Hunan army, which gives a complete account of their campaigns both in the Taiping and the Moham-  
medan rebellions.

Two or three histories of the Taiping rebellion are to be found in Chinese and one in Japanese, and there is also a good biography of Tsêng Kuo-fan in Japanese. I have made use of all of these. On the other hand, nothing in English is satisfactory. There are some excellent accounts of the Kiangsu campaigns, where foreign volunteers participated under Ward and Gordon, and the translation of a story of the inception of the movement according to the narrative of a relative of Hung himself. But the middle period and the assembling of forces that eventually crushed the rebellion are very meagerly sketched for us in any English account, Li Ung-bing's being almost the only attempt. General histories of modern China treat of the beginnings of the revolt and its development until 1853 or 1854, apparently depending on the careful work done by Dr. W. H. Medhurst in gathering the pamphlets issued by the rebels and translating them, and on his articles in the *Peking Gazette*s, which enable them to cover the story until the repulse of

the rebels near T'ientsin. Then a gap usually occurs in the tale until 1858 or 1860, where the *Autobiography* of the Chungwang and the elaborate accounts of the exploits of Gordon and the French permit them to resume the thread of the narrative.

It is astounding to realise how little use has been made of Chinese materials in these histories and how frequently the important work of Tsêng Kuo-fan is passed over with scarcely a comment. Even Li Ung-bing has not made as full use of Chinese sources available to him as he might have done.

In the following bibliography I have not attempted to give an exhaustive list of Chinese works, but only those which deal with Tsêng Kuo-fan himself or general accounts of the rebellion. Those from non-Chinese sources I have made fuller, so as to include whatever may help to throw light on the period or on the participants in the war. It will be observed that there is practically no literature on Tsêng Kuo-fan in a European language, little or nothing on Tso Tsung-tang, and not a particularly creditable list on Li Hung-chang.

## I

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Cordier, H. *Bibliotheca Sinica*. 2d ed., 4 vols. Paris, 1906-1907.  
Indispensable for a survey of the literature.

## II

## SOURCES

## A. SOURCES: ON TSÊNG KUO-FAN AND THE TAIPING REBELLION.

1. *The Collected Works of Tsêng Wen-cheng*. 156 parts. Published in a number of editions. The one in my possession

was issued in 1876. The parts of most use for our purposes are:

- (a) *Dispatches, or Memorials to the Throne*. 30 vols.
  - (b) *The Nienp'u, or Annals*. 12 vols.
  - (c) *Miscellaneous Correspondence (to officials)*. 33 vols.
  - (d) *Excerpts from his Diary*. 2 vols. This is a little collection from the complete diary, arranged by topics, and consists largely of thoughts on literature, philosophy, and administration, not so much biographical as contemplative.
2. *The Home Letters of Tsêng Wen-cheng*. 10 vols. These are published in many editions and are widely read. With them are also to be included two additional volumes entitled *The Home Instructions of Tsêng Wen-cheng*, 2 vols., addressed to his sons and giving them his opinions on various matters. They are all of great interest to one who would understand Chinese ideals as set forth by a thoughtful and earnest follower of Confucius. A second supplementary volume contains the commemorative essays, poems, and scrolls sent to the family after Tsêng's death.
  3. *Record of the Chief Events in the Life of Tsêng Wen-cheng*. Compiled under the patronage of Li Hung-chang and Tsêng Kuo-ch'üan by Wang Ting-an. Also in many editions. This is a brief biography and contains much interesting material.
  4. *The Diary of Tsêng Kuo-fan*. 40 vols. Issued privately by photographic reproduction of the manuscript. Unfortunately there are gaps of serious importance, when Tsêng's papers were all lost in the capture of his flagship at Kiukiang, early in 1855.

#### B. SOURCES: INSURGENT.

1. *The Visions of Hung-Siu-tshuen and Origin of the Kwang-si Rebellion*, by the Rev. Theodore Hamberg. Hongkong, 1854. Written from material furnished by Hung Jen-tah (Hung Jin), later the Kanwang, and our chief source for the

knowledge of the rebellion as far as Hing Siu-ch'üan is concerned.

2. *Books of the T'hae-ping-wang Dynasty and Trip of the Hermes to Nanking, also Visit of Dr. Charles Taylor to Chin-kiang.* Shanghai, 1853.

Contents:

1. The Book of Religious Precepts of the T'hae-ping Dynasty.
2. The Trimetrical Classic.
3. The Ode for Youth.
4. The Book of Celestial Decrees, and Declarations of the Imperial Will.
5. The Book of Declarations of the Divine Will, made during the Heavenly Father's descent upon earth.
6. The Imperial Declaration of T'hae-ping.
7. Proclamations issued by Imperial Appointment, from the Eastern and Western Princes.
8. Arrangement of the Army of the T'hae-ping Dynasty.
9. Regulations of the Army of the T'hae-ping Dynasty.
10. A new Calendar for the 3d year of the T'hae-ping Dynasty.
11. Ceremonial Regulations of the T'hae-ping Dynasty.
12. The Book of Genesis, chapters I-XVIII (notes only, not text).

Appended to these are two valuable supplements and a critique on No. 6 above:

1. History of the Kwang-se Rebellion, gathered from the *Peking Gazette*. Official Proclamations, and other Public Documents.
2. Connection between Foreign Missionaries and the Kwang-se Insurrection.

