

REBELLION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE: FOCUS ON CHINA

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It is commonly noted that after the defeat of Napoleon, the nineteenth century had remarkably few international wars compared to the eighteenth or the twentieth centuries. (This, of course, is from a Western perspective. China was peaceful and prosperous in the eighteenth century.) The more significant observation is that the nineteenth century was filled with social upheaval and rebellion. While many of these movements failed in the nineteenth century, they paved the way for the great social and political revolutions of the twentieth century.

While this is generally recognized in the study of Western civilization, little attention is paid in general texts or courses to the rebellions of China in the nineteenth century that served as the background for the Chinese Revolution of this century. The purpose of this paper is to address that oversight.

The definition of what anthropologist Anthony F. Wallace called "revitalization movements" is useful in thinking about rebellion and revolution. Wallace defines revitalization movements as "...deliberate, conscious, organized efforts by members of a society to create a more satisfying culture. The revitalization movement as a general type of event occurs under two conditions: high stress for individual members of the society, and disillusionment with a distorted cultural Gestalt."¹ This phenomenon appears to be virtually universal in the human experience. It was especially evident in the nineteenth century.

In Chinese history, rebellion is fairly common. In fact, it was institutionalized in the official ideology known as the Mandate of Heaven (*Tian Ming*) which sanctioned the overthrow of a corrupt, immoral or incompetent ruler, usually ending the dynasty. The word *geming* from the *Book of Mencius* and meaning the "lifting of the mandate" is the modern Chinese word for revolution. According to the theory, if a dynasty was in trouble, certain events would occur that would indicate that the Mandate was about to be lifted and passed on. The two main indications that the Mandate was about to be passed were natural disaster and social disorder. Both of these were very much in evidence in nineteenth century China.

The Qing dynasty was founded in 1644 and had a succession of capable regents and emperors until 1796. From 1681, when the Kang Xi emperor put down the Three Feudatories (*San Fan*) Revolt, until 1796, when the White Lotus Rebellion broke out, China was relatively peaceful, prosperous and very much in control of her own affairs. From 1796 to 1949, however, these conditions were completely reversed.

In examining the major uprising of nineteenth century China, this paper will briefly mention several uprisings, but will concentrate on the Taiping Rebellion, the Nien Rebellion, and the Muslim Rebellion of Northwest China. All the rebellions that made any headway were based on heterodoxy and were chiliastic in the beginning.

The White Lotus Rebellion lasted from 1796 to 1804 and spread over parts of five provinces. It was based on the messianic Buddhist teaching known as Maitreya Buddhism (*Mi-le-fo*). The White Lotus sect incorporated into its teachings the idea of an Eternal Mother who would send the Maitreya to reign and save the faithful.² The rebellion was put down with great difficulty and high cost. It was a dark portent of more cataclysmic events to come in the mid-nineteenth century. Yet another White Lotus-inspired uprising known as the Eight Trigrams Rebellion occurred near Beijing from 1811 to 1813.

The Taiping Rebellion was by far the most extensive, most violent and most costly of the nineteenth century rebellions. The basic outline of the story is known to all students of East Asia. What is amazing is that this great social upheaval which took the lives of as many people as World War I is virtually unknown among people in the West who consider themselves to be liberally educated.

The central figure in the Taiping Rebellion was born Hong Fuoxiu.³ He was a Hakka from a moderately well-to-do family who lived just north of Guangzhou. Hong was able to study the Confucian Canon as a boy, and about 1828 he passed the qualifying examination and became an aspirant (*tongsheng*) to the *shengyuan* degree.⁴ Hong was forced to stop his full-time studies at about age sixteen and take a job as a village school teacher. This job he held from 1828 or 1830 to 1843.⁵ According to the Chinese scholar Deng Siyu, he may have come under the influence of the scholar Zhu Ciqi, "who believed in the evolutionary theory of the three generations of the *Gongyang* interpretation of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and

the cosmopolitan idea in the *Book of Rites*."⁶ That is to say, he may have already been inclined toward transcendental and universalist ideas within the Chinese tradition. During that same period of time, Hong attempted and failed the examination for the *shengyuan* degree at least four times.⁷