The above books are of the utmost value, for they give us what the Taipings had to say for their own cause. Some of their contents are summarised in the supplementary volume

of the *P'ing-ting Yueh-fei Chi-lueh*. Some also are reproduced in the works of Brine, Lindley, Callery, and Yvan, and others. They were originally published in the *North China Herald*, having been translated by Dr. W. H. Medhurst, Chinese secretary of the *Hermes* expedition to Nanking.

3. *The Autobiography of the Chungwang*. Translation from the Chinese by Walter T. Lay. Shanghai, 1865.

A Chinese text is published in a volume entitled *Chung Kuo Pi Shi* (Secret History of China), published, apparently in Japan, in 1904. The original confession as written by this chief before his execution at Nanking was much longer, but Tsêng Kuo-fan had it edited. The original is said to be in the Tsêng family home. From it we have a good account of the last days of the movement, but it flits from one place to another and from one date backwards and forwards in a bewildering manner. The best use that has been made of this, in a description of the campaign for the relief of Anking, is by S. W. Williams in *The Middle Kingdom*.

4. *Taiping T'ien-kuo Yeh Shi* (Unofficial History of the Celestial Kingdom of Taiping). Shanghai, 1923.

This book by an anonymous writer is a mine of information about the Taiping movement, probably written by one who was a secretary at Nanking and had access to official records, books, and pamphlets. A number of the books referred to in No. 2 are here given in the original. Moreover, lists of officials, civil and military, are included, which enable us to understand their government better. There are also biographical sketches of the chief men of Taipingdom. It is by far the most useful book for comprehending the insurgent side that has yet appeared.

5. The Kan Wang's *Sketch of the Rebellion*, together with sundry other statements. Translated from the Chinese by Walter T. Lay. Shanghai, 1865 (reprinted from the *North China Herald*, July 15-August 19, 1865).

This sketch is by the same man who furnished Theodore

Hamburg with his account of the early history of the movement, but of course gives a later picture. Other statements included in this pamphlet are from Hung Fu-t'ien, the second T'ienwang, and two lesser lights. There is considerable evidence of friction between this Kanwang and the Chungwang.

6. "The Confession of Hung Ta-ch'üan," copied from the *China Mail* by Brine in *The Tac-ping Rebellion*, pp. 131 ff. This will be found copied entire in this book. Although rejected by some, I am inclined to accept it as substantially true, in spite of apparent falsifications here and there. It throws a flood of light on the origin of the enterprise.

#### C. SOURCES: FOREIGN. I.

1. Files of the *North China Herald* after 1851.  
Much that was of importance about the Taipings found its way to the columns of this journal. Its place of publication, Shanghai, gave it a great advantage over its rival, the *China Mail*, which was published in Hongkong. It printed translations of many of the decrees recorded in the *Peking Gazettes*. See Cordier for a list of the most important articles.
2. Files of the *China Mail*, Hongkong, 1851-1865.
3. *Reports of Ministers, Commissioners, and Consuls of the United States*:  
*32d Congress, 2d session, Senate Ex. Documents, 22, 64.*  
*33d Congress, 1st session, House Ex. Documents, 123.*  
*35th Congress, 2d session, Senate Ex. Documents, 22.*  
*36th Congress, 1st session, Senate Ex. Documents, 39.*  
*37th Congress, 3d session, Senate Ex. Documents, 34.*
4. Parliamentary Papers:
  - (a) *Papers respecting the Civil War in China, 1853.*
  - (b) *Correspondence respecting the Attack on Foreign Settlement at Shanghai, 1854.*
  - (c) *Papers relating to the Opium Trade in China, 1842-1856.* Little or nothing on the Taiping rebellion.

- (d) *Correspondence respecting Insults in China*, 1857.
  - (e) *Papers relating to the Proceedings of Her Majesty's Naval Forces at Canton*. With Appendix. 1857. Chiefly concerning the entry into Canton.
  - (f) *Papers respecting Lord Elgin's Special Mission to China and Japan*. Maps. 1859. Very important, because Elgin went up the Yangtse into the heart of 'Taipingdom.
  - (g) *Correspondence, 1858-1860, respecting Affairs in China*. 5 parts. 1860.
  - (h) *Papers respecting the opening of the Yangtze-Kiang to Trade; and on the Rebellion in China*. 7 parts. Maps. 1861-1863.
  - (i) *Papers on Affairs of China*. 6 parts. 1864. Anglo-Chinese Fleet and Dismissal of W. T. Lay from the Customs Service, Opening of the Yang-tze-Kiang, Treaty Rights, etc.
5. *British Consular Reports. Reports from H. M. Consuls in China for the years 1854 to 1861*. 8 parts. 1855-1863. For years 1862-1885. 62 parts.
  6. *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. XLIV, 1853-1854. Contains a report of the visit of Sir George Bonham to Nanking in *H. M. S. Hermes*, 1853.
  7. *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Each issue contained a *Journal of Occurrences* which is a valuable and authentic source of information especially concerning matters of interest to foreigners. See no. 1, June, 1858, 353-368; no. 2, May, 1859, 248-256; no. 3, Dec., 1859, 353-368; vol. II, no. 1, 1860, 105-128, and new series, no. 1, Dec., 1864, 109-132.
  8. *The Chinese Repository*. 20 vols. 1832-1851. The last two volumes contain information about the disturbances in Kwangsi. A valuable account of the Chinese army, from which I have drawn largely in chapter I, is published in vol. XX. This article by T. F. Wade is based on Chinese sources.

SOURCES: FOREIGN. II. Accounts of persons who were in China and came into personal contact with the insurgents.

1. Fishbourne, Captain, commander of the *Hermes* on her late visit to Nanking. *Impressions of China, and the Present Revolution: its Progress and its Prospects*. London, MDCCCLV.
2. Meadows, Thomas Taylor. *The Chinese and their Rebellion*. London, 1856. Mr. Meadows was in the British consular service and accompanied Sir George Bonham as an interpreter. In this capacity he saw something of the Tai-pings, and chapters XV-XVII are good source material for this period of the war.
3. Mercier, R. P. *Campagne du Cassini dans les mers de Chine, 1851-1854, d'après les rapports, lettres et notes du Commandant de Plas, etc.*, Paris, 1889.
4. Lane-Poole, Stanley. *The Life of Sir Harry Parkes, sometime Her Majesty's Minister to China and Japan*. London and New York, 1894. In two volumes: I. Consul to China, S. Lane-Poole; II. Minister Plenipotentiary, Japan, F. V. Dickens, China, S. Lane-Poole.  
Sir Harry Parkes accompanied the minister to Hankow after the Treaty of 1860 and helped in the negotiations for opening ports of entry on the Yangtse River. He was also consul prior to that trip, and his letters to his wife are a valuable account of the period from the standpoint of a foreign observer.
5. Oliphant, Laurence. *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the years 1858, 1859*. New York, 1860.
6. Blakiston, T. W. *Five Months on the Yang-tsze*. With a narrative of the exploration of its upper waters, and notices of the present rebellions in China. London, 1862.  
Although the author went on the expedition up the Yangtse, the best parts of his description of life in the

Taiping capital rest on earlier accounts by R. J. Forrest. The book is readable but not profound.

7. Davis, Sir J. F., Bart. "View of the Great Valley of the Yangtse-Keang before and since its occupation by the Rebels." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1859, pp. 164 ff.
8. John, Rev. Griffith. *The Rev. Griffith John's Experience of the Insurgents*. Canton, 1861.  
This is a pamphlet giving a portion of his letters published in the *Friend of China*. Some of the matter is reproduced in Sykes, W. H., *The Taiping Rebellion in China*.
9. John, Rev. Griffith, Biographies of.
  - (a) *The Story of Fifty Years in China*. R. Wardlaw Thompson. London, 1906. Popular edition, 1908. Chapter V, pp. 114-156, deals with the Taiping Rebellion.
  - (b) *Griffith John, Founder of the Hankow Mission*. William Robson, New York and Chicago. Chapter III, pp. 37-52, on the Rebellion.
  - (c) *The Story of Griffith John, the Apostle of Central China*. Nelson Bitton. Chapter IV, pp. 48-56, on the Taipings.
10. *The Taipings as They Are*. By "One of them." With an Introduction by Rev. J. W. Worthington, D.D., London, 1864.
11. "Lin Li" [Lindley, A. F.]. *Ti-ping Tien-kwoh; the History of the Ti-ping Revolution including a Narrative of the Author's Personal Adventures*. 2 vols. London, 1866.  
The author is sympathetic towards the Taipings, under whom he served. He has collected all the favorable expressions of opinion that he could find. Many such expressions, originally scattered among inaccessible journals, can be read here. There are some evidences of untrustworthiness and a strong pro-Taiping bias is apparent throughout. If he is the same man who seized the *Firefly*

his conduct on that occasion would make him a doubtful character. His work is to be used with care, but where its statements can be checked up it is valuable.

12. Legge, Helen Edith. *James Legge, Missionary and Scholar*. London, 1905. Chapter VIII is on the Kanwang, Hung Jen-tah (Hung Jin).  
This eminent scholar deplored the decision to participate against the Taipings.
13. Moule, The Venerable Archdeacon. *Personal Recollections of the T'aiiping Rebellion, 1861-1863*. Shanghai, 1898.  
The author states that he learned from Chinese sources that the last of the conquered Taipings settled down in the southwestern provinces, whence they were finally driven across the borders and became identified with the Black Flags of that region.
14. Moule, The Venerable Archdeacon. Ningpo Under the Taipings, 1861-1863. In *The East of Asia*, vol. V, nos. 1 and 2.
15. Yung Wing, *My Life in China and America*. New York, 1909.  
Chapters 9-13 deal with his travels to the interior, when he met both the Kanwang and Tsêng Kuo-fan at Anking. The former would have pressed Yung Wing into service under the Taiping rebels, but he entertained doubts of their success and preferred to seek employment under Tsêng Kuo-fan, whose greatness of character he perceived.
16. *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi, Recueil périodique des lettres des évêques, et des missionnaires des missions des Deux Mondes, et de tous les documents relatifs aux missions et à l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*. Lyons, Annually. Vols. XXIII-XXXVII should yield something.
17. Johnston, J. D., U.S.N. *China and Japan, being a narrative of the cruise of the steam frigate Powhatan*. Philadelphia, 1861.

Nothing definitely on the subject treated, but a general impression of China at this time.