In 1836, after failing the examination for a second time, Hong heard missionaries preaching on the street in Guangzhou and accepted from them a set of pamphlets entitled *Good Words to Admonish the Age* which were translations of sections of the Bible by the English Protestant missionary Robert Morrison. Some sources say that Hong put the pamphlets away without examining them; other sources state that he gave them a cursory examination before putting them away for a number of years.⁸

Hong took the examination for the third time in 1837 and failed again. This time he was so disappointed and exhausted that he became ill and had to be carried back to his home village. There he fell into a trance or a coma-like state that he later claimed lasted for exactly forty days. It was during this period that he had his famous visions in which he went up into heaven and saw an old man with a white beard and a middle-aged man. There are several different accounts of the visions ranging from the relatively simple to the complex. In an 1862 version of Hong's mystical encounter, for example, Confucius is arrested and whipped before God because his teachings have ruined the minds of a whole people.⁹

Hong had new energy and power after he recovered from his long illness. Indeed, according to one of the later accounts (1854), his old vital organs were replaced with new ones while he was in heaven.¹⁰ He appeared to be healthier; he was larger; he developed a commanding presence. It was at this time (1837 or 1838) that he adopted the polite title by which he is known in history, Xichuan.¹¹ The accounts of what happened during the next six years are conflicting. Hong probably went on teaching in the village school, but in 1843 he took the examination a fourth time and failed again. According to Deng Siyu, Hong's failure of the examination was mainly due to the "corruption of the examination, and was not necessarily any reflection on his ability to compose the 'eight-legged' essays."¹² At any rate, it was supposedly after this failure that the Christian tracts, on his shelf for six or seven years, were brought to his attention by a friend who noticed them. Hong read them carefully. The meaning of the vision now became clear: the

stately old man with the beard was God; the middle-aged man was Jesus Christ; Hong was the second son of God and the younger brother of Jesus Christ. His (Hong's) presence on earth meant that the Millennium had arrived. He had been sent by his Father to restore the true religion to China and to throw out Confucianism and the corrupt Manchus.

It was at this time that Hong began publicly denouncing Confucius and smashing idols. He lost his job as a teacher and fled with his friend, Feng Yunshan, to Thistle Mountain in neighboring Guangsi province. Things moved slowly for the next few years. Only a few hundred converts were made, mostly among the persecuted Hakka. In 1847 Hong and his cousin, Hong Rengan, went to Guangzhou to study the Bible under the Tennessee missionary, Issachar J. Roberts.¹³ Hong probably studied with Roberts for one or two months, then asked for baptism, but was refused. Sources disagree as to why this was the case.¹⁴ Perhaps Roberts was repulsed by Hong's ideas. Hong and his cousin apparently baptized each other and returned to Thistle Mountain.

During the next three years the two men made many converts to their God-worshipping society, as the heretical sect was known, while transforming it into the revolutionary movement known as the *Taiping Tian Guo* (11 January 1851). Hong Xiuchuan took the title *Tian Wang*, Heavenly King. Two of the most important converts made during the years 1847-1850 were Yang Xinqing and Xiao Zhaogui. Both were of humble origin, the former a charcoal burner, the latter a woodcutter. Both fell into trances and had visions. Yang became possessed by the Holy Ghost and became the spokesman for God. Xiao became the spokesman for Jesus Christ.¹⁵ They were given the titles Eastern King and Western King respectively. Ultimately there were eight so-called kings (*wang*) in the movement in addition to Hong.¹⁶

Taiping destruction of idols and temples apparently set the rebellion off. The accepted date for the beginning of armed rebellion is 1 January 1851. On that date the Taipings soundly defeated the local gentry-led militia in eastern Guangsi, and began their famous northeastward march through the Yangtze Valley to Nanjing and beyond. They enjoyed mostly victory (with only a few setbacks) from 1851 to 1855. Instead of pursuing their enemy northward to Beijing, the Taiping leaders (Hong and Yang mainly) first established their own capital in Nanjing. This may have been a

major mistake, for once settled in an Nanjing, they soon began internecine fighting. Three of the Wangs including Yang, the spokesman of God, were killed along with perhaps as many as 30,000 of their families and followers.¹⁷ A decadent Heavenly Kingdom fell to Ceng Guofan's Hunan Army in 1864. Some sources hold that Hong Xiuchuan committed suicide¹⁸ on 1 or 2 June 1864. Frederic Wakeman, however, states that he died of illness.¹⁹