18. de Moges, Marquis. *Baron Gros's Embassy to China and Japan in 1857-1858*. London and Glasgow, 1860.
19. Loch, Lord. *Personal Narrative of Occurrences during Lord Elgin's Second Embassy to China in 1860*. London, 1861.
20. Walrond, T. *Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin*. London, 1872.
21. Nevius, J. L. *China and the Chinese*. New York, 1869.  
This contains an account of the rebellion (chapter XVI, "The Taiping Rebellion," pp. 417-427), but it is not adequate.
22. Mitford, A. B. *The Attaché at Peking* London, 1900.  
Contains only a few scattered references here and there.
23. Rennie, D. F., M.D. *Peking and the Pekingese during the First Year of the British Embassy at Peking*. 2 vols. London, 1865.  
Contains a few scattered references to the rebellion.
24. [Searth, John]. *Twelve Years in China. The People, the Rebels and the Mandarins*. Edinburgh and London, 1860.  
A brief account of the movement is given. Searth mentions the problem of T'ienteh but does not attempt to solve it.
25. Foster, Rev. L. S. *Fifty Years in China. An Eventful Memoir of Tarleton Perry Crawford, D. D.* Nashville, 1909.  
A brief account is given in chapter XI of visits to places held by Taiping rebels, such as Soochow and Nanking, en route to Wuchang.
26. Edkins, Jane R. *Chinese Scenes and People, with notes of Christian Missions and Missionary Life in a series of letters from various parts of China. With a narrative of a*

*visit to Nanking by her husband, the Rev. Joseph Edkins, B. A.* London, 1863.

The later portion of this work (pp. 241-307) has special interest because it gives a firsthand account of things as they appeared to this missionary just before the policy of intervention was adopted.

27. Edkins, Joseph. *Religion in China*. 2d ed. London, 1878. The treatment of the Taiping religion is valuable because Edkins secured his interpretations from the insurgents themselves.
28. Cooke, George Wingrove. *China in 1857-1858*. From his letters to the *Times*.  
Most of these letters are occupied with other matters than the rebellion.
29. Forrester, Edward. "Personal Recollections of the Taiping Rebellion." *Cosmopolitan*, XXI, 625 ff., XXII, 34 ff., 209 ff. (1896).  
Since Forrester was second in command under Ward at the formative period of the "Ever Victorious Army" these recollections are very interesting, and furnish many details. Among other things he brings out strongly the intense hostility of the British to the enterprise, so much so that even the wounded could not be sent to Shanghai, and British were sent out to recapture deserters, etc.
30. James, W. II., "Recollections of the Chinese War of 1860." *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. 71, pp. 241 f.
31. *The Missionary Herald*, vol. 56, 1860, pp. 369-372; *ibid.*, vol. 57, pp. 88-91 and 118.  
Letters from Dr. Bridgman describing his trip and those of others to Soochow or Nanking, and the opinions they formed about the rebellion at the time it was spreading to the coast. They picture the Kanwang as desiring to be friendly and enter into relations with Western nations and introduce modern civilisation into China. Among the reports are those of Holmes, Crawford, and Hartwell, who

had been to Soochow, and Muirhead, Edkins, John Macgowen, and Hall (of the L. M. S.) and Burden (of the C. M. S.), who had apparently been in Nanking itself.

## III

## SECONDARY WORKS

## A. ON THE TAIPING REBELLION, CHINESE AND JAPANESE.

1. *P'ing-ting Yueh-fei Chi-luch* (Record of the Suppression of the Yueh Rebels). Compiled under the direction of Li Hung-chang. Eighteen parts, bound in seven volumes, with a supplementary volume containing four parts. This is the standard history of the Taiping rebellion, and appears to be accurate and trustworthy. The supplementary volumes give much interesting material about the institutions of the Taipings, superstitions regarding the rebellion, miraculous happenings, etc. 1871.
2. *Yueh Fen Chi Shih* (Record of the Yueh Rebellion). Thirteen books in six volumes. 1869.  
Like the above, accurate, but with especial interest for military details and with lists of those killed in action, together with their official rank. It generally lists the regiments participating in engagements. It is also arranged geographically rather than chronologically as is the other. It extends as far as 1860.
3. Sone, Toshitora. *Hatsuzoku Ran Shi* (Japanese History of the Haired Rebel Insurrection), 1879. Published in a collection of historical books on China, *Tsu Zoku Nijiuchi Shi*, edited by Waseda University, vol. XII.  
The author claims to have spent some time in China and to have used the *P'ing-ting Yueh-fei Chi-luch*, also *P'ing Nien Chi*, *P'ing Che Chi*, *Wu Chung K'ou P'ing Chi*, and, from European writers, the books of Mossman and another whose name I cannot make out from the Chinese characters. These he translates and elaborates upon, basing his account, however, chiefly upon the first-named work.

He often includes details not met in the standard history, and one may well be on guard; but in general wherever he can be checked up he proves to be accurate. On relations with Western countries he has either had poor sources or misunderstood some of the statements made on one or two points, but these defects detract very little from the value of the book.

4. *Siang Chun Chi*. Account of the Siang (Hunan) Army, edited by Wang Ting-an, 1889. Twenty books, in eleven volumes.  
The first thirteen books deal with the Taiping rebellion; the others with the Nien and Mohammedan rebellions. The work as a whole covers the separate campaigns as units and is quite accurate, being based on original documents.
5. *Siang Chun Chih* (History of the Siang Army). Sixteen books in four volumes. Thirteen books are devoted to the Taiping rebellion, one to the Nien rebellion, the other two to various details concerning the organisation and support of the forces.  
Contains innumerable details of a picturesque type, many of them not found elsewhere. I cannot discover who is the author or exactly when the work was published, and have therefore made little or no use of it, fearing that most of the stories preserved were mere tales and rumors resting on gossip.
6. *Yu Chun Chi-luch*, Records of the Honan Army. Twelve books in five volumes, of which the first has to do with the Taipings and the others with various groups of rebels and bandits. Compiled by a board consisting of two chief editors and three assistants. 1877.
7. Ch'ien Hsu. *Wu Chung P'ing K'ou Chi*. The Pacification of Central Kiangsu. Eight booklets bound in two small volumes, 1875.
8. *P'ing Che Chi-luch*. The Pacification of Chekiang. Sixteen booklets in four volumes. Published under Yang Chang-chun, governor of Chekiang. 1875.

Two works having to do with the operations in these two provinces after 1860.

9. *Hung Siu-ch'üan Yen I*. The story of Hung Siu-ch'üan. To be classed only in part as history; written from the standpoint of one who considered the uprising as a patriotic movement which was frustrated. 1914.
10. *Tung Cheng Chi-lueh*. Story of the Eastern Expedition, 1899.
11. *Liang Wang yu Yuch Ta Sha Han-jen Chi*. Great Slaughter of the Chinese when the Two Wangs Entered Yuch. This tells of some of the happenings when the scattered rebels entered Kwangtung and were hunted down by the Imperialists. Date uncertain.

#### B. ON THE TAIPING REBELLION OR SOME PHASE OF IT.

##### I. Books Devoted to the Movement, particularly the Earlier Phases.

1. Vizetelly, Henry. *The Chinese Revolution: The causes which led to it—its rapid progress and anticipated result; with abstracts of all the known publications emanating from the insurgents. The whole derived from native proclamations and other documents, missionary narratives, official communications, and the letters of European residents*. London, 1853.
2. Callery et Yvan.
  - (a) *L'Insurrection en Chine depuis son origine jusqu'à la prise de Nankin*, etc., Paris, 1853.
  - (b) *History of the Insurrection in China; with notices of the Christianity, Creed, and Proclamations of the Insurgents by MM. Callery and Yvan, Translated from the French, with a supplementary chapter, narrating the most recent events, by John Oxenford*. With a facsimile of a Chinese map, and a portrait of Tien-te, its Chief. 2d ed. London, 1853.

- (c) *Idem*, translated into Portuguese.
- (d) *Idem*, translated into German, 1854.
3. McFarlane, Charles. *The Chinese Revolution, with Details of the Habits, Manners and Customs of China and the Chinese*. London, 1853.
  4. Hamberg, Rev. Theodore. *The Chinese Rebel Chief, Hung-siu-tsuen; and the Origin of the Insurrection in China*. With an Introduction by George Pearse, Hon. Foreign Secretary to Chinese Evangelizing Society. London, MDCCCLV.
  5. *Idem* (Translation by Alphonse Viollet). *Histoire du Chef de l'Insurrection chinoise, Hung-siu-tsuen et origine de cette insurrection, par le Reverend Theodore Hamberg, Missionnaire de la Société évangélique de Bâle*.  
I have not been able to secure these two works, but they are probably identical with the book listed as a source above.
  6. Biornatzki, K. L. *Die gegenwartige politisch-religiose Bewegung in China*. Berlin, 1854.
  7. Neumark, J. *Die Revolution in China in ihrer Entstehung, ihrer politischen und religiösen Bedeutung und ihrem bisherigen Verlauf, nebst Darstellung des auf christliche Grundlage beruhenden Religionssystems der Insurgenten. Nach Meadows'*: The Chinese and Their Rebellions. Berlin, 1857.
  8. Pfizmaier, August. *Ein Gedicht des chinesischen Gegenkaisers*. Wien, 1859.
  9. Krone, R. "Gegenwartiger Stand der Revolution in China." Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1856, pp. 462-465.
  10. Haussmann, A., formerly Chancellor of the French Legation in China. *La Chine. Résumé historique de l'insurrection et des événements qui ont eu lieu dans ce pays depuis le commencement de la guerre de l'opium*

*jusqu'en 1857; illustré par Charles Mettais, accompagné d'une nouvelle carte de la Chine, par A. H. Dufour.* Paris, 1858.

11. Mackie, J. M. *Life of Taiping-wang, Chief of the Chinese Insurrection.* New York. Harpers, 1857.  
Contains a number of insurgent documents.
  12. Brine, Lindesay. *The Taeping Rebellion in China; a Narrative of its Rise and Progress, Based upon original documents and information obtained in China.* London, 1862.  
The appendix contains several insurgent documents and a number occur in the text. I consider this one of the best works dealing with the rebellion.
  13. Forrest, Robert James, Esq. "The Christianity of Hung Tsiu Tsuen, a Review of Taeping Books." *Journal North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, December, 1867, pp. 187 ff.
  14. The-Rule, Armand. *Les Tai-Pings.* Rouen, 1869.
  15. Oehler, Wilhelm, *Die Taiping-Bewegung. Geschichte eines chinesisch-christlichen Gotterreichs.* Gütersloh, 1923.  
A recent work based almost entirely upon materials in European languages which are already well known to students of the subject. Its chief value lies in pointing out the place that Chinese religious ideas and customs played in the religious side of the movement. The author was for some years in southern China as a missionary. His sympathies are, in the main, with Hung.
- II. General Histories, Monographs, or works of a more general character.
1. Boulger, Demetrius C. *The History of China.* 2 vols. London, 1890.  
Boulger recognises that Tsêng Kuo-fan opposed the rebels, but supposed that it was in their first march through Hunan. Consequently he sends Tsêng off on

the pursuit of the Taipings at once and antedates the Kiangsi campaign by two years. He has many errors in the later course of the story, but is on solid ground in the Kiangsu campaign. He is very readable.