While the Taipings started out as primitive, semi-Christian communists, they did not remain so for long. In the beginning, when their membership was between 30,000 and 100,000, they held all property in common and observed a very strict moral code, abstaining from opium, alcohol, tobacco, and sex. As the movement grew in numbers and especially after the Taipings settled in at Nanking, most of the early discipline disappeared. Private ownership of land was allowed, even protected, and most Qing administrative procedures were left unchanged.²⁰

Qing military organization went through major changes in the middle of the nineteenth century in order to defeat not only the Taipings but also the Nien and the Muslims. Qing military organization dates back to 1601 when Nurhaci, organizer of the Manchus, divided his 1200 troops into four units of 300 men each. He assigned each unit a different colored banner (yellow, white, blue, and red). Fourteen years later as his numbers had greatly increased, he divided the four banners to make eight. The new units were assigned banners of the same four colors, but with borders around them. These then were the Eight Manchu Banners. After the Ming were defeated in 1644, there were eight Chinese and eight Mongol banners organized out of the troops who had helped the Manchus. All were cavalry units. It became apparent to the Manchus while fighting in south China that a large infantry was needed. Therefore, the surrendered Ming army was organized under a green flag and became known as the Green Standard. The Qing depended on this army in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to maintain order in the empire. Local militia corps (*luanlian*) were also sanctioned by the Qing government, but were only to be called up during time of emergency. The Qing were quite wary of local or regional military organization.²¹

After more than a century of peace, the Banners and the Green Standard had become weak and lazy. Discriminated against by the government and low-paid, they were despised by the people upon

whom they preyed as mercilessly as bandits. Lacking discipline, the imperial army simply refused to fight in the campaigns against the Taipings and the Nien. Officers sent in reports claiming victory when they had not even engaged the enemy. They retreated in the face of armies a fraction of their size.²²

In 1853 the Qing government reluctantly authorized forty-three gentry leaders to organize local militia in ten provinces. Of these, only Ceng Guofan was successful. His army was not organized along traditional local militia lines, for it was based on strong personal leadership. The officers were mainly Hunan gentry, and the soldiers were Hunan peasants. Ceng personally directed his winning campaign against the Taipings. Two of his generals became famous in that action and later organized their own regional armies.²³ Li Hongzhang and his Huai Army, with some help from Zuo Zongtang and his Chu Army, ultimately (1868) defeated the Nien, and Zuo Zongtang and his Chu Army, made up of troops mainly from Hunan, defeated the Muslims in Shaanxi and Gansu in 1874 and retook Xinjiang in 1878.

Why the word *nien* came to be used for a bandit gang or the name of a rebel movement remains unclear. Actually among the Nien, the word was used to refer to military units within their organization. Originally the word *nien* meant a twist of oiled paper that was lighted and used in a so-called "dragon dance."²⁴ *Nien* also means "to knead" or "to pinch" as in making bread. One theory holds that the Nien "kneaded" their people together in bands that could disperse quickly when let go.²⁵ The first reference to the *Nienfei* (bandits) was in 1797.²⁶ They were a branch of the White Lotus movement, but continued to be isolated minor bands until the mid-nineteenth century. They were mainly located in the Huaibei area--that is, in the provinces of Anhui, Henan, Shandong, Jiangsu, and Zhili between the Huai and Yellow Rivers.²⁷

During the late 1840s and early 1850s, they were joined by numerous groups such as the salt smugglers of the area, various bandit groups, and secret societies. By this time they had lost much of their chiliastic religious motivation and were mainly quasi-political outlaw bands. They did continue some of their religious practices, and their chief leader took the rather grand sounding title, *Da Han Mengzhu*, Leader of the League of the Great Han. They were definitely anti-Manchu and refused to shave their foreheads, an outward sign of their rebellious character.²⁸

Nien headquarters was located in the area just north of the Huai Rivers. This was an area hit hard by the drought and flooding and starvation in the 1850s. The Nien gained followers mainly by feeding the hungry. To find food they looted Shandong and northern Giangsu which had not been hard hit by natural disaster nor had the Taiping Rebellion touched them.²⁹