2. Brinkley, Capt. F. *China, Its History, Arts and Literature*. 1902. Vols. 9-12 in the Oriental Series.  
Useless for this period.
3. Cordier, Henri. *Histoire générale de la Chine*. 4 vols. Paris, 1922.
4. Cordier, Henri. *Histoire des relations de la Chine avec les puissances occidentales. 1860-1890*. 3 vols. Paris, 1901-1902.  
This has little on the earlier part of the movement but describes in brief compass the last period of its suppression.
5. Foster, John W. *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, New York, 1903.  
A brief but excellent sketch of American official relations with the Taipings.
6. Douglas, R. K. *China*. (In the Stories of the Nations). New York, 1899.  
Popular. Entirely misconceives the character of Tsêng, whom he supposes to have been a full-fledged military commander.
7. Maegowan, Rev. J. *The Imperial History of China*. 2d ed. Shanghai, 1906.  
A work supposedly based on Chinese sources, but the portion on the Taiping rebellion is apparently an exception and there is little of it.
8. Pott, F. L. Hawks. *A Sketch of Chinese History*. Shanghai, 1903.  
Practically omits the crucial period 1854-1860, and contains various errors, though the author recognises that in some sense Tsêng was the hero.

9. Li Ung-bing. *Outlines of Chinese History*, Shanghai, 1914.  
Brief but good on the Taiping period. Though it contains some errors, it is the only account in a general history that places Tsêng in his proper place.
10. Satow, Sir Ernest. "The Far East," chapter XXVIII in *The Cambridge Modern History*, XI, pp. 821 f.  
Two paragraphs only are devoted to this great insurrection!
11. Williams, S. Wells. *The Middle Kingdom* (revised edition), 2 vols. New York, 1883.  
Vol. II, chapter XIV, pp. 575-624, deals with the Taiping rebellion. There is nothing for the years 1854-1860 except what has been gathered from the Chungwang's *Autobiography*. This is very well done.
12. Williams, S. Wells. *A History of China, being the Historical Chapters from The Middle Kingdom*. Edited by F. W. Williams, with an additional chapter to bring it down to date. New York, 1897.
13. Howard, W. C. *A Short Sketch of the Taiping Rebellion, 1818-1860*. Shanghai, 1901.  
This sketch has the same fault as some of the others in laying stress on the first and last phases of the movement and saying nothing about the middle period.
14. Spielmann, Dr. C. *Die Taiping-Revolution in China (1850 bis 1864)*. Halle, 1900.
15. Yates, Rev. M. T., D.D. *The T'ai Ping Rebellion*. A Lecture delivered at the Temperance Hall for the benefit of the Shanghai Temperance Society. Shanghai, 1876.
16. Escayrac de Lauture, Cte. d'. *Considerations sur le passé et l'avenir de la Chine. Examen de la Rébellion actuelle par le Cte. d'Escayrac de Lauture. Mémoire lu a l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques dans le séance du 21 juin 1862*.

17. Morse, H. B. *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*. 3 vols., I, 1910; II and III, 1918.  
Fairly good account of the rebellion, especially of the "Ever Victorious Army" and its campaigns. Not based on Chinese sources.
18. Morse, H. B. *The Trade and Administration of China*. 2d ed. London, 1912.  
Contains an account of the rebellion, but not as good as that in his later work.
19. Nye, G. *The Rationale of the China Question: comprising an Inquiry into the Repressive Policy of the Imperial Government, with Considerations of the Duties of the 3 Treaty Powers, England, France, and America, in regard to it and a glance at the Origin of the 1st and 2nd Wars with China, with Incidental Notices of the Rebellion*. By an American. Macao, 1857.  
The amount of material given on the rebellion is very slight.
20. Bland, J. O. P., and Backhouse, E. *China under the Empress Dowager*, London, 1910.  
Chapter V, pp. 64-80, contains translations from the long report of victory; also an account of one of the interviews with the empress dowager.
21. "Kuan Wen, late Viceroy of Hupeh and Hunan, subsequently First Minister at Peking. Biographical Sketches and Incidents of the Taipin Rebellion." Extracted from the Chinese of Kuan Wen. Shanghai, 1871.
22. Martin, W. A. P. *The Awakening of China*. New York, 1907.  
Pages 157-162 contain a brief sketch of the rebellion.
23. Martin, W. A. P. *A Cycle of Cathay*. New York, 1900.  
At page 101 Martin expresses his regret that the policy of intervention was ever adopted. He attributes the adoption to French influence, due to Roman Catholic

missionaries who hated the Protestant antecedents of the Taiping religion.

24. Sykes, Col. W. H., F.R.S., M.P. *The Taeping Rebellion in China, its Origin, Progress and Present Condition*, in a series of letters addressed to the *Aberdeen Free Press* and the *London Daily News*.  
Opposes the government policy of intervention.
25. Sykes, Col. W. H. China. "Speech of Col. W. H. Sykes, M.P., in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, March 12, 1861." Extracted from Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. CLXI (1861), p. 1841.
26. Debate in the House of Commons. *Ibid.*, vol. CLXXII (1863), pp. 270-330.
27. Fries, S. von. *Abriss der Geschichte China's seit seinem Entstehung. Nach chinesischen Quellen uebersetzt und bearbeitet*. Wien, 1882.
28. Maspero, René Gaston Georges. *La Chine*. Paris, 1918.  
Conventional on the Taiping Rebellion.
29. Pauthier, J. P. G. *Chine Moderne*. 1853.  
Too early for the rebellion, but useful as giving an impression of the China of that day.
30. De Groot, J. J. M. *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China*. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1904.  
De Groot advances the theory that the rebellion arose out of the persecutions of the government directed against heresies which drove the desperate people to revolt. In particular he traces the movement to persecutions of a sectarian character in Huanan in 1836 and the years following. The subsequent union of various persecuted groups resulted in the movement. He rejects Hamberg's account of Hung's visions, which he considers to be Hamberg's visions. The fact that we are not dependent on Hamberg alone for this account, but find it in the writings of the Taipings themselves, and the dominance of an inadequate but definite Chris-

tian element in the Taiping teachings cannot be accounted for on the author's theory. Moreover, granting the fact of persecutions which he asserts, we have the further well-known fact that practically all revolutionary movements in China germinated in fraternal or religious societies. According to Hung 'Ta-ch'üan, Hung was using his powers to gather not simple Christians but revolutionaries, and all trustworthy accounts show the same thing. In most of these persecutions religion itself was not opposed as much as was the use of religion to cloak rebellious plots.

31. Hermann, Heinrich. *Chinesische Geschichte*. Stuttgart, 1912.  
In his bibliography Hermann shows that he depends entirely on secondary material.
32. Davis, Sir John Francis. *China: A General Description of that Empire and its Inhabitants* (revised ed.). London, 1857.
33. Gowan, H. H. *An Outline History of China*. Boston, 1913.
34. Gundry, R. S. *China Present and Past*. London, 1895.
35. Latourette, K. S. *The Development of China*. New York, 1917.
36. Sergeant, Philip W. *The Great Empress Dowager of China*. London, 1900.  
These six works on Chinese history contain something on the Taiping rebellion, but only Davis has anything new, and he is useful only for the first part of the war.
37. Wolferstan, Rev. B., S.J. *The Catholic Church in China*. Edinburgh and St. Louis, 1909.  
On pages 104-107 there is a discussion of Taiping Christianity and the Bible.
38. Dennett, Tyler. *Americans in Eastern Asia*. New York, 1922.

III. Works dealing wholly or in part with the last days of the movement, particularly with the Kiangsu and Chekiang campaigns and foreign intervention.

(a) Shanghai.

1. *Suppression of the Taiping Rebellion in the Departments around Shanghai.* Shanghai, 1871.
2. de Jesus, Montaldo. *Historic Shanghai.* Shanghai, 1909.  
One of the best accounts of the 30-mile radius campaigns.
3. McClellan, J. W. *The Story of Shanghai.* Shanghai, 1889.  
An excellent little book.
4. Michie, A. *The Englishman in China during the Victorian Era, as illustrated in the career of Sir Rutherford Alcock.* 2 vols. Edinburgh and London, 1900.  
This does not concern Shanghai merely, but has to do with the career of a diplomat who was intimately connected with that port.

(b) The "Ever Victorious Army."

1. Rantoul, Robert S. *Frederick Townsend Ward.* Salem, Mass., 1908.
2. Macgowan, Dr. D. J. "Memoirs of Generals Ward, Burgevine, and of the Ever Conquering Legion." In *The Far East*, 1877.
3. Wilson, A. *The "Ever Victorious Army." A History of the Chinese Campaign under Lt. Col. C. G. Gordon, C.B.R.E. and of the Suppression of the Taiping Rebellion.* Edinburgh and London, 1868.
4. Boulger, D. C. *Life of Sir Halliday Macartney, K.C.M.G.* London and New York, 1908.

This book serves to correct the tendency to idealize Gordon. Through his greater skill in diplomacy Dr. Macartney seems to have been able to keep the peppery Gordon from going too far in his unconsidered way.

(c) General Gordon.

1. Anon. *Life of General Gordon. By the Author of Our Queen, New World Heroes, etc.* London, 1887. Later editions, enlarged, 1887 and 1900.
2. Barnes, Reginald H., Vicar of Heavitree, and Brown, Charles E., Major, R.A. *Charles George Gordon, A Sketch.* London, 1885.
3. Boulger, D. C. *Life of Gordon*, 2 vols. London, 1896.
4. Bioves, Achille. *Un Grand Aventurier du XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle—Gordon Pacha.*
5. Butler, Col. Sir William F. *Charles George Gordon.* English Men of Action Series, vol. 1. London, 1889.
6. Chesney, Col. Charles Cornwallis. *Essays in Modern Military Biography*, the sixth Essay, pp. 163-203, on "Chinese Gordon and the Tai Ping Rebellion." London, 1874.
7. Forbes, Archibald. *Chinese Gordon. A Succinct Record of his Life.* (12th ed.) London, 1886.
8. Gordon, Henry William. *Events in the Life of Charles George Gordon from its Beginning to its End.* London, 1886.
9. Hake, A. Egmont. *The Story of Chinese Gordon* (7th ed.). 2 vols. 1884, 1885.
10. Hake, A. Egmont. *Events in the Taiping Rebellion. Being Reprints of Manuscripts copied by General*