Earth walls and cavalry were the two main aspects of Nien military organization.³⁰ Earth walls were erected around villages and made them almost impregnable. The villages also cooperated so that if one were being attacked, forces from the others could come and attack the enemy from the flank and the rear. Nien defense tactics may be summed up in the traditional Chinese expression, "solidifying the wall and cleaning up the fields."³¹ The Nien were also much aided by the fact that the plundering government troops were hated as "death foes" by the civilian populace.³² When the Nien took a city, they usually left the civilian inhabitants undisturbed, released prisoners and executed officials.³³

By 1860 the Nien possessed twenty thousand horses, they could control or plunder eight provinces with a large and effective cavalry.³⁴ Elusiveness was the main characteristic of the Nien cavalry, and from the government's point of view, the main difference between them and the Taipings.³⁵

Most of the Nien leaders held no degree, but many lower gentry in the conquered areas joined them. They apparently were holders of petty degrees who had little chance of advancement under the Qing, but saw the Nien as a short cut to higher status.³⁶ Gentry advisors gave the title "Lord of the Alliance" to the Nien leader and developed an impressive ceremony for him. They also drew up regulations for the government and attempted to establish a military organization similar to the Manchu Banner system.³⁷

Adult male peasants were the major source of Nien power. Deserters from government forces also joined the Nien, and captives from the plundered areas sometimes joined the cause.³⁸ The Nien first tried to win over clan leaders, for they often brought the entire clan or village into the organization.³⁹

The Nien defeated the Qing forces sent against them for about fifteen years. In the 1850s and early 1860s, government troops made only half-hearted efforts against the Nien, but after the defeat of the Taiping in 1864 they made an all-out assault. Senggolinchin, a highly acclaimed Mongol prince and commander of Qing imperial

forces, led the attack. He was trapped and killed in 1865.⁴⁰ Ceng Guofan was defeated, though not captured, by tactics similar to those used against Senggolinchin, and the criticism that resulted forced the man who had defeated the Taiping to resign his command.⁴¹

Ceng was replaced by his protegee, Li Hongzhang, who with the Huai Army mounted a determined and well-organized campaign against the Nien. Li defeated the Nien by cutting them off while they were looting in Shandong and Giangsu.⁴² Meanwhile, Li adopted some of the Nien's own tactics and granted pardons.⁴³ The net that had been established around the Nien was gradually tightened until the Nien were boxed into a small area near where the Grand Canal and the Yellow River meet. There the last of the Nien forces were defeated in 1868.⁴⁴

The policy that defeated the Nien was not really a policy of the Qing government. It was the defeat of one regional army by another regional army. It did not indicate the recovery of the dynasty. If anything, it indicated the contrary. The Huai Army was not disbanded, as the Hunan Army had been, and continued as a major force in North China.⁴⁵ Further, the defeat of the Nien brought no change in Qing economic or political policy. The conditions that had given rise to the Nien remained unchanged, and as Siang-tseh Chiang has stated, "The rise, thirty years later, of the Boxers, another branch of the White Lotus, in the old Nien area on the borders of Anhwei, Shantung, Kiangsu, and Honan, testifies eloquently to this fact."⁴⁶

The Muslim rebellion of Northwest China which lasted from 1862 to 1878 was primarily the rebellion of an oppressed minority. The Muslims were neither trying to overthrow the Qing and replace them with a Muslim dynasty nor were they trying to revitalize the old dynasty. They seemed to have been fighting simply to save themselves from the Han Chinese and to return to the *status quo ante bellum*. For others it was a Muslim nationalist or independence movement. There were, in effect, two different rebellions as there were two different types of Muslims in Northwest China. There were the *Han Hui* or Chinese muslims and the *Chan Hui* or "turban-wearing" Muslims who were Uygurs.⁴⁷ The *Han Hui* were located mainly in Shaanxi and Gansu, and the Uygurs lived in Xinjiang.

The Muslim rebellion began in Shaanxi and spread to Gansu and Xinjiang. It apparently was bloodiest in Gansu where, according to

one contemporary account, "the population was reduced from 15,000,000 to 1,000,000. . ."⁴⁸ The rebellion began after the local militia, both Muslim and non-Muslim, was called up in 1862 in the face of a Taiping attack on Shaanxi. The Taiping attack amounted to nothing, but soon the Chinese and the Muslim militiamen were fighting each other.