- Gordon, C.B., in his own handwriting with Monograph, Introduction and Notes.* London, 1891.
11. Kingdon, Abraham. *Gordon the Christian Hero. A Book for the Young.* London, 1885.
  12. Lilley, W. E. *The Life and Work of General Gordon at Gravesend.* London, 1885.
  13. Lyster, Thomas. *With Gordon in China. Letters from Thomas Lyster, Lieutenant, Royal Engineers.* London, 1891.
  14. Dr. Macaulay. *Gordon Anecdotes. A Sketch of the Career, with illustrations of the Character of Chas. G. Gordon, R.E.* London, 1885.
  15. Moffitt, Assistant Surgeon A. *Medical Report of the Campaign carried on by Gordon's Anglo-Chinese Contingent against the Taepings, in the province of Keang-soo, in 1863 and 1864.* 1865.
  16. Mossman, Samuel. *General Gordon's Private Dairy of his Exploits in China; amplified by Samuel Mossman, editor of the North China Herald during Gordon's Suppression of the Taiping Rebellion.* London, 1885.
  17. Strachey, Lytton. *Eminent Victorians.* New York, 1917.  
Though Strachey chiefly emphasises Gordon's African career, his sketch shows the traits of unreasonableness which appeared in some of Gordon's actions in the Kiangsu campaign.
  18. Swaine, Rev. S. A. *The World's Workers—General Gordon.* London, 1885.
  19. Vetch, Col. R. H., C.B. *Gordon's Campaign in China. By Himself. With an Introduction and a short account of the Tai-Ping Rebellion.* London, 1900.

This essay first appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* for September and October, 1900. Vetch maintains that Mossman's work is mere bookmaking and that Wilson, *The "Ever Victorious Army,"* though full of irrelevancies, is the best book on Gordon's campaigns.

(d) French Campaigns.

1. Giquel, P. Article in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 June, 1864.  
Used freely by Cordier in his work.
2. de Moidrey, Tardiff. *Notice sur les campagnes et opérations militaires faites en Chine*. Metz, 1854.
3. Anon. *La France au Tche-Kiang, par un Français*. Shanghai, 1901. In *Serie d'Orient*, no. 5.  
Cordier states that the author is Mgr. Reynaud.

(e) Li Hung-chang.

1. Bland, J. O. P. *Li Hung-chang*. London, 1917.  
This work begins after the governorship of Li, with a short introduction covering very briefly the period of his earlier life. The bibliography shows that the chief reliance has been placed on foreign sources.
2. Douglas, R. K. *Li Hung-chang*. London, 1895.
3. Little, Mrs. Archibald. *Li Hung-chang. His Life and Times*. London, 1903.  
This work rests entirely on foreign sources.
4. Mannix, W. F. *Memoirs of Li Hung-chang*. London, 1903, with an introduction by John W. Foster.  
Unreliable.
5. Periodical articles on Li Hung-chang.
  - (a) Anon. "His Excellency, Li Hung-chang." *The Far East*, I, 1876, nos. 3 and 4.

- (b) Michie, A. "Li Hung-chang." *Nineteenth Century*, vol. XL, August, 1896, pp. 226-239.
- (c) *Ibid.*, "Li Hung-chang." *Blackwood's Magazine*, CLXX, December, 1901, pp. 836-851.
- (d) Reid, Gilbert. "Li Hung-chang; a Character Sketch." *The Forum*, February, 1902, pp. 723-729.

IV. Secondary Works or Magazine Articles in Western Languages on Tsêng Kuo-fan.

1. Books: None, so far as I can discover.
2. Parker, E. H. "The Published Letters of the Senior Marquis Tseng," *China Review*, vol. XVIII, 1890, pp. 347-365.
3. II[uart], C. I. "The Birth of Tseng Kuo-fan." *Journal North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s., XX, 1885, p. 184.
4. Fay, Miss L. M. "The Last Days of Tseng-Kuo-fan." Translated from the *Peking Gazette*. *The Phoenix*, no. 29, November, 1872.
5. Giles, H. A. *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*. London and Shanghai, 1898.  
This gives a three-page account of his career, which is the best we have in English, and is accurate. It is also useful for several other leaders of this period.
6. Couling, Samuel. *The Encyclopaedia Sinica*. Shanghai, 1917.  
Only six lines are devoted to Tsêng Kuo-fan; Tso Tsung-tang gets eight; and Gordon forty-three as against twenty-five for Li Hung-chang.
7. Allan, C. Wilfred. *Makers of Cathay*. Shanghai, 1909.  
The essay on Tsêng Kuo-fan (pp. 216-228) recognises the important work done by him but contains a number of errors, due in all probability to the fact that

the writer has used, for the most part, sources in English only. In his essay on Li Hung-chang Allan credits the organisation of Ward's force to Li, forgetting the dates involved.

8. Kawasaki, Saburo. *Tō-hō no I-jin* (An Eminent Man of the East [Tsêng Kuo-fan]). An excellent biography in Japanese. Tokio, 1890.

V. For additional articles on the movement as a whole, in Periodicals or the Annual Publications of Learned Societies, see Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*, and Poole's *Index*.