The phase of the Muslim rebellion that came closest to qualifying as a revitalization movement (as defined by Wallace) was the rebellion of the so-called "New Sect" Muslims in the late 1860s. The "New Sect" Muslims were nationalists led by Ma Hualong who proposed to set up a Muslim state in Xinjiang and Gasu and perhaps to extend it across North China and Mongolia.⁴⁹ Ma's stronghold was at Jinjibao in what is now the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. The campaign against Jinjibao lasted sixteen months, from 8 September 1869 to 6 January 1871 when Ma surrendered.⁵⁰ Ma, his son, and eighty of his officials were executed on 2 March 1871,⁵¹ and the "New Sect" was forbidden.⁵² The remaining Muslims in Shaanxi and Gansu were finally suppressed in November 1873 when the last stronghold was taken.⁵³

The Muslim rebels in Shaanxi and Gasu had been defeated by a Chinese regional army led by Zuo Zongtang, another of Ceng Guofan's proteges, but a large area in Xinjiang remained under Muslim control in late 1873. Since the beginning of the Qing dynasty, Xinjiang had been a colony reserved for the Manchus. Manchu forces had been unable to suppress the Muslim rebels, but the Imperial government was reluctant to turn the matter over to a Chinese general. The Manchu government ultimately recognized its own ineptitude and on 3 May 1875, Zuo Zongtang was appointed Commissioner in charge of military affairs in Xinjiang. This marked the end of Xinjiang as a Manchu preserve.⁵⁴ It took Zuo three years to suppress the last of the Muslim rebels. Xinjiang gained provincial status on 16 October 1885.⁵⁵ It is today the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

As we have seen, the Muslims were defeated as the Taiping and the Nien had been, but their defeat, as had been the case with the defeat of the Taiping and the Nien, was no great victory for the Qing dynasty. All three of these great rebellions had been put down by regional armies commanded by Chinese generals. The Qing never regained control in the areas once held by the rebellions and afterwards controlled by regional armies.

The last great rebellion to occur in nineteenth century China was, of course, the Boxer (*Yi Hechuan*) rebellion. Most Westerners have heard of this uprising since it was directed against the foreign devils and not the Manchu dynasty. The Boxers were, at best, reluctant supporters of the Qing. They adopted the slogan "Support the Qing, destroy the Foreigner" only after the first setback to their cause in 1899. "Throughout they manifested a strong distrust of the ability of the officials to repel foreign interference in China and, at heart, they were always more 'anti' than 'pro' the Manchu government."⁵⁶

The Boxers of 1898-99 were a branch of White Lotus Buddhism and regarded themselves as members of a much earlier Boxers sect and as heirs of the Nien as well.⁵⁷ Their religious beliefs were drawn from Buddhism, Taoism, and the "folk" deities of China such as Guan Di from the *San Guo*. They believed they could make themselves impervious to bullets and swords by performing certain rituals including boxing (*lianchuan*).⁵⁸

The Boxers were, I believe, a classic example of a Chinese religious revitalization movement. Though the causes of China's troubles were many, the Boxers believed that all China's ills would be cured if the foreign devils and Christianity could be driven out of China once and for all. They believed deeply in what they regarded as the traditional and true religion of China. For them, then, the Millennium would arrive when Christianity had been banned and Chinese religion revitalized and re-established universally. The Christian devils had built their roads, their buildings, and their railroads without regard for *feng shui*⁵⁹ and had invited the wrath of the departed spirits and of Heaven. Once proper respect for the earth, for the departed, and for Heaven had been re-established, floods, drought, and pestilence would cease.

Boxer converts were often quite young, and many were former soldiers. To save money, the government had greatly reduced the size of the army, and there were literally hundreds of bands of ex-soldiers roaming about looking for work and living as best they could off the land.⁶⁰ To many of them, the Boxer doctrines made sense. The Boxers had ambivalent and even contradictory attitudes toward women. Unlike most earlier White Lotus sects, the Boxers did not admit women to the sect proper, and they regarded women as unclean. They did allow and even encouraged the development of companion women's organizations, the *Hong Deng Zhao* or Red

Lanterns for girls between the ages of twelve and eighteen and the Qing *Den Zhao* or Green Lanterns for widows.⁶¹ Apparently there was no organization for married women. Unlike the men, the women had a supreme leader.⁶² The purpose of the women's groups was exactly the same as that of the Boxers: to kill or drive out the foreign devil.⁶³

The course and outcome of the Boxer Rebellion are well known. The Qing government gave its approval to the heterodox Boxers and their undertaking; hundreds of Chinese Christian converts and a great many western missionaries were killed; the legations were besieged for fifty-five days; and finally the foreign troops (the 'Allies') entered Northeast China and Beijing, restored order and saw to it that the Boxers were punished.

That the Qing dynasty would embrace the heterodox Boxer sect was simply another indication of how desperate it had become. The dynasty had lost control of China. Its power had been eroded by messianic fanatics, regional armies, and the ever-present and aggressive foreigner. The Chinese dynasty that collapsed in 1912 had atrophied in the face of unceasing conflict. The nineteenth century rebellions were not successful, but they laid open the way for twentieth century revolution which was.

NOTES

¹Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist*, 58: (April, 1956), 279.

²Susan Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion in China: The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 10-11.

³S. Y. Teng, *New Light on the History of the Taiping Rebellion* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), 50.

⁴*Ibid.*, 50-51.

⁵*Ibid.*, 51.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷Albert Feuerwerker, *Rebellion in Nineteenth-Century China* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan), 9.

⁸Teng, *New Light on the Taiping*, 52.

⁹*Ibid.*, 53.

- ¹⁰Feuerwerker, *Rebellion*, 10.
- ¹¹Teng, *New Light on the Taiping*, 50.
- ¹²*Ibid.*, 54.
- ¹³Yuan Chung Teng, "Reverend Issachar Jacox Roberts and the Taiping Rebellion," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 23: (November, 1963), 56.
- ¹⁴Teng, *New Light on the Taiping*, 57.
- ¹⁵*Ibid.*, 58.
- ¹⁶J. C. Cheng, *Chinese Sources for the Taiping Rebellion, 1850-1864* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1963), 161.
- ¹⁷Feuerwerker, *Rebellion*, 29-30.
- ¹⁸Teng, *New Light on the Taiping*, 70.
- ¹⁹Frederick Wakeman, Jr., *The Fall of Imperial China* (New York: The Free Press, A Division of Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1975), 174.
- ²⁰Feuerwerker, *Rebellion*, 29.
- ²¹Wen-djang Chu, *The Moslem Rebellion in Northwest China, 1862-1878* (The Hague-Paris: Mouton and Company, 1966), 9-15.
- ²²Siang-tseh Chiang, *The Nien Rebellion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1954), 76-77.
- ²³Chu, *The Moslem Rebellion*, 16-17.
- ²⁴S. Y. Teng, *The Nien Army and Their Guerrilla Warfare, 1851-1868* (The Hague-Paris: Mouton and Company, 1961), 18.
- ²⁵Chiang, *The Nien Army*, 8.
- ²⁶Teng, *The Nien Army*, 22.
- ²⁷*Ibid.*, 24.
- ²⁸*Ibid.*, 25.
- ²⁹Chiang, *The Nien Rebellion*, 59.
- ³⁰*Ibid.*, 132.
- ³¹*Ibid.*, 69.
- ³²*Ibid.*
- ³³*Ibid.*, 40-42.
- ³⁴*Ibid.*, 61.
- ³⁵*Ibid.*, 71.
- ³⁶*Ibid.*, 50-51.
- ³⁷*Ibid.*, 52.
- ³⁸*Ibid.*, 57.
- ³⁹*Ibid.*, 45.
- ⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 73.
- ⁴¹*Ibid.*, 74.

- ⁴²Ibid.
- ⁴³Ibid., 93.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., 108.
- ⁴⁵Ibid., 137.
- ⁴⁶Ibid., 138.
- ⁴⁷Chu, *The Moslem Rebellion*, 3.
- ⁴⁸Ibid., VII.
- ⁴⁹Ibid., 130.
- ⁵⁰Ibid., 141.
- ⁵¹Ibid., 142.
- ⁵²Ibid., 155.
- ⁵³Ibid., 146-149.
- ⁵⁴Ibid., 191.
- ⁵⁵Ibid., 196.
- ⁵⁶Victor Purcell, *The Boxer Uprising, A Background Study* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1963), 222.
- ⁵⁷Ibid., 180.
- ⁵⁸Ibid., 238.
- ⁵⁹Ibid., 174.
- ⁶⁰Ibid., 176.
- ⁶¹Ibid., 235.
- ⁶²Ibid.
- ⁶³Ibid.